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LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆI.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D., MYSORE.

(Continued from Vol. XLVII p. 290.)

THE numerous inscriptions of his time that have been found in Mysore and Madras contain the names of many of his feudatories and officers. Excluding those mentioned in *FDKD.* p. 450ff., the more important of them were :—The *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Kāmadēva belonging to the Pāṇdyas of Haive, who was ruling over that district in 1112 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 99; p. 120); the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Sridharayya who was governing the *vaḍḍarāvula* and the two *bīḷkodes* in 1086 with the *Mahāmātya Perggaḍe* Chaṅgaḍēvayya as his deputy in the Banavāse province (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 388; p. 141); the *Mahāpradhāna Maneverggāḍe-daṇḍanāyaka* Bhōgayya who was governing the Banavāse twelve-thousand province in 1125 with the assistance of Mēḍimayya (who was the *daṇḍanāyaka* of the *vaḍḍarāvula*), Chāmuṇḍamayya, Sōyipayya and others (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 170; p. 263); the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Baladēvaiya who was ruling over the *suika* of the Banavāse province and the eighteen *agrahāras* in 1079 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 297; p. 263) in subordination to prince Jayasimha III; the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka Maneverggāḍe-daṇḍanāyaka* Guṇḍamarasa who was ruling the *vaḍḍarāvula*, *herijūṅka*, etc., of the Banavāse province in about 1100 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 111; p. 150); the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Sarvadēva who held some office which is not mentioned in 1093 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 114; p. 151); the *Mahāpradhāna Maneverggāḍe-daṇḍanāyaka* Sālipayya under whom the *Mahāpradhāna* Rāmayya was governing the Banavāse province in 1123 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 246; p. 249); the *Mahāsāmānta* Bopparasa who was ruling at Bandanike in 1123 (*ibid.*); the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Chātṭarasa of the Sinda family who was ruling the Eḍevette seventy in 1118 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 316; p. 271); the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Sūrya who with his brother the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Āditya, held some office in the Nalambavāḍi province in about 1125 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 90; p. 119); the *Mahāsāmānta* Nāgayyanāyaka who was ruling a *kampana* of the Maṇḍali one-thousand in 1111 (*EC.* VII, Hl. 10; p. 280); the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Māḍirāja who was governing the *vaḍḍarāvula* and *suika* of the Banavāse province in subordination to Anantapālayya in 1099 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 13; p. 84); the *Mahāpradhāna* Madhuvappa who was the *perggāḍe* of the Banavāse province in 1084 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 235; p. 76); the *Mahāpradhāna Sēnāpati Daṇḍanāyaka* Mallidēvarasa who was the *heggāḍe* of the same province in 1089 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 166; p. 196); the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka* Jekkamarasa who held some office in the Banavāse province in about 1100 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 111; p. 150) the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōpanarasa who was ruling the Banavāse province in 1116 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 337; p. 124); the *Mahāsāmānta*

Oṭṭighaṭṭianna who was ruling the Chīlūruballe thirty in 1076 (*EC.* VII, HI. 14; p. 281); the *Mahāsāmāntādhīpati Mahāprachāṇḍadāṇḍanāyaka Mahāpradhāna Hirisandhivigrahi* Tambarasa who was governing the Sāntalige one-thousand and the *agrahāras* in subordination to prince Jayasīṃha III in 1079 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 109; p. 211); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kīrttidēva or Kīrttivarman who was ruling the Banaṣe province in 1104 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 421, p. 149); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nanni-Sāntara who was ruling at Paṭṭi-Pomburchcha in 1077 (*EC.* VIII, Nr. 36; p. 255); his successor Vikrama-Sāntara (*ibid.*, Nr. 40, p. 268); his successor, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāya-Sāntara Tailapaadeva who was ruling in 1089 (*ibid.*, Sa. 103; p. 207); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala-Gaṅga-Permmāḍi who was ruling the Maṇḍali one-thousand from 1076 to 1120; his successor, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Nanniya-Gaṅga-Permmāḍi who ruled till 1123, and his successor, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Gaṅga-Permmāḍi¹⁹ who was ruling from 1125 to 1129; the *Mahāsāmānta* Dākarasa who was governing the *hejjuṅka* of the Nalambavāḍi province in 1093 (*EC.* XI, Hk. 3; p. 192); the *Mahāsāmānta* Sindharasa who was governing the *vaḍḍarāvula* of the above province in 1109 (*EC.* XI, Jl. 12; p. 152); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāyapāṇḍya who was ruling the same province in 1127 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 122; p. 130); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* Jōyimaṃya (No. 519 of 1915), Kaliyamarasa (No. 515 of 1915), Sigarasa (No. 516 of 1915), Ballaya-Chōla-mahārāja, Chīkarasa (No. 560 of 1915), and Mallarasa (No. 505 of 1915), who were all ruling the Sindavāḍi province between 1076 and 1109; the *Mahāpradhāna Herilālasandhivigrahi Daṇḍanāyaka* Raviyapa, mentioned in an inscription at Yēwūr of 1077 (*EI.* XII, p. 283); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gaṅgarasa, son of the *Mahāsāmānta* Chāvunḍarasa and ruler of the Māsavāḍi one-hundred-and-forty in 1082 (No. 527 of 1914); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Yānemarasa of the Ahiyaya family, mentioned on p. 293 of *EI.* XII; and another *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gaṅgarasa, different from above, who was ruling the Kukavāḍi three-hundred in 1127 (*EC.* XI, Hk. 68; p. 206).

We have seen above that the last recorded date for Sōmēśvara II is 24th January, 1076 and that Vikramāditya VI was anointed on the throne, probably, on or before 11th February, 1076. From that time onwards he ruled without a rival till his death after which he was succeeded by his son Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōkamalla.

It is difficult to determine when these events, namely, Vikramāditya's death and his son's accession to the throne, took place. For, on the one hand, there is an inscription at Guṇjaganūr (*EC.* XI, Hk. 68; p. 206) which relates that Tribhuvanamalla, i.e., Vikramāditya VI was reigning on 24th January, 1127; and, on the other hand, one at Udri (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 141; p. 47) would seem to indicate that Bhūlōkamalla was the reigning king on 8th February, 1126. This equivalent, however, of the date of the latter inscription is not so reliable as the equivalent of that of the former inscription; and it is therefore better to believe with the Gaṇjaganūr inscription that Vikramāditya was reigning on 24th January, 1127.

Vikramāditya VI, then, was succeeded, probably in 1127, by his son Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōkamalla.²⁰ The earliest dates for him are 27th October, 1128 given in an inscription

¹⁹ These Gaṅgas bear, in some inscriptions (*EC.* VII, Sh. 57, 44, 39, etc.) the titles Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarmma-dharmmamahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara.

²⁰ An inscription, however, at Doddā-Bāṇagere (*EC.* XII, Si. 7; p. 155) relates that the Chālukya sovereign who was reigning on 24th December, 1128 was named Trailōkyamalla. Similarly, the inscription Dg. 99 referred to above, also gives the name of the Chālukya sovereign as Trailōkyamalla; while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallideva-mahārāja had, as was mentioned above, the prefix Trailōkyamalla to his name. It seems therefore that Sōmēśvara III had the cognomen of Trailōkyamalla also.

at Chitratahalli (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 80 ; p. 23)²¹ and **8th November, 1123** given in an inscription at Ingleshwar (*KLISI.* No. 226). The latest dates are **24th December, 1133** given in an inscription at Pedda-Tumbulam (No. 499 of 1915)²² and 23rd February, 1135 given in another at Sômadêvarakoppalu (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 415 ; p. 148).

Among his feudatories and officers (see *FDKD.*, p. 456) we have to include the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallidêvarasa of the Ahihaya family (*EC.* XII, p. 293), the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bâchiga or Bâcharasa of the Sinda family who was ruling Sindavâḍi in 1132 in subordination to prince Tailapadêva (No. 502 of 1915) ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Trailokyamalla Mallidêva-mahârâja who was ruling the same province in 1133 ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tribhuvana-malla-Pândya who was ruling the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand in 1128 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 99 ; p. 124) ; Bhûlôkamalla Vira-Gaṅga-Permmâdi who was ruling the Maṇḍali one-thousand in 1129 with the titles of *Satyavâkyâ Koṅguṇivarmma-Dharmmamahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* (*EC.* VII, Sh. 99 ; p. 76) ; the *Mahâpradhâna Maneverggadê-danḍanâyaka* Masapayya who held some office in subordination to the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tailapadêva in 1128 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 141 ; p. 47) ; the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Madhukarasa who was ruling the Banavâse province in 1135 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 414, 415 ; p. 148) ; the *Mahîśamanta* Sômarasa or Sômêśvara who was ruling the Nâgarakhaṇḍa seventy in 1135 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 414, 415 ; p. 148) ; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Ekkalarasa who was ruling at Uddhare in 1130 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 3, 7 ; pp. 1 and 3).

Sômêśvara III was succeeded, probably in 1137, by his son Permma-Jagadêkamalla who had the distinctive title of *Pratâpa-chakravartin*. The earliest date for him is **23rd December, 1137**²³ given by an inscription at Managôḷi (*KLISI.* No. 232) ;²⁴ and the latest dates are **25th December, 1150** given by an inscription at Chinnâ-Tumbulam (No. 517 of 1915)²⁵ and 13th April, 1151 given by an inscription at Kumsi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 86 ; p. 24).²⁶

His chief feudatories and officers, excluding those mentioned by Dr. Fleet (*DKD.*, pp. 457-8), were :—The *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Ekkalarasa, mentioned above, who was ruling at Uddhare in 1145 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 132 ; p. 36) ; the *Mahâpradhâna* Yôgêśvara-danḍanâyaka who was ruling the Banavâse province in subordination to the *Danḍanâyaka* Bammaṇḍayya in 1142 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 125 ; p. 34) ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallidêvarasa who was ruling the Haive five-hundred and other divisions in 1143 (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 58 ; p. 94) ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Goravadêva of the Kadamba family who was ruling the Banavâse province in about 1146 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 67 ; p. 20) ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vikrama-Sântara who was ruling the Sântalige province in 1146 (*EC.* VIII, Nr. 37 ; p. 257) ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Baḷlâriya Bivarasa (Immaḍi-Bhîmarasa) and Baḷlâriya Râchamallarasa, two brothers who were ruling the Sindavâḍi province in 1142 (Nos. 204 and 206 of 1913) ; the *Mahâpradhâna* Danḍanâyaka Bâchimayya who was ruling the *suika* of the Banavâse and other provinces in 1141 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 390 ; p. 144) ; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Lôkâditya of the Ahihaya family (*EI.* XII, p. 293).

Jagadêkamalla II was followed on the throne by his brother Taila or Tailapa III who had, usually, the cognomen of Trailôkyamalla. The earliest date for his reign is **24th**

²¹ *VSSDI.*, p. 4 ; No. 1.

²² *VSSDI.*, p. 21 ; No. 30.

²³ In the light of what has gone above, the observations that I made in *VSSDI.*, Introd. p. xiii, footnote, and p. 141, No. 233, are no longer tenable and must be given up. I now prefer to rely on the Managôḷi inscription referred to above and to believe that it was Jagadêkamalla II who was reigning on 23rd December, 1137.

²⁴ *VSSDI.*, p. 139 ; No. 227.

²⁵ *VSSDI.*, p. 40 ; No. 55.

²⁶ *VSSDI.*, p. 55 ; No. 85.

December, 1151 given in an inscription at Chittûru (*EC. VIII*, Sb. 510 ; p. 165) ; ²⁷ and the latest ²⁸ dates are 10th May, 1161 given in an inscription at Bairêkoppa (*EC. VIII*, Sb. 567, p. 174) and **17th June, 1163** given in an inscription at Pattadakal ²⁹ (*KLISI*, No. 243). ³⁰

Among his feudatories and officers (see *FDKD.*, p. 460) must be mentioned the *Mahamandalesvara* Jagadêvarasa and Ekkalarasa (the Second) who ruled at Uddhare ; the *Mahamandalesvara* Mallidêvarasa, mentioned above, of Haive (*EC. VIII*, Sb. 369 ; p. 133) ; Banmarasa, the *Mandali* of Gutti (*EC. VIII*, Sb. 54 ; p. 17) in 1153 ; and the *Mahamandalesvara* Râya-Tailapadêva of the Śântara family (*EC. VIII*, Sa. 159 ; p. 231).

There are a small number of inscriptions with dates falling in Taila III.'s reign which give the name of the reigning Châlukya sovereign as Tribhuvanamalla. These are : an inscription at Sigebâgi (*EC. XII*, Ck. 32 ; p. 139) dated in 1162 ; one at Tiptur (*EC. XII*, Tp. 61 ; p. 89) dated in 1162 ; one at Bairêkoppa (*EC. VIII*, Sb. 567 ; p. 174) ; one at Herekere (*ibid.*, Sa. 159 ; p. 231) and one at Bidare (*EC. VI*, Kd. 72 ; p. 46) dated in 1162. It would thus seem that Taila III. had the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla also.

There is an inscription at Elagalale (*EC. VIII*, Sa. 28 ; p. 182) which records that, on 3rd April, 1161, when the Châlukyan emperor Bhûlôkamalla was reigning and the *Mahamandalesvara* Jagadêvarasa was ruling the Banavâse province, a certain Boppana took part in a fight and was slain. It is not unlikely that this Bhûlôkamalla was the same as the *Kamâra* Bhûlôkamalladêvarasa who is mentioned in a Belgâme inscription (*EC. VII*, Sk. 165 ; p. 198), dated 9th May, 1149, of Jagadêkamalla II. He was perhaps a son of Jagadêkamalla II's brother Taila III. and might have been in charge of some provinces during these two kings' reigns. But we do not hear of this Bhûlôkamalla again, which seems to indicate that he died before his father (?) Taila III. It is not likely that he could be meant by the term Bhûvallabha-permmâli which occurs in several inscriptions (*EC. VI*, Kd. 35, 36, etc.).

²⁷ *VSSDI.*, p. 44, No. 62.

²⁸ An inscription, however, at Uttâgi (No. 530 of 1914) cites for Jagadêkamalla a date which corresponds quite regularly to 21st May, 1156 ; this must be a mistake. (Note that the year Pramâthin mentioned in the date refers to the northern luni-solar year of that name and that there is no mistake made in the inscription in citing the Jovian year).

²⁹ *VSSDI.*, p. 151, No. 249.

³⁰ In p. 462 of *DKD.* Dr. Fleet has asserted that the above inscription is incorrect in that it mentions the Sinda Châvundâ II as a feudatory of Taila III in May-June, 1163 when, as a matter of fact, Taila III. died certainly before the 19th January, A.D. 1163, which is the English equivalent of the Anamkonḍ inscription of Rudradêva in which the fact that he was then dead is mentioned." The date of this inscription is given in *IA*, XI, p. 12 and XXII, p. 111 ; and it reads as follows :—Śakavarshamulu 1084 vumenti Chitrabhânu satavatsara Mâgha-su 13 Vaḍḍavâramu-nânḍu. Dr. Fleet has, on p. 252 of *IA*, XXII, taken that the term *Vaḍḍavâra* used here means Saturday and set down Saturday, 19th January, A.D. 1163, as its equivalent, while Kielhorn, taking *Vaḍḍavâra* in the sense of Sunday, set down (*loc. cit.*, p. 111) Sunday, 20th January, 1163, as its equivalent.

It will be seen, in the first place, that this date belongs to the type which cite the week day as the only verifiable detail and which are therefore capable (see *VSSDI.*, § 60 ; p. 82) of denoting any one of about four different days. And, secondly, I have shown (in § 26, *ibid.*) that *Vaḍḍavâra* frequently means Thursday.

Saturday, 19th January, 1163, is not therefore the only possible equivalent of the above date. An equally likely equivalent is Thursday, 30th December, A.D. 1163, on which day Mâgha-su 13 ended at 10gh. 25p. after mean sunrise ; and considering the fact that the above Pattadakal inscription gives the certain date of 17th June, 1163 for Taila III, I am inclined to think that it is this latter day, (30th December, 1163) that is the correct equivalent of the date in the Anamkonḍ inscription, and that there is no reason to mistrust the Pattadakal inscription, which informs us that Taila III. was living in June, 1163.

It was in the reign of Taila III that the Kaḷachurya usurpation of sovereignty took place in 1156. The usurper, Bijjala or Bijjaṇa, was an officer of Jagadêkamalla II and was, later, a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* under Taila III. He was, as such, entrusted with the supervision of the administration of the whole empire and made use of the opportunities he had to usurp the sovereign power in 1156. He ruled till about 1163 after which he was succeeded, in turn, by his four sons who continued to rule till about 1183.

Taila III, too, on the other hand, continued to reign, as we saw above, even after 1156 over such parts of the empire as still remained to him. And the last date for him was, as we saw above, 17th June, 1163.

He was succeeded in the same year by a certain Jagadêkamalla whose relationship to his predecessor is not known. The inscriptions of this Jagadêkamalla, whom I shall here call Jagadêkamalla III, are found in such parts only of the Chitaldrug district as formerly belonged to the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand province. There are three of such inscriptions—one at Harihara (*EC.* XI, Dg. 43 ; p. 91) dated **26th December, 1163** ; one at Bannikôḍu (*EC.* XI, Dg. 77 ; p. 112) dated **23rd January, 1167** ; and one ³¹ at Chitaldrug (*EC.* XI, Cd. 13 ; p. 8) dated in 1183.

The *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijaya-Pāṇḍya is mentioned as his feudatory in all these inscriptions : his capital is nowhere mentioned.

The next Châlukyan emperor was Vira-Sômêśvara or Sômêśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla who was a son of Taila III and who ascended the throne in, probably, the year A.D. 1184. The inscriptions of his time are not confined to the Chitaldrug district (the Noḷambavâḍi province) but are met with in the Dharwar, Shimoga and Bellary districts, *i.e.*, in the Banavâse, Haive and Sindavâḍi provinces also.

The majority of inscriptions apply to him the usual Châlukya titles only, namely, *Samastabhuvanâśraya*, *Śrīprithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Satyâśrayakulatilaka*, and *Châlukyâbharana*. To these titles, an inscription at Belagutti (*EC.* VII, Hl. 46 ; p. 296) adds that of *Chakravartin* while an inscription at Nandavaram (No. 546 of 1915) gives him the title of *Vira-Nârāyaṇa* and another at Malakapuram (No. 555 of 1915) calls him *Trailôkyamalla Bhujabala-vira Râyamurâri Sômêśvara*.

The two latter inscriptions represent that Sômêśvara was ruling from Jayantîpura or Banavâse as capital in 1184 and 1186 : and so also does an inscription at Gârêḥatti (*EC.* XI, Cd. 33 ; p. 17) which is dated in the year 1187 and another at Medakerepura (*EC.* XI, Cd. 36 ; p. 19) which is dated in the year 1200.

The earliest date for him is **5th November, 1184** ³² which is given by the Malakapuram inscription referred to above : the latest is **17th January, 1200** given by the Medakerepura inscription, likewise referred to above.

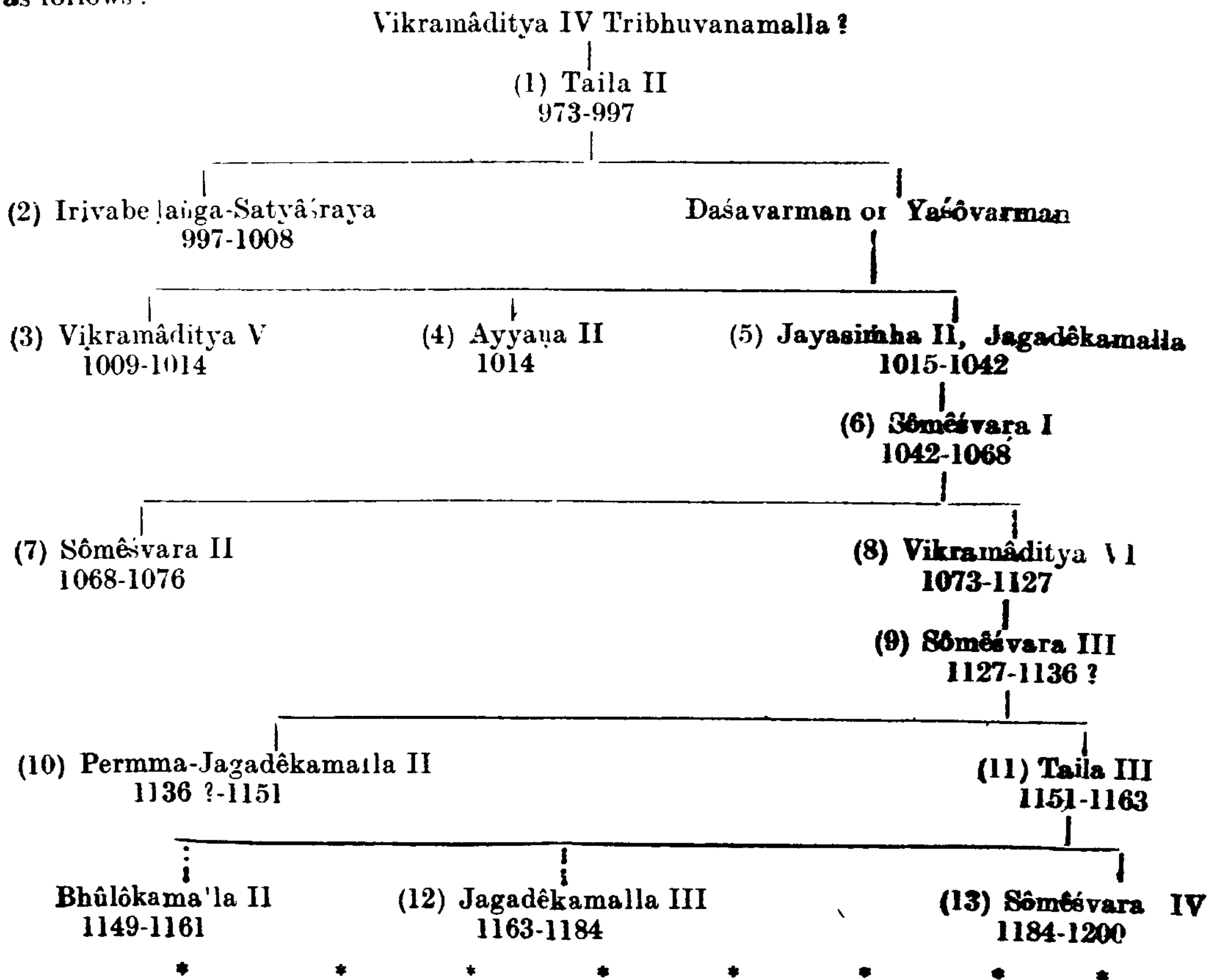
³¹ In *VSSDI.*, p. 138 (No. 225), I have set down 23rd March, A.D. 1119 as the equivalent of this date, because I then followed Drs. Fleet and Kielhorn in believing that it belonged to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. This is not so and the inscription belongs, as I have said above, to the reign of Jagadêkamalla III. The equivalent accordingly falls somewhere in the year A.D. 1183. My observations therefore under No. 224 on p. 137 of my *SSDI.*, making out that Taila III. was reigning on 13th July, 1181, are not correct and should be cancelled.

³² This is the correct equivalent of the date cited in the inscription. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has, to be sure, rejected this equivalent (*Madras Epigraphist's Report* for 1915-16 ; p. 102) on the ground that there was no solar eclipse on that day ; but, as the distance of the sun from the node was 1.09, a solar eclipse did certainly take place on that day. And although this eclipse was not visible in India, there seems to be no doubt that it is this day, 5th November, 1184, that is the correct equivalent of the given date. Regarding invisible eclipses, see *VSSDI.*, pp. 21, 22.

Among his feudatories and officers (see *FDKD.*, p. 465) are to be mentioned the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍemarasa who was ruling the Banavāse province in 1187 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 47 : p. 15); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sôvidêva who was ruling at Bandanike in 1185 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 249 : p. 250); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mullidēvarasa who was ruling at Belagavartti or Belagutti in 1188 (*EC.* VII, Hl. 46 : p. 296); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, mentioned above, who was ruling Nolambavāḍi; his successor, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya who was ruling in 1200 (*EC.* XI, Cd. 36 : p. 19); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Eaharasa who was ruling at Uddhare in 1187 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 47 : p. 15); the *Mahāprāsthāna* Mālaparasa who was ruling the Sindavāḍi one-thousand in 1184 (No. 555 of 1915); and Padmidêva and Vatsarāja who were ruling the above province in 1186 (No. 546 of 1915).

Dr. Fleet has (on p. 465, n. 6 of *DKD.*) referred to some inscriptions which show that Sômêśvara IV was ruling from Aṇḍigere (in the Dharwar district), and later, from Kalyāṇi as capital, while I have, above, shown that he had his headquarter at Banavāse at various times. These places passed into the hands of the Hoysalas (see *EC.* VII, Sk. 138 : p. 188) and of the Yādavas (see *FDKD.*, p. 504) about 1200 or even earlier, with the territories surrounding them; and the Chālukyan empire thus came to an end, having been absorbed on the north by the Yādava empire and on the south, by the empire of the Hoysalas.

The revised chronological table of the later Western Chālukyas may now be written as follows :—



There are a number of Hoysala inscriptions contained in vols. VI, V, and XII of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* in which the overlordship of the Châlukyan emperors is acknowledged by the mention of their names in the opening. These names, however, do not agree with those given in the inscriptions of the Châlukyas themselves as can be seen by a comparison of the table given below³³ with that given above:—

Number of Inscription.	Date.	Name of Châlukyan Emperor mentioned.
V, Cn. 248	9th April, 1133	Tribhuvanamalla.
V, Ak. 124	25th April, 1135	"
V, Cn. 228	24th December, 1150	"
V, Ak. 117	23rd January, 1156	"
XII, Tp. 61	18th April, 1162	"
VI, Cm. 161	23rd January, 1138	"
VI, Kd. 76	24th December, 1135	"
VI, Kd. 72	23rd December, 1162	"
VI, Kd. 30	A.D. 1170	"
XII, Gb. 34	23rd December, 1128	Âhavamalla.
V, Ak. 30	23rd November, 1134	"
XII, Ck. 13	A.D. 1181	Jagadêkamalla.
XII, Ck. 14	16th November, 1187	"
XII, Ck. 16	18th January, 1195	"
XII, Ck. 20	A.D. 1188	"
XII, Ck. 21	25th May, 1159.. .. .	Bhûvallabharâya Permmâdi.
VI, Kd. 35	A.D. 1136	"
VI, Kd. 36	1202.. .. .	"
VI, Kd. 38	1191	"

It is scarcely probable that the names cited above of the Châlukyan sovereigns as ruling on the dates shown is correct. I have shown above that Taila III had perhaps the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla; and the inscriptions V, Ak. 117, XII, Tp. 61 and VI, Kd. 62 may therefore perhaps be correct inciting that name. It is not, however, probable that Sômêśvara III, who had the cognomen of Bhûlôkamalla and perhaps, as shown above, of Trailôkyamalla also, could have had the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla as V, Cn. 248, etc., would indicate or that of Âhavamalla as V, Ak. 30, etc., would indicate. And, similarly, it is equally improbable that Sômêśvara IV, who had, as shown above, the cognomens of Tribhuvanamalla and Trailôkyamalla, had in addition the cognomens of Jagadêkamalla and Bhûvallabha-Permmâdi.

It is therefore my opinion that these inscriptions are unreliable so far as the mention of the reigning Châlukyan sovereign is concerned. The incorrectness in this respect was perhaps due to the fact that the Hoysalas, while nominally the feudatories of the Châlukyas, were, from about 1120 onwards, so independent that they were content with the mention of *some* Châlukyan king as overlord in *a few* of their inscriptions.³⁴

³³ This table is not complete as I have here, for the most part, included such inscriptions only as contain dates that yield a reliable English equivalent and have rejected the other inscriptions.

³⁴ Note in this connection that the inscriptions VI, Kd. 35, 36 and 38, referred to above, all represent the Châlukya Bhûvallabha-Permmâdirâya as ruling from Kalyâni as capital in 1136, 1202 and 1191.

IDENTIFICATION OF VINAYASAMUKASE IN ASOKA'S BHABRA EDICT.

BY SAILENDRANATH MITRA, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

IN course of collecting materials for the University publication of a monograph on Asoka's *Dhamma* as a landmark in Indian literature and religion, a work which my estimable friend Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.LITT., so kindly invited me at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to share with him, I lighted upon a paragraph of a discourse in the *Majjhima*, which struck me so much that I thought it might be identified with the much disputed passage contemplated by Asoka's *Vinayasamukase* in the Bhabra Edict. The discourse is entitled the *Sappurisasutta* (*Majjhima*, III. P. T. S., pp. 37-45) and the paragraph in question is as follows :

Puna ca param, Bhikkhave, asappuriso vinayadharo hoti. So iti paṭisaṃcikkhati : ahaṃ kho 'mhi vinayadharo, ime pana 'ññe bhikkhū na vinayadharā ti. So tena vinayadharattena attān' ukkamseti param vambheti. Ayam pi, Bhikkhave asappuriso dhammo. Sappuriso ca kho. Bhikkhave, iti paṭisaṃcikkhati : na kho vinayadharattena lobhadhammā vā parikkhayāṃ gacchanti, dosadhammā vā parikkhayāṃ gacchanti, mohadhammā vā parikkhayāṃ gacchanti. No ce pi vinayadharo hoti, so ca hoti dhammānudhammapaṭipanno sāmīpaṭipanno anudhammacārī, so tattha puṇṇo so tattha pāsamso ti. So paṭipadam yeva antaram karitvā tena vinayadharattena n'ev'attān' ukkamseti na param vambheti. Ayam pi, Bhikkhave, sappurisadhammo (pp. 39-40.)

The extract may be rendered as follows :--

Once again, Bhikkhus, there may be a bad man who is well versed in the Vinaya. He reflects thus: 'Verily am I a *vinayadhara*, and these other *bhikkhus* are not.' He, by the very reason of his being a *vinayadhara*, exalts himself and disparages others. This, too, Bhikkhus, is the way of the bad man. The good man, on the other hand, Bhikkhus, deliberates thus: "Verily, by the possession of *Vinaya*-learning only, neither the states pertaining to greed, nor those pertaining to hatred and delusion go to destruction. A man may not possess the *Vinaya*-learning, but if he has rightly pursued the path of the Norm and wisely, and acts up to it, he, by that very reason, is worthy of honour and of praise." Having only borne in mind the progressive course, he by reason of his being *vinayadhara* only, neither exalts himself nor disparages others. This too, Bhikkhus, is the way of the good man.

In the occurrence of the words *vinayadhara* and *attān' ukkamseti* in the foregoing extract, one may hardly resist the temptation of discovering a clue to the identification of *Vinayasamukase*. But the simple discovery of a discourse or a paragraph having only a seeming resemblance of words, does not, I think, constitute a sufficient reason by itself for establishing an identification beyond doubt. The suggestion offered concerning the identification should therefore be studied in the light of evidences cited in these pages.

Mr. Edmunds seems inclined to identify it with the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta*, the first sermon, as he thinks, delivered by Buddha at Isipatana (*Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, I, p. 60). But the sermon, wherever it occurs, whether in the Vinaya texts or in the *Nikāyas*, would seem wide of the mark, since it is difficult to conceive any direct connection between the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta* and Asoka's *Vinayasamukase*, which latter, as its title implies, must have bearing upon the subject of *Vinaya* (i.e., discipline in the widest sense); and judging from the precision with

which the Buddhist emperor enumerated his other passages, we are led to think that the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta* would hardly justify his meaning; for this particular sermon no more represents the *Vinaya* as a whole than a detached *sutta* taken at random from the canon.

Prof. Oldenberg's conjecture is that Asoka probably had in contemplation the *Pâtimokkha*, the criminal code of the Buddhist Order. It is still a matter of dispute if the *Pâtimokkha* rules, as we now have them, were put together in the form of a code at or before the time of Asoka, considering that the *Pâtimokkha* was not included amongst the texts recited in the first Buddhist Council.¹ The word *pâtimokkha* occurring in such stock phrases of the canon as *pâtimokkhasamvarasamvuta*, is of course old enough, probably older than the *Pâtimokkha* itself, and certainly much older than the time of Asoka, but we must remember that the word, although a technical term, connoted quite a different meaning from that of a book or a formal code as is now denoted by *Pâtimokkha*. In the later texts, notably the *Milinda*, we have an adjectival form of the word qualified and preceded by another adjective (*vara-pâtimokkhiya*).² Here, too, we must note that the term does not denote the formal code called the *Pâtimokkha*, but signifies a wider meaning, tentatively, discipline. In this connexion we are reminded of an important passage in the *Ânguttara*,³ (where the Thera Upâli distinguishes between *sikkhâpada* (moral precepts) and *pâtimokkha* (disciplinary code), both of which he regards as auxiliary to *vinaya* in its widest sense (*vinâyânugahâya*). We can imagine that with the progress of time, especially after the death of Buddha, the need of a formal code made itself felt strongly enough, when schism after schism broke out within the community threatening its existence as an organized association. Therefore, the *Pâtimokkha*, judging from its main object, has little bearing on the religious ethical system upheld by Asoka.

Dealing with the list of recommended passages in the Bhabra Edict, Prof. Rhys Davids says, "There is a word⁴ at the commencement of this list, which may either be an adjective applied to the whole list, or the name of another passage" (*Buddhist India*, p. 170). Of these two suggestions brought forward by so learned a scholar as Prof. Rhys Davids, the latter, *viz.* that *Vinayasamukase* may be the title of a separate passage, would seem, judging from the manner of Asoka's enumeration of the *Dhammapariyâyas*, more acceptable and true.

The *Rathavinâta Sutta* (*Majjhima-N.*, I, pp. 146-151), rightly identified by Dr. Neumann (*Buddhist Reden*, I, p. 152) with Asoka's *Upatisa-Pasine*, contains two

¹ Buddhaghosa, in his enumeration of the texts recited in the First Buddhist Council, does not mention the *Pâtimokkha* as a work by itself. The texts recited were *Mahāvibhaṅga*, *Ubbatovibhaṅga*, *Khandaka*, and *Parivâra* (*Sumāṅgalavilâsini*, pp. 12-13). He further points out that some of the texts included in his time in the *Vinayapiṭaka* were not recited in the first Council and his remark, judging from the above list, applies exclusively to the *Pâtimokkha*. Cf. *Sumāṅgalavilâsini*, I, p. 17:—Tattha paṭhamasaṅgītiyaṃ saṅgītaṇṇa asaṅgītaṇṇa sabbam pi samodhānetva ubhayāni pātīmokkhāni dve vibhaṅgāni dvāvīsati khandakā solasa parivārāti idam vinayapiṭakam nāma

There is occasional mention of *ubhayāni pātīmokkhāni* in a few passages on *Vinaya* in the *Ânguttara Nikāya*. But, the date of the passages being disputed, we are not justified in fixing the date of the *pātīmokkhāni* on the evidence of the *Ânguttara* alone.

² *Milindapañho*, p. 34.

³ *Ânguttara-N.*, part V, p. 70.

⁴ *Viz.*, *Vinaya-Samukase*.

expressions, viz. *Upatissa* and *Pañhā*,⁵ which are highly suggestive as furnishing a clue to a possible identification, inasmuch as they admit of a compound *Upatissa-Pañho*, i.e., *Uvatisapāsine* in Aśoka's language. But this linguistic semblance as a ground for identification, would, as we have said, hardly find favour with us, had it not been corroborated by a closer and more striking resemblance between the teachings of Upatissa's questions in the *Majjhima* and Aśoka's system, the supreme goal of both of which is clearly stated as the attainment of *Nibbāna* or *Sambodhi*. Carrying our investigation on similar lines, we further discover that in recommending the *Rāhulovādasutta*, the king was careful enough to discriminate it from other *suttas* of the same name, by mentioning its subject-matter, viz. conscious falsehood (*musāvādam adhigīya*). It seems that the king was not satisfied with the method of the compiler of the canon in distinguishing the several *Rāhulovādasuttas* with the different attributes *Ambalaṭṭhikā*, *Mahā* and *Culla*, which gave no idea of the different subject-matters thereof, and that therefore he felt the necessity of clearly stating the particular one he meant, by mentioning its subject-matter. Similarly, the naming of *Munigāthā* (identified with the *Munisutta* in the *Suttanipāta*) would seem, from its style, more accurate than that of the earlier compiler.

From all this a presumption may arise that in attaching *samukase* to *vinaya*, the king had a very special object in view, which was to distinguish a certain canonical passage on *Vinaya* from others devoted to the same or similar subject, and that there may be a discourse somewhere in the canon which contains expression that might suggest the very title of Aśoka's *Vinayasamukase*. But what is that? The *Sappurisasutta* in the *Majjhima* is the one which strikes our imagination. Curiously enough, it actually contains certain expressions, e.g. *vinayadhara* and *attān'* (i.e., *attānam*) *ukkamseti*, which suggest at once a derivation of *samukase* other than that by which it means 'excellent' (*uttama*), we mean *sāmaṃ* (*attānam*) *ukkamseti* *sāmuḥkaṃso*. Perhaps the strongest philological proof in support of this derivation of *samukase* is the occurrence of *attukkaṃsaka*, a form derived similarly in the *Majjh.* I. pp. 19, 95, 97, 98. We admit that the expressions *vinayadhara* and *attānam ukkamseti* cannot be combined so happily as '*Upatissa*' and '*pañhā*' to make up the title *vinayasamukase*, meaning primarily the discourse where Buddha deals with a person who exalts himself by his *vinaya*-learning (*vinayadharattena attān'ukkamseti*) and disparages others (*param vambheti*) not learned in the *vinaya*, and who should, learned as he is in the *vinaya*, follow the way of the good man, which aims at the extinction of greed, hatred and delusion (*lobha, dosa, moho*). Moreover the *sutta*, of which the paragraph on the conduct of the *vinayadhara* may be taken as a type, deals with *vinaya*, not in its narrow sense of *Pātimokkha* or criminal code, but in its wider sense of training (*sikkhā*), moral and spiritual. Besides, the *sutta* inculcates, by comparing and contrasting the ways of a good man and those of a bad man—both learned—that those persons should be honoured and praised who, although not well versed in *vinaya*, although not powerful preachers of the Norm, etc., follow the rules of the Norm to the spirit and not to the letter merely. It is apparent from this that the *sutta* has a close bearing on the principle of toleration taught

⁵ *Majjhima*, I, p. 150

⁶ The *Divyāvadāna*, evidently a work of post-Aśokan date, refers (p. 20) to the *Munisutta* by the name given to it by Aśoka, i.e. *Munigāthā*:—*athāyushmān Cāroṇo bhagavatā kṛtāvakāṣaḥ asmāt parāntikayā guptikayā udānāt pārāyanāt satyaḥśiṣṭaḥ, cailagāthā munigāthā arthavargiyāni ca sūtrāni vistarāṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṇ karoti.*

by Aśoka, particularly in his Twelfth Rock Edict, the very expressions of which betray a likeness,—so much so that the king's principle might be regarded as a logical inference drawn straight from the teaching of the *sutta*, as can be seen from the summary given below with a view to facilitate comparison :—1. *The Sappurisasutta*.—A bad man, although learned, who follows a certain course of conduct, exalts himself by his learning and system and disparages others who are not learned likewise, and do not follow exactly the same system ; whereas a good man, instead of exalting himself because of his learning and method, and disparaging others who are not likewise learned and do not follow the same method, considers a person worthy of honour and praise (*pūjjo, pāsāṃso*), if the latter has only adhered to good form and if he only acts up to the Norm. Thus what the Sappurisa really bears in mind (*antaram karoti*) is the conformation of people to the path (*paṭipadam yeva*), i.e., the standard.

2. *The Toleration Edict*.—Aśoka as a good man inculcates on the same lines that he cares not (*na manati*, Khālsi text) “so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be a growth of the essence of the matter (*sāravadhī*,⁷ Gīrnār text) in all sects. The growth of the essence of the matter assumes various forms, but the root of it is restraint of speech, to wit, a man must not do reverence to his own sect or disparage that of another man without reason” (*ātṭhapāsāṃdapūjā va parapāsāṃdagaraṇhū va no bhavē apakaranamhi*, Gīrnār text).

In an interesting note on the Bhabra Edict (*JRAS.*, 1915, p. 805 ff.) Dr. B. M. Barua calls attention to a number of dialogues in the *Nikāyas*, the themes of which are moral, characterised by the familiar expression *ariyassa vinaya*. He appends a list of these dialogues, although he lays great stress upon the *Siṅgālovādasutta* (*Digh.* Vol. III, P.T.S.), otherwise styled the *gihivinaya* in the *Sūmāṅgalavilāsinī*, the fifth-century commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*. But, although he seems to come much nearer the truth, the vagueness attaching to his long list is evident. In calling attention to the *ariyassa vinayas* and emphasizing the *Siṅgālovādasutta*, he seems to have taken his clue from the character of Aśoka's ethical system, which is evidently meant for the householders. The adjectival genitive *ariyassa* (of the Elect) corresponding to the adjective *sāṃsārika* (meaning *uttama* and attached to *dharmadesanā* and *pañhā* in the canonical texts), is not without its influence upon him. But, as we are persuaded to think, the clue ought to have been taken from the naming of Aśoka's selections and then verifying the result obtained, by the bearings of the selected canonical text upon Aśoka's system as a whole. I am, however, grateful to Dr. Barua for drawing my attention to a discourse in the *Anguttara*, called the *Sugatavinaya*, the theme of which is the stability of the *saddhamma* (*saddhammassa ṭhiti*); and it is interesting to note that this also was the single object that Aśoka kept in view in selecting his *dharmapaliyāyas* (*saddhamme cilathitike hāsatīti*). Whether or not the *Ariyassavinaya* or the *Sugatavinaya* may be identified with Aśoka's *Vinayasamukase* is an open question, but it cannot be denied that they have an intimate bearing on the teaching inculcated by the Great Maurya.

⁷ The *Sāropamasutta* of the *Majjhima* may be taken alongside of the *Sappurisa* to account for *sāravadhī*, implying a wider notion of toleration. The *Mahāsāropama* extends toleration expressly to all religious sects.

MISCELLANEA.

KÂTYÂYANA AND PARTHIVA.

शाक-पार्थिव of Kâtyâyana, is given under Pāṇini, 2. 1. 60 in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*. The *Kāśikā* also gives it under that rule. But I find it commented upon under rule 2. 1. 69 (वर्णो वर्णेन) in the Bombay edition of the *Mahā-Bhāṣya*. The last location is clearly wrong as Patañjali in his remarks on the *vārttika* quotes 'वर्णो वर्णेन' which proves that it could not have been under that rule. Nor has the *vārttika* any connection with the rule. We must therefore fall back on the *Kāśikā* and the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* and go to the rule 2. 1. 60. It is given in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* because it refers to a group: शाक-पार्थिवादीनाम् उपसंख्यानम्. It may be noted that to this original *vārttika* Patañjali would add "उत्तरपदलोपश्च" (वक्तव्यः) and the later writers have treated the *vārttika* as reading शाक-पार्थिवादीनामुपसंख्यानमुत्तरपदलोपश्च.

The *Gaṇapāṭha* gives three examples of this group introduced by Kâtyâyana: शाक-पार्थिव, कुतप-सौत्रुत, अजा-तौल्वलि. This proves that शाक and पार्थिव are not independent members of the group of Kâtyâyana, but they go together.

Patañjali explains these three as the *Śāka-eating* (शाकभोजी) Pārthiva, the *blanket-wearing* (कुतपवासाः) Sauśruta (a descendant of Śuśruta and the *goat-dealer* (अजापण्यः) Taulvali (one of the family of Tulvala). The authors of the *Kāśikā* reject Patañjali's explanation of the *vegetable-eating* Pārthiva and give their own: शाकप्रधानः पार्थिवः 'Pārthiva, the chief of the Śākas.' It is possible to explain Patañjali's interpretation in another way: "the *Śāka-ruling*" Pārthiva. But it seems strained.

Patañjali's interpretation of the other two expressions of Kâtyâyana, they being old Brahmanical expressions, ought to be taken as correct. A particular Sauśruta was known as the "blanket-Sauśruta" and a particular Tulvala as "the goat-(man)" Tulvala. The value of these examples consists in the fact that we have to take the other

example, our *Śāka-Pārthiva*, as a *latpurusha* compound. In view of the rule 2.1.57 विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् which governs all the succeeding rules up to 2.1.60, we have to take शाक as the qualifying member (विशेषण) and Pārthiva as the principal member (विशेष्य). Pāṇini is dealing from 2.1.57 to 2.1.60 with compounds formed of adjectives and nouns: विशेषणं विशेष्येणा (सह) बहुलं (समस्यते) (*Kāśikā*). Now Kâtyâyana adds ("उपसंख्यानम्") these three compounds. (Patañjali adds one more; दाष्टि-भौल्लव्य- 'the *Stick*, *Maudgalya*') to the class for which Pāṇini gives 3 or 4 rules. The supplementary examples belong to the विशेषण-विशेष्य class with this difference that the two members of each compound of Kâtyâyana are in apposition to each other (*samānādhikaraṇe*), as according to Patañjali and the *Kāśikā* authors, Kâtyâyana said or implied. Therefore this much is clearly deducible that although the chief word in the compound is Pārthiva, Śāka is very nearly the same. Similarly the nick-names Kutapa, Ajā and Yashṭi really are the same "persons" as Sauśruta, Taulvali and Maudgala.

It must be noticed that the word Pārthiva does not denote here 'king', for the rule is limited to Pārthiva.¹

Now who could be this man called Pārthiva and Śāka at the same time? It must be, it seems to me, the "Scythic Parthian" king.

To denote the king of the *Parthavas*, we ought have got, to be exact, Pārthava. Kâtyâyana living on the North-Western Frontier, or even at Pāṭaliputra, would have heard of the king who set up the Parthian monarchy (or one of his powerful successors) and would have adopted the nearest approach in Sanskrit, Pārthiva. Compare the *Yavana* of Sanskrit.² It seems to me Kâtyâyana was reproducing the official designation of the Parthian king *Ar-Sāces*³ (the ruling Śāka) by his *Śāka-Pārthiva*.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

¹ And cannot be extended to *rājan* or any other word.

² A Pandit friend of mine persistently calls Mr. Montagu *Mantra-gu* even to-day.

³ The later Indian *Śāk* = *āri*, very probably

THE WORDS NĪVĪ AND VINĪTA AS USED IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHS.

BY RADHA GOVINDA BASAK, M.A. ; CALCUTTA.

IN February last, *ante*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 50-56, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has published a very learned article under the heading "The *Arthasāstra* Explains",—in which he has attempted to make clear with the help of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, the meaning of some words used in some of the Indian epigraphs. Students of Indian Epigraphy will very gratefully accept the explanation he has offered for the words *vracha* and *vachabhūmika* (with some reservation with regard to the foot-note on p. 55) as used in the Aśokan Edicts and for the word *praṇaya* as used in the Junâgadh rock inscription of Rudradâman's time. But I am afraid the explanations he has proposed for the term *nīvī* as occurring in several old inscriptions and the term *vinīta* as used in Aśoka's Rock Edict VI will not meet with the approval of scholars.

Let us take up the word *nīvī* first. Mr. Jayaswal has very likely kept in view the meaning *vastra-bandhanaṁ*, as offered to this word by lexicographers, when he proposes that the word "*nīvī*" of the inscriptions is to be translated as "document" or "despatch" and "*akshaya-nīvī*" as "permanent document", and the reason he sets forth for the acceptance of such an explanation is that the meaning "despatch" is to be derived from the physical feature,—"the string," which was tied round the despatch or official returns in ancient days. In support of this view he refers his readers to some passages in the *Arthasāstra* (pp. 61, 62 and 64). I suppose that the most important meaning of the word *nīvī*, as given in Amara's and Hemachandra's lexicons, that would suit the passages in the inscriptions and in the *Arthasāstra*, has escaped the notice of Mr. Jayaswal, otherwise he would never have proposed such an unsuitable meaning for the word. In Amara Book II. 9, 80 we find that the word *nīvī* has been put as a synonym for *paripaṇa* and *mūladhana* (i.e. the capital or principal in sale and purchase and such other transactions) ["*Kraya-vikray-âdi-vyavahârê yanmūla-dhanaṁ tasya*"—Bhaṭṭojidikshita]. So has Hemachandra (II, 534) put *mūladravya* as a synonym for *nīvī*. It may be seen that wherever the word *nīvī* occurs in Indian inscriptions (e.g. in l. 1 of Ushavadâta's Nâsik Cave Inscription, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82; in l. 26 of the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, *Fleet C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 12, p. 50; and in l. 3 of the Sanchi Stone Inscription, *ibid.*, No. 62, p. 261), it is to be explained as "the fixed capital out of the interest (*vṛiddhi*) on which a particular expense is to be met." In the passage in the Nâsik Inscription, we find that Ushavadâta granted 3,000 *kârshâpaṇas* as perpetual endowment (*akshayanīvī kâhâpaṇa-sahasrâni trini*) which were invested in two parts. *viz.* in 2,000 and 1,000 in two weavers' guilds, and it has been explicitly mentioned there that these *kârshâpaṇas* are not to be repaid (*apadī-dâtavâ*), their interest only to be enjoyed (*radhi-bhōjâ*). In the passage in the Sanchi Stone Inscription also, it is found that *upâsikā* Harisvâminī made a grant of 12 *dīnâras* as *akshaya-nīvī* to the *Samgha* in the great monastery of Kâkanâdaboṭa (*akshaya-nīvī dattâ dīnârâ dvâdaśa*), and there also it is clearly pointed out that a *bhikshu* is to be fed daily out of the interest that accrues from this endowment (*êśham dīnârâṇâṁ yâ vṛiddhir = upajâ-yatê tayâ divasê divasê samgha-madhya-pravishṭaka = bhikshur-êkah bhôjayitavyah*). In the passage again in the Bihar Inscription of Skandagupta we read of the grant of a *grâma-kshêtra* (village-field) as an *akshaya-nīvī* (a permanent endowment). So I do not see how these passages in Indian Inscriptions can be explained at all by taking *nīvī* to mean a "despatch" or a "document." Moreover, the passages from the *Arthasāstra* referred to

by Mr. Jayaswal can be cited in refutation of the meaning of *nivî* as suggested by him, for, the word there means that which remains as "net balance" after consideration of all items of receipts (*āya*) and payments (*vyaya*). If we accept the meaning proposed by him, we cannot explain the term in the following passage in the same *Arthasāstra* (p. 65), where Kauṭilya prescribes the various forms of punishment for scraping off, eating up and destroying the *nivî* (*nivīm=avalikhito dviguṇah, bhakshayato=shṭaguṇah, nāsayataḥ pañcha-bandhaḥ pratidānam cha*). A document cannot certainly be "eaten up." That *nivî* cannot mean "despatch" can also be shown by a reference to another passage in the *Arthasāstra* (p. 64), where we read of the *samānayana* (bringing together or verification) of "receipt" (*āyam samānayêt*), of "expenditure" (*vyayam samānayêt*) and of "net balance" (*nivīm samānayêt*). In one of the five copper-plate grants of the Gupta period discovered at Lamôdarpur in North Bengal, I mean the Plate No. 1 (to be shortly published in the *Epigraphia Indica*) dated 124 G. E. (=443-44 A.D.) of the reign of Kumāragupta I., it is found that the Brāhmaṇa Karppaṭika applies to the local Government for permission to purchase fallow (*phila*) field (*kshêtram*) at the usual rate prevalent in the locality and prays further that the field may be granted to him according to *nivî-dharma* (*arhatha nivî-dharmêṇa dātum=iti*). With regard to such passages it may safely be stated that to make a gift of land or money according to *nivî-dharma* is to give it on condition that the endowment is to be maintained as perpetual, and that in cases of *akshaya-nivî* also, the grantee could not destroy the principal, land or money, but had to make use of the income accruing from it. There is also evidence of a reversal of this process when the former grantees perhaps transferred the gift to later grantees by *nivî-dharma-kshaya* (cf. l. 8 of the Dhānāidaha copper-plate grant of Kumāra Gupta I.'s reign, *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 459-61). If the meaning attached by Mr. Jayaswal to the word *nivî* thus fails, we cannot accept his suggestion in the same article that Prof. Hultzsch's corrected reading *nipista* for *dipista* of the Aśokan Edicts may be translated as *nivîstha* in Sanskrit, meaning "reduced into document or recorded." It is also not clear why the Aśokan Inscriptions beginning with the phrase "*dēvanam piyē Piyadasi lâja évam āha*" are to be regarded as "Proclamations" and not "Edicts" as has hitherto been done by all scholars. An "edict" is nothing but "an order proclaimed by authority"

Let us now take up the word *vinîta* as used in Aśoka's Rock Edict VI. Bühler translated the word by "carriage" and Senart by "retraite religieuse." Mr. Jayaswal refers to Chapter XX of the *Arthasāstra* on the "Duties of a King" for finding out the meaning of the word *vinîtamhi* or *vinîtasi* or *vinitaspi* (all in the locative case form) as used in the Aśokan Edict. He points out that according to the daily routine of duties prescribed for a king, it is found that during the seventh 'one-eighth division of a day,' i.e. towards afternoon, the king should inspect the elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers [*saptamê hasty=aśva-rath=ârudhiyân paśyêt*, p. 38]. But the other passage (p. 10) referred to by him, viz. *pūrvam=aharbhāgam hastya=aśva-ratha-praharaṇa-vidyâsu vinayam gachchêt* refers not to a king but to a young prince "under training." I am afraid Mr. Jayaswal has missed the plain meaning of the latter passage which clearly means—"during the first part of the day (he) should obtain (*gachchêt*) instruction or training (*vinayam*) in the arts concerning elephants (*hasti-vidyâ*), horses (*aśva-vidyâ*), chariots (*ratha-vidyâ*) and weapons (*praharaṇa-vidyâ*)." My point is that the word *vinaya* in this passage simply means *śikshâ* (training or instruction). The two passages referred to above mention of inspection of military resources and training in military arts,—this is no reason why we

should take the word *vinīta* of the Aśokan Edict as equivalent to *vinaya* as used in the second passage in the *Arthasāstra* quoted above, and should wrongly suppose that it means "military exercise," which is never the meaning of the term *vinaya*. I doubt very much if any authority can be cited to prove that *vinaya* ever means "military exercise," as supposed by Mr. Jayaswal simply on its occurrence in a passage of which the subject-matter only is "military exercise or training," viz., *hasty=aśva-ratha-praharaṇa-vidyā*. Hence, the meaning of the passage in the Aśokan Edict (Rock Edict VI) cannot mean that the communicators (*paṭivēdakas*) should communicate people's business to the king even when he may be in a *vinīta*, i.e., even when he attends to "military exercise." But it is undoubtedly very hard to conjecture aright the meaning of the term *vinīta*. Sanskrit lexicographers, however, help us in ascertaining, to some extent, the meaning of the term. Amara has "*vinītāḥ sādhuvāhināḥ*"—Book II, 8, 44, i.e., well-trained horses; so has Mēdinī "*vinītaḥ suvāhāṇvē syāt*," when used in genders other than the neuter. We have also another word *vainītaka* in Amara (= *vinītaka* of other lexicons) which means a mediate vehicle, e.g., a porter carrying a litter or a horse dragging a carriage (cf. Amara Book II, 8, 58—" *paramparā-vāhanam yat = tad = vainītakam = astriyām*). So it seems plausible that the king might have meant such a thing as a horse or a vehicle by the term *vinīta* in his edict. But yet we cannot be very certain about its meaning.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.

BY SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR, SASTRI, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

(1) Present state of our knowledge and the pioneers in this field of research.

1. *Mr. Francis Wilford, Engineer*.—"A learned and laborious, but injudicious writer" (Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, I. 9). His essays—on Egypt and the Nile from the Ancient Books of the Hindus; the Sacred Islands in the West; etc. (*Asiatic Researches*, III, IX, XIV); the Comparative Geography of India (published posthumously in 1851). His great merit was to point out the existence of Sanskrit sources of geography. His account of the Nile from Sanskrit sources enabled Lieut. J. H. Speke to discover its source. (Speke's *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, chaps. I, V, X).

2. *H. H. Wilson*.—In 1824 he contributed to the *Oriental Magazine* (Vol. II, p. 180) an article in which he described a Skr. MS. professing to be a section of the *Bhāṭṭya Purāṇa* which elucidates the local geography of Bengal. In his translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* he commented on the Purāṇic geography. His *Notes on the Indica of Ctesias* was published in 1836. (Oxford). The geographical portion of his *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841)—an account of the coins and antiquities discovered by Mr. Masson during his travels in Afghanistan—is full and valuable.

3. *Christian Lassen*.—(a) His *Pentapotamia Indica* (1827) gives an account of the Punjab from the "classical" sources and from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Kośas* and other Skr. sources. (b) In the geographical section of his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (Bonn, 1843)—the very learned and exhaustive work on the antiquities of India—he described the physical features of India and gave (especially in the footnotes) whatever information he could collect from classical and Skr. sources. Though "his system of identification is based on a wrong principle" (M'Crindle's *Ptolemy*, Preface, p. vii) and hence many of his identifications are wrong (Pargiter in *JASB.*, 1895, p. 250), these works of erudition are 'precious mines of materials' utilised by later scholars.

4. *Vivien de Saint-Martin*, the father of the geography of Ancient India.—(a) His *Étude sur la géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-ouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques* (Paris, 1860) is the sole work on Vedic geography. Its treatment is masterly in the extreme. But as he relied solely on M. Langlois's French translation of the *Rigveda*—"a version which does not seem altogether to have commended itself to later interpreters"—and as much Vedic research has been done since that time, it is necessary to revise this *Étude*.

In his (b) *Étude sur la géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, et en particulier sur l'Inde de Ptolémée* and (c) *Mémoire Analytique sur la carte de l'Asie centrale et de l'Inde* (appended to Vol. III of Julien's translation of Hwen Tsiang, 1858), he critically examined the classical and the Chinese sources. "His identifications have been made with so much care and success that a few places have escaped his research and most of these have escaped only because the imperfection or want of fulness in the maps of India rendered actual identifications quite impossible" (Cunningham's *ASR.*, II, Preface, p. 85).

5. *Sir Alexander Cunningham*, the father of Indian archæology. He came to India as a "Royal Engineer." The influence of Prinsep—"the decipherer of the early Indian Alphabets"—made him to fix his eyes on the antiquities of this country. In 1861 he applied to Lord Canning to sanction an "archæological survey" which he justly showed in letter to be the only means for the reconstruction of an account of Ancient India. He was appointed the Archæological Surveyor in January 1862; but as after a few years the post was abolished, he went home and produced *The Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I (1871). In it he gave a summary of the results of V. de St. Martin and Lassen revised and corrected in light of his own researches and discoveries due chiefly to his *vast travels* in this country—an advantage which the earlier writers did not possess. Thus he brought to a focus the then accumulated knowledge into a single *English* volume which is still the work to which every student of this subject has to refer to. But it must be borne in mind that—

(a) Cunningham (following St. Martin and Julien) gave in most cases the proposed restorations of foreign sounds as the Skr. names. Though nothing more than this could have then been possible, it is clear that such restoration of a Greek, Latin or Chinese transcript of an Indian proper name could not always be identical with the original one. Hence one ought to search for the original names from Indian sources and there is no doubt that they would eventually be found out. Thus Pāṇini furnishes *Kāpisi* (IV. 2. 99), *Sāṅkala* (IV. 2. 75.), *Varṇu* (IV. 2. 103; IV. 3. 93), *Parvata* (IV. 2. 143), etc.—the Sk. forms of Kapisene, Sangala, Fa-la-na, Po-lo-fo-ta, etc. [*IA.*, Vol. I, p. 21]. *Kāśikā* supplies *Ayomukhi* (A-ye-mu-ka'). *Rajatarangini* mentions *Udabhāṇḍapura*. (Wu-to-ka-han-tu). *Vinaya Texts* ii, 38 and *Jātaka* iv, 30 supply *Kajagala* (Cunningham's *Kajughira*). Inscription No. 14 of *EI.* VI shows that the Skr. form of Kong-yu-to is *Koṅgoda* and not *Konyodha* as given by Cunningham.

(b) In utilising the accounts of Fa Hian and Hwen Tsiang—undoubtedly his chief sources—he took 6 *li* of Hwen Tsiang as one mile and one *yojana* of Fa Hian to be 6.75 miles. But later researches have shed much light on this subject causing a scrutinization of his work.

(c) Cunningham usually says that Hwen Tsiang made mistakes when his evidence is not in accord with what he (Cunningham) wishes to prove. It is very easy to say that

Hwen Tsiang meant East when he wrote West, or that instead of a thousand he meant a hundred. But one must not do this without any strong proof.

(d) He estimated Ptolemy's geography to be of much value (*C. A. G.*, Preface, vii). But it is otherwise.

(e) Cunningham himself has, in his voluminous reports (*ASR.*) in 23 volumes (the first two only of which were written, though not published, before the publication of his *Geography*), embodying his researches occupying a period of more than a quarter of a century, abandoned many of the identifications stated in his *Geography*. And the researches of various other scholars—M'Crinde, Stein, Fleet, Smith, Watters, &c.—have shown that not only are many of his identifications doubtful but that some are positively wrong.

6. *H. Yule*.—His annotations on Marco Polo; his map of Ancient India from classical sources in Dr. W. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography* (1875); etc.

7. *Dr. M'Crinde*, the translator of Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Periplus, Ptolemy, &c.—His geographical notes give a summary of 1—6.

8. *Mr. Pargiter*.—*Geography of Râma's Exile* (*JRAS.*, 1894), *Eastern Indian Nations* (*JASB.*, 1895), Eng. translation of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Nations at the time of the Great War* (*JRAS.*, 1908).

9. *Babu Nabin Chandra Das*.—*Geography of Asia compiled from the Rāmāyaṇa* (1896). Of no importance.

10. *Nandalal Dey*.—*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*. (A dictionary and not a systematic treatise. Grounds of identifications and references are generally not given.)

11. *Prof. F. Pullé*.—Cartography of India in the *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, Vols. IV & V.

12. *Dr. M. Collins*.—*The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracharita*.

(2) Sources of the Historical Geography of Ancient India.

1.—FOREIGN.¹

(1) Classical.

Though a few references to India may be gathered from the *Phœnician* and *Persian* sources, they are not of any importance. Hence of the foreign accounts we have first to turn to that of the **Greeks**. Their *earliest notion of the earth* was that it was a flat and round disc encircled by the mighty river—Ocean. Homer and his contemporaries knew very little beyond Greece, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Egypt, Sicily and a part of Italy. But the colonizing spirit expanded their knowledge; and the first introduction of maps, at least in Greece, and the discovery of an instrument to fix the latitude by Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, helped this expansion.

Hecataeus (500 B.C.), the first Greek geographer, knew of two continents only—Europe and Asia (a part of which was Africa). His "Survey of the World" is lost.

¹ Fleet in *IA*, 1901, p. 24 ff.; *The Evolution of Geography* by J. Keane, London, 1899; *The Dawn of Modern Geography* by C. R. Beazley. London, 1897; etc.

Herodotus (484-431 B.C.), the Father of History, was a traveller. He rejected the flat theory of the earth, but gave none of his own. He knew something of the countries from Scythia to Abyssinia and from India to the Pillars of Hercules. But "his knowledge of India was meagre and most vague. He knew that it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian Empire towards the East; but of its extent and exact position he had no proper conception." (M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 1). Hence though his work can be utilised as a source of history for informing us of Skylax's Voyage, etc., it contributes little towards the geography of India.

The *Indika* of **Ktesias** (398 B.C.), the royal physician of Persia, is full of old wives' tales not to be trusted.

Alexander the Great's march through the Punjab and Sindh brought, for the first time, the direct Greek knowledge of India to the banks of the Sutlej. The great invader caused the whole of India to be described by men well acquainted with it (M'Crindle's *Invasion*, p. 6, f. n.). Some of the eminent men of science and letters who had accompanied him wrote invaluable memoirs which are now totally lost, but they furnished materials to subsequent writers—1. **Diodorus** (100 B.C.—A.D. 100. He mixed history with fiction). 2. **Plutarch**. 3. **Strabo**. (60 B.C.—A.D. 19). 4. **Curtius**. (A.D. 100, he was 'deficient in the knowledge of Geography, Chronology and Astronomy'). 5. **Arrian** (A.D. 200)—the best of Alexander's historians. 6. **Justinus** (not later than A.D. 500). As none of these abstractors had even a very slight personal knowledge of India, their works, though based on accounts written by persons who actually visited India, are not so much invaluable for geography as for history. A little vagueness due to want of personal knowledge and a few mutual contradictions diminish not a little of their usefulness as a source of the geography of the North-Western and Western districts of India. Hence it is that a "few of the places mentioned in them have been identified with any real approach to certainty" (Fleet in *IA.*, 1901, p. 24) and a greater number of identifications can only be made from Indian sources and not from them.

Megasthenes (305 B.C.). His long stay in the very heart of India might probably have given his work great authority in topographical matters also: but, unluckily for us, it exists only in fragments preserved as quotations. In the existing fragments we can only find out his idea of the shape of India, names of some mountains and an important but doubtful catalogue of the Indian races and tribes.

About 240 B. C. **Eratosthenes**, who was placed in charge of the great library established by the Ptolemies at Alexandria, brought Mathematics to his aid and laid the first foundation of a really scientific geography. Accepting the theory which is said to have originated from Thales (600 B.C.) but the credit of which ought to go to Pythagoras, he took the earth to be spherical and as lying in the centre of the universe. Though he had various errors, Sir E. Buntury has justly pointed out that his geography is not only much nearer to the truth than that adopted by Ptolemy three centuries later, but it is actually a better approximation than was arrived at by modern geographers till about (three) centuries ago. (*Hist. of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I, p. 635). He described India on the authority of Alexander's historians, Megasthenes, and the Register of *Stathmi* or *Marches*.

After the lapse of about two centuries flourished **Strabo** (60 B.C.—A.D. 19) whose object in writing a new geography was 'to correct the earlier works in light in the

increase of knowledge' due to the foundation of the mighty Roman Empire. He "did not carry us much further than Eratosthenes. Indeed in some respects he is even inferior to his predecessor." He distorted the shape of various countries. But he conceived rightly, noticed the difficulty of correctly representing a curved surface on a plane and perceived that a projection must be to some extent erroneous. As for *his account of India*, he himself has admitted that it *cannot be absolutely true*. As an apology he has pointed out the difficulty of getting correct information about India owing to its great distance and to the fact that only a few have ever visited it, that those few have visited only a part of it, and that those again were ignorant men unqualified to write an account of the places they have visited. (Strabo in M'Crimdell's *Ancient India*, pp. 17 and 9.)

Pliny, the Naturalist, (A.D. 23-79) dealt with everything under the sun in his long array of books. Having no new theory of his own and having read (as he himself has said) more than 2,000 books, he became an industrious collector from every source. But "his love of the marvellous disposed him to accept far too readily even the most absurd fiction." He is also liable to the charge of occasional carelessness in his citation. His notices of Asia are fuller and indicate an increasing trade between Europe and the East. And the discovery, made at this time by Hippalus (a navigator who made a study of the winds of the Indian Ocean), of the periodic nature of the monsoons enabling the European navigators to take a direct route to India and not a coasting course, became a valuable aid to the commercial relations with India. The hearsay tales of these rough sailors were mixed by Pliny with the accounts of Alexander's companions and of Megasthenes in his geography of India. (VI Book of his *Natural History*).

The increase of trade with India created the demand of a guide-book which was produced in the form of the "**Periplus of the Erythræan Sea**" by an anonymous writer (first century A.D.). Erythræan sea was the whole expanse of the ocean reaching from the coast of Africa to the utmost boundary of ancient knowledge of the East. It was so called from the entrance into it by the straits of the Red Sea—the "Erythra" of the Greeks. This Periplus contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a Roman province. It mentions river-mouths, ports, etc., with distances from one another, exports, imports, and such other details as a merchant would most value. The *author* of the Periplus evidently sailed in person round the coast of India. But owing to the occasional shifting of sea-side emporia, we cannot now expect to find every place on the coast mentioned by him. As to inland details, he was not correct. Thus he placed Paithan at a distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barygaza while it is 200 miles to the south-east of it. Thus we cannot trust it as a geographical source for inland knowledge, though we can take its mention of commercial products to be true.

The greatest figure of this period—**Ptolemy**, whose name marks the highest pitch of perfection in early geography. Klaudios Ptolemaios who flourished in Alexandria (circa A.D. 150) was a musician, mathematician, astronomer and geographer. His work on geography is a sequel to his great "Almagest." It is not a descriptive geography like that of Strabo, but is exclusively a mathematical or cosmical one. His object was to correct and reform the map of the world. So he explained the geometrical principles of geography and pointed out that the only scientific basis on which a map could be constructed must be made on astronomical observations. Hence in describing places he

gives their longitudes (calculated from Ferro in the Canaries) and latitudes (parallel of Rhodes). These scientific features are the causes of his wide celebrity. But *his* system has many defects :—

(1) He placed the *equator* at a considerable distance from its true geographical position and vitiated his Eastern longitudes by about seven degrees.

(2) He took *every degree* of latitude and of longitude measured at the equator as equal to 500 stadia *instead of* 600 stadia (or 60 geographical miles). And thus if he had arrived at the conclusion that two places were 5000 stadia from each other, he would place them at a distance of ten degrees apart and thus, in fact, separate them by an interval of 6000 stadia.

(3) As only a *few astronomical observations* were made in his time, he had to rely (and specially so in the case of India of which he had not even the slightest personal observation) upon *second-hand information*—reports of travellers, navigators and works of previous writers.

(4) In general shape his countries are narrowed at the north and enormously extended as they approach the south; so that the eastern parts of Asia are carried a long way beyond their true distance from Europe and Africa.

(5) As the result of the above defects, the *shape of India is utterly distorted in his map*. His results would place Paithan in the Bay of Bengal, make Ceylon an enormous island, make the Ganges flow into the sea somewhere near Canton, make the Mahânadî river run over Siam and Cambodia, carry Pâtaliputra to the east of a line from Tonquin to Pekin, etc.

Thus we see that unless we have a thorough adjustment of Ptolemy's results for India, it is with but little confidence that we can use it with only our present means of applying information given in it towards reconstructing the geography and political divisions of Ancient India.

It is needless to mention the *other classical writers* [translated by M'Crindle in his *Ancient India*], though they supply some historical information, they do little more than mentioning a *few distorted Indian geographical names* without the specification of any distance or direction. Nor was the old classical culture destined to live long after Ptolemy and the author of *Peutinger Tables* (A.D. 222).

(2) *Early Christian.*

The spread of *Christianity* ruined the old "pagan" culture. The *Hebrew theory of flat earth* surrounded by the ocean and having massive pillars at the edges on which the heaven rests like a roof banished the Greek spheroidal view. While the old classical structure was undermined, little was done to further any knowledge. The only work of this period in which we have any interest is *The Christian Topography of the Universe* [M'Crindle's translation of the complete work published by the Hakluyt Society, 1897] by the Egyptian monk **Cosmas**, nicknamed **Indicopleustes** (Indian traveller), who travelled from Egypt to India and Ceylon (A. D. 547). Reviling the impious old pagans for their spheroidal view, he depicts the world in his map—the earliest Christian map—as a flat rectangular island surrounded by the sea beyond which are other regions. He had no idea of what geography is and his work contributed little to the historical geography of India. All that we can learn from him is the name of certain western and South Indian places and their trade.

(3) *Arabic.*

As Arabic enterprise extended their commercial relations far beyond the limits of Ptolemy's world, their knowledge was wider than his and far sounder for many regions in the east and south (Eastern Asia, Africa). In geography, as in astronomy, they had worked *on the old Greek lines*, but on them they had built up their own structures by independent researches on mathematical calculations and reports of travellers. But Arabic geography never got beyond a certain point. It never threw up a truly great writer like Strabo or Ptolemy. What they did was to *preserve the Greek traditions* and to improve it, *while Europe was degrading into barbarism* owing to ecclesiastical authority. "Men like **Massoudy** (A.D. 956), **Alberuni** or **Edrisi** (11th century) had a better and more adequate conception than any Christian before A.D. 1300. The construction of maps and globes reached a considerable proficiency in their hand while the Christian ones are almost ridiculous." Besides the above writers, **Sulaiman** (A.D. 851), **Abu Zaid** (A.D. 916), **Ibn Kurdadba** (A.D. 912), **Al Itakhri** (A.D. 951) and **Alkazwini** (A.D. 1275) have written about India. But the distortion of Indian names in their works perplexes much. **Alberuni's** knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to give a transcript as faithful as the use of the Semitic alphabet allowed him. But his geographical account of India is not a new account; it is mainly a synopsis [chaps. 25, 29] of the Hindu accounts—*Bhuvana-kōśa* and *Kūrmavibhāga*. He has only added a few notes on them. His original contribution [chap. 18] is the account of 16 *itineraries* which seem to have been communicated to him by the military and civil officers of Mahmūd. Here he mentions directions and distances in *farsakh* (= $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles approx.) [**Ibn Batuta** in *Sindh*, *JRAS.*, 87, p. 401 ff. and a map in 1889; **Rashiduddin's** geographical notices of India—*Col. Yule in JRAS.*, 1869-70, p. 340 ff.].

(4) *Chinese.*

Having discovered the use of magnet as early as the third century A.D., the Chinese could make extensive sea-voyages. They are even alleged to have discovered what is now known as the North America in A.D. 500 (**Beazly's Dawn of Modern Geography**, pp. 489-90; 493). The conversion of this nation into Buddhism which was introduced into their country in A.D. 67 caused a series of pilgrims to visit India—the land of Buddha—and write invaluable accounts of it.

As the Greeks and the early Arabs visited India either in the track of some invader or as merchants, their accounts chiefly inform us of the military glories of nations or of kings little known or altogether unknown in Indian literature which is deficient in the historical sense, or of the trades of places which have long ago been deserted or buried in the silts of rivers and are no longer remembered. Hence though these sources give much information, they do not contribute much to the study of geography. Rather it requires much research to elucidate these foreign accounts.

But the case is different with the Chinese. These pilgrims, saturated with Indian ideas, visited their holy land and described the sacred monuments of places which have been immortalized in Sanskrit or Pali literature, some of which still retain their celebrity, while the ruins of some others still exist enabling us to understand their Chinese description. This fact explains the importance of the Chinese sources.

Of the various Chinese accounts, those of **Sung-Yun** and **Hwi Song** (A.D. 600; translated in **Beal's Records from the Western World**, Vol. I; and in *Bull. de l'Ecole Fr*

d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, 1903) and of **O-Kung** (A.D. 800; translated in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1895) are very short, describing a few places of North-Western India (Kabul Valley, the Punjab and Kashmir).

Itsing landed at Tâmrāipti, the then port on the Bay of Bengal, in A.D. 673 and visited Nālandā, Gridhrakūṭa, Buddhagayā, Vaiśālī, Kuśinagara, Kapilavāstu, Srāvastī, the Deerpark, Cock Mountain, and left India from Tâmrāipti. [Translated by Dr. Takakusu, C. P. S. Oxford, 1896.]

Still more important are the accounts of **Fa-Hian** (A.D. 399-414) and **Hwen Tsiang** (A.D. 629-45) or **Yüan-chwang** (as Mr. Watters prefers to spell it). Fa-Hian entered India from the North-West, travelled over the whole of the Āryāvarta and left it at the port of Tâmrāipti. His record (*Fo-Kue-Ki*) is truthful, clear and straight-forward. Though a devout Buddhist, he was a sensible and not often a hysterical pilgrim-traveller. The earlier part of his work is strictly geographical. But when he reached India, religion had the better of his geography. Still his geographical notices are valuable for their precision, as he generally fixed the position of every place that he visited by its bearing and distance from that which he left.

Yüan Chwang also entered India from the North-West, travelled though the whole of it and left it by the same route. His records—*Si-Yu-Ki*—are fuller than even that of Fa-Hian and it is almost impossible to exaggerate their importance.

In utilising materials from these sources a student should note that:—

I. In giving the direction of a place from another Fa-Hian mentions only the four principal cardinal points. [Hence his E. may mean NE. or SE.; and so with the other points.] Yüan Chwang also generally does the same; and very seldom does he give the direction as due NE., etc. But still there are other points of the compass beyond these eight.

II. (a) In stating the distance of a place from another, Fa-Hian states it in the *yojana* and Yüan Chwang in the *yojana* and the *li* measure. Dividing the known-distance-in-miles by the number of *yojanas* which the distance covers according to these pilgrims, Cunningham asserted that a *yojana* of Yüan Chwang is 6.75 miles while that of Fa-Hian is 6.71 miles.

Mr. V. Smith takes a *yojana* of Yüan Chwang to be 6.5 miles and one of Fa-Hian to be 7.25 miles.

M. Julien and probably Dr. Stein take 8 miles as equal to one *yojana* of Yüan Chwang, while in the opinion of Mr. Giles a *yojana* of Fa-Hian varies from 5 to 9 miles.

Now Yüan Chwang has himself stated (Watters, Vol. I, p. 141-2) that a *yojana* is a day's march for a Royal army; that there are three kinds of *yojanas* of 16 *li* (found in Sacred Writings), of 30 *li* (common reckoning in India and of 40 *li* (old Chinese account). He has also stated that a *yojana* consisted of eight *krośas* (a *krośa* being originally the distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard). He has also given figures to change a *krośa* into "bows", "cubits", "figures" and "barley-corns." Making calculations from these materials Fleet tried to prove that there were three kinds of *yojanas*:—
I. **Magadha yojana** (used by the Buddhists) of 16000 *hastas* or 4.54 miles; II. **General yojana** of 32000 *hastas* or 9.09 miles; III. A **third yojana** (which was according to Yüan Chwang $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the general *yojana*) of 12.12 miles. This third *yojana* was, according to Fleet, the original *yojana* (from *yuj*, to yoke)—the yoking distance—the distance along which a

pair of bullocks could draw a fully laden cart. This *yojana* was taken by the Chinese pilgrims as equal to 100 "li"s. [*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 1011.]

In making the above calculations Fleet took a *hasta* = $\frac{1}{2}$ yard. But Major Vost has shewn from Medieval and Ancient Chinese and other sources that the *hasta* was formerly taken to be a little larger than is done now. [*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 65.] Hence taking his calculations the three *yojanas* will be—I. 5.288 miles or 5.3 miles very nearly; II. 10.6 miles very nearly; III. 14.2 miles very nearly.

Thus 100 "li"s or a *yojana* denoted the distance occupied in making a *day's journey*. The said day's journey averaged very closely about fourteen miles. But being actually determined in each case by such considerations as the nature of the country traversed and the distance between the villages, *sarais* and other convenient halting places, it might easily be anything from twelve to sixteen miles and in exceptional cases might have even a wider range in either direction.

II. (b) Again, as Fa-Hian gives distances in *yojanas* only and not in fractions of it, his one *yojana* may be any distance more than $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana* and less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas*. Yüan Chwang also uses round numbers, such as 500 "li"s, 600 "li"s, etc. Hence we may allow a certain margin and take his 500 "li"s as any distance above 450 and below 550 "li"s. Thus the distances of both the Chinese pilgrims can be taken only as approximations.

II. (c) Yüan Chwang's dimensions of various countries are generally taken to be exaggerations. It became a common practice of Cunningham to take his thousands as hundreds. But as Yüan Chwang has not stated these details in the decimal system of notation, he is not justified to do so. Nor can we condemn his details of this kind in general terms without considering how they can be applied. For as he usually stated these details in thousands of "li"s any one of them may be 50 miles too great or too little. Again re-entering angles may increase a perimeter very considerably, while reducing the area inside it. Conventional ideas as to the size of a country may also have caused some errors in his details. [*JRAS.*, 1907, p. 641 ff.].

III. As the names of a country and its capital are sometimes identical [and even when not identical Yüan Chwang has not mentioned them both] and as Yüan Chwang has not always precisely stated whether by a certain place-name he means a capital or a country, the distances and directions given by him cannot precisely be traced on the map, though the best way would be to take them as from each capital to the next one.

IV. The peculiarity of Chinese phonetics caused Yüan Chwang to insert vowels between Skr. conjuncts and to use "k" for Skr. *k, kh, g, gh*; *ch* for Skr. *ch, chh, j, jh*; *t* for *th, d, dh, ks, śr*; *t* for *d, t, th, d, dh*; *p* for *p, ph, b, bh*; *l* for *r, l*; *f* for *b* and *v*. Hence the difficulty in finding out the true Skr. form.

V. Again cases of discrepancy between the "Records" and the "Life" and some apparent mutual contradictions and a few various readings show that the writings of Yüan Chwang have not been correctly transmitted to us.

We thus see that even the very best of the foreign sources are not fully satisfactory and though the results arrived at from them are of great value, they cannot be taken as anything more than mere approximations.

The Chinese source also includes various notes on India—in the Chinese histories and specially in the Chinese translations of Indian works—translated by M. Sylvain Lévi and other scholars.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

'SATIYAPUTA' IN THE ROCK-EDICT II
OF ASOKA.

Scholars have been much exercised as to the identification of the Satiyaputa (Satyaputra) kingdom. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹ would place it near Poona on the strength of the existence of *Satpute* families in that district. Bühler² identifies the Satyaputras with the Satvats. Mr. V. A. Smith³ would look for them in the Tuḷuva country or in Satyamangalam in the Western Ghāṭs.

The various versions of the Edict may now be examined :—

(1) Choḍā Pāḍā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tambapamni Amtiyako Yona rājā.—(*Girnar*).

(2) [Cho]ḍa Pamḍiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra-Tambapamni Amtiyoko nama Yona raja.—(*Shāh-bāzgarhī*).

(3) [Choda] Pa(m)ḍiya Satiya [putr.] Kerala-putr[e] . . . bapani . . . tiyoke nama Yona.—(*Manashra*).

(4) Choḍā Pam[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo Tambapamni [Am]tiyoke nāma Yonālājā.—(*Khalsi*).⁴

It is clear from the above that the correct form of the name is Satyaputra and that the kingdom or people who went by that name must have had its seat somewhere in South India. Asoka says that among the nations and princes mentioned above, who were his neighbours, he founded two kinds of hospitals—hospitals for men as well as for animals. No evidence has been adduced for the view that Satyaputra may be the Tuḷuva country. It is therefore satisfactory to note that Mr. Smith has abandoned this view. To his new identification of the place with Satyamangalam the objection is that there is no evidence of that place having been the seat of a kingdom or people in Asoka's time or far later. Nor is there any evidence to connect Asoka with the Satvats.

We may compare the data of the Asoka edict with those found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* which is admitted on all hands to belong to the middle of the second century B.C.—i.e., less than a century after Asoka. Patañjali⁵ mentions Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Chera kingdoms along with Kāñchīpuram. Satyaputra is conspicuous by omission, as Kāñchīpuram is in the Asoka edict. One may be inclined to ask whether the one name could be identified with the other.

On the Buddhist side there are traditions of Kāñchīpuram having been a flourishing city in Asoka's time. Yüan Chwang⁶ mentions these traditions as current in his day. He says that Asoka built *stūpas* there, one of them being 100 feet in height, and that the city was the birth-place of Bodhisatva Dharmapāla. Even to-day we find unmistakeable evidence of ancient Baudhha vestiges in Kāñchīpuram.⁷

There is very strong evidence that the country round Kāñchīpuram was known as Satyavrata Kshetram. In the Melupāka grant⁸ of Mahādeva Sarasvatī we read *Satyavrata nāmānkita Kāñchī Divya Kshetra* (line 6). The same term is used in the *Guruparamparā* of the Śaṅkarāchārya Maṭha as well as in that of Pimpalagiya Pillai, three generations from the great Rāmānujāchārya. The statement of Yüan Chwang that the country round Kāñchī was the Drāviḍa country, as distinct from the Chola, may be taken along with the tradition embodied in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that Satyavrata was the lord of Drāviḍa.

It may thus be established that the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Keralaputra and Satyaputra kingdoms of the Asoka Rock Edict II correspond respectively to the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala, and Kāñchī of Patañjali. Satyaputra was the name of the country or people having Kāñchīpuram for its capital.

S. V. VENKATESWARA.

¹ *Indian Review*, 1909.

² *Ep. Ind.*, II, 466.

³ *Early History*, 1914, p. 163, 185 n., 459.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, II, 449, 450.

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, IV, 2. 2

⁶ *Beal, Buddhist Records*, II, 229, 230.

⁷ *Ante*, 1915.

⁸ Cited by me in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, 122, see fn. 5. The grant is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.* by my brother Mr. S. V. Viswanatha.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO PATNA STATUES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

BY RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, B.A.; SIMLA.

VISITORS to the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum are familiar with the two big Patna Statues presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal so long ago as 1820. These statues have been described by Cunningham in his *Report*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-3. Both these statues are in the round and "are made of grey sandstone which has been highly polished like all edict-bearing pillars and statues of the time of Asoka." About the position and date of the inscriptions Cunningham writes, "A broad scarf crosses the left shoulder to the right hip, hanging down in a loop in front of the breasts, and in a long train behind. The folds of the scarf are marked by deep parallel lines, between which, at the back of each figure, there is a short inscription. At first I thought that the statues might be of the age of Asoka; but the forms of the letters show that they must be of a later date, somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era." Some of the letters of these inscriptions "are doubtful owing to the deeply cut parallel folds of the scarves on which they are engraved." Cunningham thus reads the records:—

A. *Yakhe Sanatananda.*B. *Yakhe Achusanigika.*

Recently these short epigraphs have been made the subject of special study by Mr. Jayaswal, who, on the strength of these records, proposes to recognise in these statues the portraits of two Śaśunāka kings, Udayin and Nandi Vardhana, in an article entitled *Statues of two Śaśunāka Emperors (483-409 B.C.)* in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 98-106. Mr. Jayaswal starts with the assumption that the inscriptions are contemporaneous with the statues. He writes:—

"After a long scrutiny I came to the conclusion that the letters had been carved before the parallel lines to denote the folds on the scarf were chiselled. I consulted Mr. Arun Sen, Lecturer in Indian Art to the University of Calcutta, on the point, and he confirmed my view. The fold-lines have continued in spite of the letters. Over the letters they have been delicately handled; while the symmetry of the lines have been kept on, the forms of the letters have not been interfered with, the original strokes of the letters being scrupulously avoided and kept separate." (pp. 90-91.)

The last statement is not correct as the plate will show even in accordance with Mr. Jayaswal's own reading of the records. In A (his *b*) the base line of the triangular lower parts of *kha* and *va* has not been kept separate and in B (his *a*) the base line of *n* of *ni* and the letter that he recognises as Śaśunāka *dh* has been interfered with. The more reasonable view seems to be that the scarves with the folds marked by lines were modelled first and the letters were engraved by a different hand sometime after the statues had been finished. The method followed by Mr. Jayaswal in deciphering the short inscriptions is thus explained by him:—

"The letters, however, which Cunningham had declared to be later than Asoka, presented to me a wonderful problem. They did not fully tally with characters of any period yet known to Indian Epigraphy. While one letter, *n*, at first appeared to belong to a later age, all others disclosed forms more archaic than the oldest known Brāhmī characters. The archaism was so marked that four letters, afterwards identified as *bh*, *dh*, *ś* and *s* appeared to be new forms. To them value could be assigned only on presuming them to be ancestors of such Asokan letters to which the latter can be carried back on principles of epigraphic evolution." (p. 90.)


Characters that do not tally with characters of any period yet known, that is to say, are unknown, cannot be necessarily considered archaic. An unknown thing cannot be recognised as archaic until its affinity to something that is known to be archaic is established. The principles of epigraphic evolution cannot be very different from the principles of organic evolution. In the organic world if points of similarity are noticed in the structures of two species of animals, the species with the less developed structure is either recognised as the ancestor of the species with more developed structure, or both the species are traced to a hypothetical common ancestor. So two known quantities are necessary for postulating an unknown third, either as an intermediate form or a common source. The process of evolution of an isolated species whether in the organic or in the epigraphic world cannot be traced backward with the assistance of imagination only.


The theory regarding the origin of Brâhmî *lipi* that now holds the field is that of Bühler according to which it is derived from the oldest form of North Semitic alphabet which was introduced into India by traders about 800 B.C. But this theory is not universally accepted. Cunningham never subscribed to it. Another eminent authority, Fleet, suggests that either the oldest Semitic alphabet and the Brâhmî *lipi* "were derived from a joint original source," or Hindus "were the independent inventors of that which was emphatically their national alphabet."¹ The relationship between certain Brâhmî letters and old Semitic letters is undeniable, and I prefer the first alternative proposed by Fleet to the second. But even if we accept the latter view and altogether ignore Semitic forms in our investigation of the origins of the Mauryan Brâhmî alphabet it is impossible to recognise the letters of the Patna image inscriptions as fifth century (B.C.) predecessors of the third century B.C. forms without independent evidence. Not only has Mr. Jayaswal failed to offer any independent evidence to prove his case, but his statement that the characters used in these two short records do not "fully tally with characters of any period known to Indian epigraphy" appears to be absolutely wrong. I hope to show that the characters of the epigraphs under discussion nearly fully tally with the Brâhmî characters of the Kushan period.

A

Cunningham—*Yakhe Sanatananda*.

Jayaswal—*Sapa (Shapa ?)-Khate (Khetē ?) Vaṭa (Veṭa ?) Nāṇḍi*. (p. 95).

(1) Mr. Jayaswal's *Sapa* or *shapa* is a clear *Ya* of the Kushan period with equal verticals, and an angular right limb and a semi-circular left limb (). Cunningham reads the letter correctly and any one can easily recognise it from the good facsimile published with Mr. Jayaswal's article.

(2) Mr. Jayaswal's method is best illustrated by his remarks on the second (his third) letter. He agrees with Cunningham in reading it as *kh*. Like *kh* in the inscriptions of the time of the Kushan kings and in the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman it consists of a triangle with a hook turned to the left (). Quite oblivious of this Mr. Jayaswal writes, "The third letter, *kh*, again, has an older feature. The body is formed of four lines, which becomes round or tends to disappear in Aśoka's time." (p. 94.) I do not see the medial *e* with *Kh* and so I read the two first letters as *Yakha* (*Yaksha*).

(3) The third letter which Cunningham reads as *sa* and Mr. Jayaswal as *ta* is a doubtful one. Its left leg is a little curved like the left leg of a *sa*, but its right leg looks more like the right leg of *va*. With Cunningham provisionally I propose to read this letter as *sa*.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. XIV, p. 626.

(4) Cunningham's reading of this letter as *va* does not seem to be correct. It looks like a *va* of the type met with in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas and the Kushans with triangular lower part. The two side strokes are not curvish, as stated by Mr. Jayaswal (p. 94), but straight. The longish vertical above is probably superscript *r*.

(5) No wide difference of opinion is possible with regard to the reading of the last three letters. The *na* with curved base-line is Kushan in type; but *d* of *di* is archaic. So the inscription may be read:—





Yakha Sa (?) rvaṭanamidi.

The figure has the remnant of a *chauri* (fly-whisk) on its shoulder. Though the reading of the name is doubtful, there can be no doubt that when this short epigraph was engraved the figure was recognised as the image of an attendant Yaksha.


B

Cunningham—*Yakhe Achusanigika.*

Jayaswal—*Bhage Acho chhonî'dhîse.*

(1-2) Cunningham appears to be wrong in reading the first two letters as *Yakhe*. These two letters were evidently engraved after scraping off the lines that marked the folds in this part of the scarf and the first two letters were engraved on the clear space. The scraping was then discontinued and the other letters engraved over the lines. Mr. Jayaswal takes the first sign as *bha* (). We come across three types of *bha* in the Mauryan and later inscriptions—   . Mr. Jayaswal writes about the first sign of our inscription "The upward projection of the top line as it appears in Aśokan *bh* is not present here. That is a later evolution." (p. 91.) In support of this view Mr. Jayaswal lays down the doctrine of the derivation of the Aśokan letter "that tends to be done in two strokes" from letter "written in three strokes." I place below the sign in question, No. 1, side by side with Aśokan and post-Maurya *bhas*, Nos. 2-4.

1.  2.  3.  4. 

A comparison of No. 1 with Nos. 2-3 makes it self-evident that more strokes are necessary for writing the latter signs than the former. I would like to take No. 1 as an incomplete *bha*. The next letter is a round *ga*. Angular *ga* () is met with in the inscriptions of the third and the second centuries B.C., and round *ga* in later epigraphs.² The letters that follow *bha* (?) *ga* that are larger in size and engraved over the lines of the scarf appear to be the work of another hand and may not be connected with these two letters. What the engraver intended to incise was probably *bhagarā*, "the blessed one."

(3) The *a* with space between the arms is not an old form as Mr. Jayaswal asserts but a late form.²

(4) It may be *chu* or *cha*.

(5) This letter is a *chha* of the butterfly type met with in Brāhmī inscriptions from the first century B.C. onward.²

(6) Mr. Jayaswal is right in taking it as *ni*.

(7) Cunningham is wrong in taking this sign as *g*, for an angular *ga* is out of place in such a late record. But it is not "a new form" as Mr. Jayaswal asserts (p. 92), but a triangular *v* of the Kushan period.

² *Memoirs ASI.*, No. 1.

(8) As Mr. Jayaswal himself admits, this letter looks like a *ka* of the Gupta period. Such *ka* with curved arms is also met with in the Kushan records. Mr. Jayaswal thus states his objections to recognising this sign as *ka*: "The absence of seraph (? *serif*) and the lower flourish together with the number of strokes would dislodge that proposal." (p. 93.) The absence of *serif* is due to the fact that the top of the letter merges in the line of the scarf. All these letters are very carelessly engraved in a place where there is no room for giving them finishing touches. So the letters following: *bhā(?)ga* may be read as—

Achachhanivika.

Achachha may be taken as *uchchha* = *aksha(ya)*. *Nivi* or *nivi* also means 'capital', 'principal', 'stock'. So *aksha(ya)nivika* probably means 'the owner of inexhaustible capital', evidently denoting *Vaiśravaṇa*, the King of Yakshas.

The inscriptions on these two Patna statues therefore show that about the second century A.D. they were recognised as the images of two Yakshas, *Sa(?)rvaṭanāṇḍi* and *Vaiśravaṇa*. The humbler rank of Yaksha *Sa(?)rvaṭanāṇḍi* is indicated by the remnant of the *chauri* and the superior rank of *Akshayanivika* by the more elaborate armlet.

Epigraphy is not the only ground on which Mr. Jayaswal assigns these statues to the fifth century B.C. Plastic considerations have also been requisitioned for the purpose. The main argument under this head is an *argumentum ad hominem*, the opinion of Mr. Arun Sen, who declared the statues "on art considerations to be pre-Mauriyan" even before the data of inscriptions were disclosed to him. (p. 95.) What these art considerations are we hope to hear some day from Mr. Sen himself. Mr. Jayaswal has, however, noted one of these:—

"The general vigour and realism of the statues make one assign a pre-Mauriyan period to the monuments. The decadence which marks the imperial art of *Aśoka* does not even begin in the statues. Mr. Sen had not to think long in declaring them emphatically "Pre-Mauriyan! Without doubt." Yet the statues prove a previous history of the art of the Indian sculptor." (p. 105.)

Every object indicates a previous history. Even a chipped stone proves a long, long, previous history for the race of the fashioner of that rude implement. The only known specimens of the "imperial art of *Aśoka*" are the capital of the edict-bearing monolithic columns. What are the signs of decadence according to Mr. Jayaswal that mark these magnificent sculptures as compared to our Patna statues? Is it a lack of "general vigour and realism?" As regards realism I doubt very much whether any one who has seen the capitals of the *Aśoka* columns in the vestibule, and the two statues in the neighbouring gallery, of the Indian Museum, can agree with Mr. Jayaswal. "Vigour" is something more subtle. But it is well-known that others who have also made special study of Indian art admire the vigour of the animals of the *Aśoka* capitals. To this writer the Patna statues seem quite lifeless as compared to the lions, and particularly the reliefs, on the abacus of the Sarnath Capital of the *Aśoka* column. If the decadence of vigour and realism is to be recognised as criterion of age, the Patna statues should be assigned to post-Mauriyan rather than to pre-Mauriyan period.

Therefore, both on epigraphic and plastic considerations, it appears very difficult to subscribe to the following statement in the *Annual Report* of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1918:— "These monuments are now proved to be amongst the oldest royal statues in Asia and Europe and stand amongst the greatest historical treasures of the World." It will be a pity to remove these two Yakshas, though hailing from Patna, from the company of their kith and kin on the Bharhut rail.

ALLEGED SĀISUNĀGA STATUES.

BY R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.; CALCUTTA.

IN the Bharhut gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, are preserved two remarkable statues, which, as the label on the pedestal informs us, were originally found at Patna. Although Buchanan discovered them there as early as 1812, they excited little curiosity or interest, till, by some chance a few months ago, they attracted the attention of the assiduous scholar Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. About the end of January last, Mr. Jayaswal showed me the short inscriptions which are incised on the fold of the scarf just below the shoulders on the back of the statues and explained their bearing upon the identity of these. He has since elaborated his ideas in a paper contributed to the *JBORS.*, March 1919, wherein, on the basis of his reading of the inscriptions, he maintains that the statues represent two Saisunāga Emperors, viz., Udayin and Nandivardhana.

The very great importance of this conclusion is sufficient excuse for a further treatment of the subject. When Mr. Jayaswal first communicated his views to me, I expressed my doubts about their validity on palæographic considerations; for I was of opinion that the letters of the inscriptions could not be earlier than the Kushan period. As we could not agree on this point, I waited for his forthcoming article which was to contain an elaborate exposition of his views. As soon as this was published I applied to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, the officer in charge of the Archæological section of the Indian Museum, for good impressions of the two inscriptions. With his usual courtesy he not only supplied them to me but also afforded me facilities for reading the inscriptions in the original along with him.

Thus equipped I began to study the subject afresh, and elaborated my conclusions in the form of an article ready for the press. Before, however, it was actually sent for publication, I came to learn that Babu Ramaprasad Chanda was also engaged in studying the inscriptions. We compared notes, and found to our agreeable surprise that we had both come to the same conclusion regarding the probable age of the characters. In view of the startling theories advanced by Mr. Jayaswal, the correct determination of the period to which the inscriptions belong, came to be the most vital problem in connection with the statues on which they occur. The perfect agreement on this point between Mr. Chanda and myself seems to me to be a substantial step in our gradual advance towards the final solution of the problem. The very fact that we had both worked out independently to the same conclusion, which was upheld by Cunningham long ago, goes a great way in demolishing the heavy structure so laboriously built up by Mr. Jayaswal. This, in itself, is no small gain, for it will considerably narrow the issues and make the proper understanding of the record a much easier task than before.

I now proceed to set forth my grounds for maintaining, in common with Mr. Chanda, that Mr. Jayaswal's estimate of the age of the letters is highly untenable.

"The letters," says Mr. Jayaswal, "presented to me a wonderful problem. They did not fully tally with characters of any period yet known to Indian Epigraphy. The archaism was so marked that four letters, afterwards identified as *bh*, *dh*, *ś* and *s*, appeared to me to be new forms. To them value could be assigned only on presuming them to be ancestors of such Aśokan letters to which the latter can be carried back on principles of epigraphic evolution" (p. 90).

It thus appears that the central pivot of Mr. Jayaswal's theory is the assumption that the letters did not fully tally with characters of any known period. This seems to be the

capital mistake which has vitiated all his conclusions. For anyone who looks at the inscription on the statue without the head cannot fail to recognise the familiar squat Kushan letters *y kh* and *n*. To remove all doubts, the first, second and sixth letters may be compared with the figures represented in Bühler's palæographic chart *Tafel III*, iv 31, III-8, III-25. Mr. Jayaswal seems to have failed to notice this, and, instead of trying to read the letters by the similarity they possess with the characters of the Kushan period, he has been guided by the preconceived principle, laid down by himself, that they represent earlier forms from which the Aśokan characters have been derived. The result is, that he has been faced with archaism where there is really none, and assigned value to "new forms" in consideration of their being imaginary prototypes of certain Aśokan characters, whereas they are really well known forms of characters of a later period. Let me take a characteristic example, viz., the first letter in the inscription No. 1. Mr. Jayaswal remarks:—"The first letter is taken to be *bh*. The upward projection of the top line as it appears in Aśokan *bh* is not present here. That is a later evolution." (p. 91.) Thus he imagines it to be a prototype of Aśokan *bh* although no such form has ever been known. The defect of such argument is obvious. For one might similarly suggest that the letter is a prototype of Aśokan *b*, the base line being a later evolution. As a matter of fact there is no need to indulge in these speculations, for the letter may very well be taken as an angular *g* of a later period.

No useful purpose will be served by criticising in this manner the value of each letter ascertained by Mr. Jayaswal on his proto-Mauryan theory. It rests on the assumption that "the characters of the inscription do not fully tally with those of any period yet known to Indian Epigraphy" and must stand or fall along with it. I shall, therefore, next attempt to show that the characters really belong to the second or third century of the Christian era, and if I succeed in doing this, no further argument will be needed to prove that Mr. Jayaswal's position is an untenable one.

The statues which contain the inscriptions were, as already observed, found at Patna, and it may be fairly presumed that they originally belonged to that place or its immediate neighbourhood.¹ The locality of the inscriptions, thus ascertained, is an important factor, for while, generally speaking, the Kushan inscriptions represent the alphabet of Northern India in the second or third century of the Christian era, we must not lose sight of the fact that, more correctly speaking, they merely represent its western variety. The existence of an eastern variety is conclusively proved by the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta; for if one compare its letters with those of a later date but belonging to the western parts, e.g., the Indore copperplate of Skandagupta, the latter will be seen to possess greater affinity with the Kushan letters. Take, for instance, the letters *g* and *l*. The *g* of the Indore plate is a curve like that of the Kushan inscriptions, but in Allahabad inscription we already meet with the complete angular form. The *l* of the Indore plate also closely resembles the Kushan character, but that in the Allahabad inscription is quite different, inasmuch as the base line is entirely omitted and the left hook is attached directly to the right vertical line. These peculiarities must therefore be ascribed to an eastern variety and if we meet with them in our inscriptions it will be readily explained by their locality. It would further follow, that the letters in a Patna inscription of the second or third century A.D., while retaining general resemblance with Kushan characters, may also exhibit those peculiarities or tendencies which we meet with in the Allahabad inscription.

¹ For a full account of the discovery see Mr. Jayaswal's paper.


With these short prefatory remarks I proceed to the detailed examination of each inscription.

I.—Inscription on the statue with the head on.²

Cunningham :— *Yakhe Achu Sati (or ni) gika.*³

Jayaswal :— *Bhage Acho chhonidhise.*

Chanda :— *Bha (?) ga Achachha nivi.*

Cunningham's reading of the first two letters has been dismissed as improbable by both Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Chanda, and it may be at once conceded that the two letters, as they appear to us at present, can scarcely be read as *ya khe*. There are, however, one or two small points which may be considered in this connection. In the first place, the two letters are considerably smaller than the others, and secondly, the space which they occupy is peculiar in this respect, that it does not contain the deeply cut parallel folds which appear on its right as well as on its left. It is thus certain that the space has been rubbed over and polished, and if this has taken place after Cunningham's time it is just possible that the two letters are really fragments of what was visible to him. Now it is indeed curious that if we cut off the lower portion of the letters *ya khe* there will remain something very nearly approaching to what we have at present . The eye copy of the inscriptions which accompanies Cunningham's reading shows the full form of *y* and *kh* and it is difficult to suppose that anyone could have drawn such a sketch unless he had before him something very different from what meets the eye at present. In these circumstances I cannot dismiss Cunningham's reading offhand, but commend it to the attention of the scholars.

As it is, the first letter seems to be an angular form of *g* though the top stroke still retains the curvilinear form. It may be compared with the first variety of *g* in Allahabad inscription. (Bühler's Chart. Plate IV, I-9).

The second letter may be read as *te*. The top stroke of *t* is faint but just where it begins the reverse shows something like a dot, which denotes the starting point of the letter, as is the case with all other letters in the inscription.

The third letter at first sight looks like *a*, and I was also inclined to read it as such. It appeared, however, on a closer examination, that whereas in known letters of this type, the two hooks on the left, although separate, are close to each other, branching off from some points in the middle of the vertical stroke, in the present case they are widely apart, being joined almost to the two extremities of the vertical strokes.⁵ Secondly, in known cases, the lower hook slants downwards but the hook in our letter has an upward direction. So I now read it as *le*. Omitting the upper hook, the letter approximates most closely to the *i* of the Allahabad inscription. Similar occurs in other Gupta inscriptions in Eastern India although later inscriptions from the western parts of the country retain the Kushana form (cf. Bühler's *Tables*). It would appear, therefore, as already observed, that this was a peculiarity of the eastern parts. The upper hook denotes the conjunct *e* or *i*. Numerous instances of the use of this form along with the regular *e* stroke occur in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khâravêla (cf. for example *che* in *Cheta râia* (l. 1), *le* in *lekharupa* (l. 2), and *se* in *râjavase* (l. 3), in the plate facing p. 472 of *JBORS*, December 1917). But similar stroke denotes *i* in Knda Cave inscription (Bühler's *Taffel* III, XV-33).

² Cf. the excellent facsimile published with Mr. Jayaswal's paper. He has very prudently given us also the reproduction of the reverse side, inasmuch as it is sometimes of invaluable help in tracing the correct outline of the letters.

³ *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XV, p. 3. For some emendations of Cunningham's readings cf. Lüder's *List of Brâhmi Inscriptions* Nos. 957-958.

⁴ What appears as the horizontal stroke in the first letter may be taken as part of the fold.

⁵ Mr. Jayaswal noticed this feature although he drew a quite different conclusion. (p. 92).

The fourth letter is *ch*. Mr. Jayaswal rightly observes that this is composed of three strokes whereas the Aśokan *ch* is made up of only two strokes. He fails to notice, however, that this is the characteristic of later *ch*, and is led to remark:—"The only exception to this in Aśoka *chs* is the third specimen at Girnār which is the nearest approach to our *ch*, in the whole range of Indian Epigraphy." (p. 92). The fact is, however, that our letter has a far more striking resemblance to the third specimen of Kushana *ch* represented in Bühler's *Taffel*.

The next letter is *chha*. Here again, Mr. Jayaswal has rightly remarked that our letter consists of three strokes while the Aśokan tends to a two-stroke composition, but he ignores the legitimate conclusion therefrom, viz., that it belongs to a later period. The letters *ch* and *chh* seem to be joined together by a stroke.

The sixth letter is unfortunately blurred and offers considerable difficulty. The chisel marks may be more or less made out by holding the reverse of the estampage before a looking glass. The distinct portion consists of an indented vertical line ending in a loop on the left. A closer examination, however, reveals the fact that the upper portion of the indented line also has a similar loop on the left whereas a similar though a smaller loop appears at the right end of the vertical line. The letter thus seems to consist of three big dots and may be read as *i*, while, along with the conjunct *i* sign at the top, the whole thing may be taken to represent *ī*. It may, however, be justly doubted whether the faint loops on the upper left and the lower right ends really form part of the letter. If they do not, the letter may be read as *vi* as it greatly resembles the *vi* in Allahabad inscription represented in Bühler's *Taffel* (IV, II-35.)

The last two letters seem to me to be really numerical symbols. The first of them consists of an upper and a lower portion. The upper portion, which is entirely above the top line of the letters in the inscription, consists of two equal vertical lines joined by a base of about equal length. The lower portion consists of the downward projection of the right vertical line and a slanting line issuing from it on the left just a little below where it is joined by the base line. The whole thing thus looks like a big *pta* and this is the wellknown symbol for 40.

The last symbol has also two distinct parts. The lower one is a figure like *ka*, and the upper one consists of a vertical line joined by a slightly slanting base line with the vertical line of *ka*. This was the well known form for 4 during both the Kushana and Gupta periods and we may interpret the symbol in our record as such. (Of course if the last two signs are to be read as letters, Mr. Chanda is right in reading them as *vi/ke*.)

The complete inscription may, therefore, be read as:—

Gate (yakhe?) Lechchhaī (vi) 40, 4.

It may be translated as

"the year 44 of the Lechchaīs or Lechchhavis having expired."

The Lechchhavi is the same as the wellknown Lichchhavi. The form Lechchhaī also occurs in the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*.⁶ The Lichchhavi era is also well known and its initial date according to the calculation of M. Sylvain Lévi, falls in the year A.D. 110-11. The inscription may therefore be taken to denote that the statue on which it was incised was made in the year 44 of the Lichchhavi era which is equivalent to A.D. 154-155.

⁶ *Kalpasūtra* edited by Jacobi, p. 65.

II.—Inscription on the statue without the head.

Cunningham :— *Yakhe Sanatananda (bharata ?)*.

Jayaswal :—*Sapakhate Vaṭa Nandi*.

Chanda :—*Yakha Sa(?)vaṭa nandi*.

The first letter is a characteristic Kushan *y*, as remarked by Mr. Chanda, and no comment would have been necessary but for the fact, that in his article Mr. Jayaswal has referred to me in a manner which might imply that I read it as *s*. The fact is that I read it as *y* the very first time it was shown to me by Mr. Jayaswal, but he contended that the two parts of what I read as *y* were really two separate letters, and I suggested that in that case the left portion may be taken along with a fine line I discovered above it and read as *s*. I have since examined the inscription with great care and am convinced that the fine line is not a chiselled one but has been produced by a crack in the stone, and that the first letter must be read as *y*.

The second letter may be read as *khe* although the *e* stroke is not quite distinct. The third letter has no doubt the appearance of *t*, but the reverse of the estampage shows that the right hand stroke ends in an upward hook. So I am inclined to take it as *s* along with Messrs. Cunningham and Chanda. There is a deeply impressed dot on the top of the line, such as occurs on the sixth letter. I take it to represent an *anusvāra*. The letter may therefore be read as *sa*.

The fourth letter is undoubtedly *v*. The fifth letter I read as *ji*. Mr. Jayaswal reads it as *ṣ* but the central bar is quite clear. Mr. Jayaswal apparently takes it as part of the fold line but Professor Bhandarkar, who examined it along with me, agrees in my view that it is more deeply impressed than the rest of the line and must therefore be taken as part of the letter. It may be noted that the eye-copy of Cunningham distinctly preserves the central bar and Mr. Chanda also admits the possibility of reading it as *j*. The *i* sign is marked by a slanting line at the top which is clearly visible on the reverse.

The sixth letter is *nāṃ*. The lower base is a clear curve, a characteristic of the Kushan *n* (cf. Bühler's *Tafel* II, III-25). The *anusvāra* sign, a deeply impressed dot, occurs on the *mātrā* line and a slanting stroke on the right ending in a dot is faintly visible on the reverse of the estampage.

The last letter, looked upon as an archaic *d* by Mr. Chanda, I take to be a numerical symbol. Its upper portion consists of a hook attached to a vertical on the right. Its lower portion is formed by another hook, with a long downward projection, joined to the lower end of the vertical line. Now the figure for 70 on Kshatrapa coins also consists of a vertical with two hooks at its two ends (Bühler's *Tafel* IX, col. v).⁷ Its lower hook, is, however, attached to the right end of the vertical, whereas the symbol in our record has its hook on the left. This seems to be an eastern peculiarity, for we find that the Gupta figure for 70 has its lower hook on the left of the vertical line exactly as in the present case (*ibid.*, col. ix). The only real difference lies in the fact that in our symbol the lower hook shows a considerable projection such as is met with neither in Kushan, Kshatrapa or Gupta period. This seems to be due to an attempt, on the part of the engraver, to enlarge the size of the symbol so as to distinguish it from the letters of the inscription. This suggestion is based on a comparison of Inscription No. 1. As already observed, both the numerical symbols in that

⁷ This form is used along with the Kushan form for 70.

inscription are distinguished from the letters of the inscription by the largeness of their size. Any one who looks at Bühler's table for numerical symbols may satisfy himself that only a general, and by no means a close, resemblance is noticeable between the symbols for the same figure, in the same period. To take an instance, one may compare the two Kushan symbols for 70 given by Bühler. Under these circumstances, it is permissible, I hope, to read our symbol as 70 inasmuch as it shows a general resemblance with the Kalatrāpa form, which appears to be interchangeable with the Kushan form, as well as with the Gupta form.

The whole inscription may thus be read as

Yakhe sam Vajinām 70

and may be translated as

“(The figure of a) Yaksha, (made) in the year 70 of the Vajis.”

Now the word *Vaji* is the wellknown Prakrit equivalent for the tribal name *Vijji*, the confederate group to which the Lichchhavis belonged. The era of the Vajjis may, therefore, be taken to be identical with the Lichchhavi era, the same era being apparently designated either after the confederate tribe or its most influential section at the time. For we know that other members of the tribe are lost in oblivion while the Lichchhavis established a kingdom in Nepal and entered into matrimonial alliance with the Gupta Emperors.

Thus the year 70 of the Vajjis would be equivalent to A.D. 180-181.

If my reading and interpretations be correct, the inscriptions must be looked upon as of great historical importance. I do not wish to dilate upon this point till the substantial correctness of my views is established beyond dispute, but shall content myself by merely pointing out the various directions in which the inscriptions are expected to throw important light.

First, they will prove that the statues really represent Yakshas as Cunningham maintained long ago, in spite of the objection raised thereto by Mr. Jayaswal from the point of view of Indian art.

Secondly, as the statues bear a known date, they may be used as an important landmark in the evolution of Indian art, and, in particular, we shall have to abandon the views of Mr. Jayaswal, apparently endorsed by Mr. Arun Sen, that the statues were pre-Mauryan.

Thirdly, the inscriptions will go a long way in proving the political supremacy of the Lichchhavis over the Imperial city of ancient India, shortly before the time of the Guptas. This has been long suspected but never proved with any definiteness. The inscriptions thus not only fill a blank in the history of Pāṭaliputra but also explain the pride of the Imperial Guptas on their connection with the Lichchhavis.

Fourthly, they supply us with early dates of the Lichchhavi era coming from a locality far away from the Nepal Valley where alone it is so far known to have been used.

I shall conclude my remarks on the Patna statues with a short reference to the note on the subject by Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, in the latest number⁸ of the *JBORS*, which is just to hand. Mr. Banerji remarks: “There may be difference of opinion about the different parts of Mr. Jayaswal's theory but there cannot be two opinions about the readings *Aco* and *Vaṭa Nandi* and therefore Mr. Jayaswal's identification of these two pieces of sculpture as statues as against images and as statues of two Śâisunâka Emperors, Aja Udayin and Vartan Nandin, rests on very solid grounds.” (p. 210.)

Now, as has been shown above, there is room for difference of opinion as to the readings

⁸ June, 1919, p. 210 ff.

Acho and *Vaṭanaṇḍi*, but even assuming that the readings are correct, these letters, by themselves, certainly do not lead to the identifications proposed by Mr. Jayaswal; for *Acho* and *Vaṭanaṇḍi* may be merely part of bigger words, as, for example, in the reading proposed by Mr. Chanda. But let us concede that they are independent words, and even further, that they are proper names. Does it necessarily follow that they are to be taken to refer to the Śaisunāga Emperors whose names bear real or fancied resemblance to them? The unreliable nature of this argument may be better demonstrated by an example. In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 385, we have got the text of an inscription incised on the base of a large statue. Now the word *Pushyamitra* occurs in this record. Arguing on Mr. Banerji's lines the identification of the statue as that of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty may be said 'to rest on very solid grounds.' The context, however, proves beyond doubt that the word *Pushyamitra* is the name of a 'Kula' or family. Again, another record on a statue, published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 388, contains the word *aya*, which is really part of the word *ayasamgamikaya*. Is Mr. Banerji prepared to maintain that the identification of the statue with that of king Azes 'rests on very solid grounds'? The absurdity of these conclusions is too patent, but the position assumed by Mr. Banerji in the case of Śaisunāga statues is of precisely the same type. He reads the inscription on one of these statues as *bha(?)ge acho chhoniviko*. He cannot explain the rest of the sentence, but simply because there are two letters in it which may be construed as the name of a Śaisunāga emperor, he concludes that it is a statue of this illustrious personage.

Next comes the much more important question, do the names *Acho* and *Vaṭanaṇḍi*, assuming they are such, really denote any Śaisunāga emperors? Mr. Banerji has assumed that they do, evidently on the authority of Mr. Jayaswal, and as he has not furnished any arguments in support of this assumption, we can only take into consideration those that were put forward by the latter (p. 97). Now there is no monarch called 'Aja' in the Puranic list of Śaisunāga kings as one may satisfy himself by looking at Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 20-22, but Mr. Jayaswal maintains that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives 'Aja' in place of Udayin, and that it refers to Nandivardhana as son of Aja (Ājeya). As a matter of fact, however, the *Purāṇa* does no such thing. In the first place the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has *Ajayaḥ smṛitaḥ* which means 'remembered as Ajaya (invincible)' and not Aja (unborn); and Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to split up *ajayaḥ* into *aja* and *yaḥ* is inadmissible on two grounds. First, it violates grammatical rules, the correct form being *ajo yaḥ*. Secondly, the corrupt variant readings in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* such as *anaya*, *danaya*, etc., seem to show that the word really consisted of three syllables, as Mr. Jayaswal himself argued elsewhere, in order to find out the true form of the name Oṛaka.⁹

Mr. Jayaswal's second assertion that Nandivardhana is called son of Aja in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is equally unhappy. The word used is Ājeya, which according to ordinary rules of grammar cannot yield the meaning 'son of Aja', but 'son of Ajeya', which, like Ajaya, means invincible. Mr. Jayaswal's reference to Pāṇini is indeed unfortunate. "The Subhra group," says he, "contains many proper names out of which Aja seems to be one." The one name in the group which makes any near approach to it is, however, *ajavasti*. Is Mr. Banerji prepared to maintain, along with Mr. Jayaswal, that this should be split up into *aja* and *vasti*? Mr. Jayaswal has further sought to strengthen his position by a reference to the Pradyota list, but all his arguments are of no value so long as he cannot independently establish a king Aja in the Śaisunāga list, and in this, as we have seen, he has completely failed.

⁹ JBORS., 1917, p. 474.

Again, *Vaṭanaṃdi*, as the name of a *Saiśunāga* emperor, is not to be found in any of the *Purāṇas*. But Mr. Jayaswal identifies him with *Naṃdivardhana* in a most ingenious manner. He notices that *Vāyu Purāṇa* calls him *Varti Vardhana*, and assuming "that *Varti* ought to be *Varta*", he takes the latter to be another name of *Naṃdivardhana*. He apparently overlooks the fact that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has got three variants, not one, viz. *Varti Vardhana*, *Vardhi*^o and *Kīrti*^o, and that all of them end in 'i'. But let us grant that *Varta* was another name of the emperor *Naṃdi* who had the imperial title *Vardhana*. But, then, how to explain the curious form *Varta-Naṃdi*, composed as it is of the two variant proper names? We can expect either *Naṃdi Vardhana* or *Varta Vardhana*, but surely no one would expect *Naṃdi Varta* or *Varta Naṃdi*. There are no doubt historical instances of kings possessing double names. Thus *Chandragupta II* was also known as *Devagupta*, and *Vigrahapāla* had a second name *Sūrapāla*. But who has ever heard of compound names like *Chandra-Deva* or *Deva-Chandra*, and *Sūra-Vigraha* or *Vigraha-Sūra*?

We hope Mr. R. D. Banerji, who has endorsed the view of Mr. Jayaswal, would offer satisfactory explanation of all these difficulties. He admits that the inscriptions on the statues are of a considerably later period, and simply because there are some letters in them which by a stretch of imagination, more remarkable for ingenuity than soundness, can be equated with two names in the *Saiśunāga* list, he unhesitatingly endorses Mr. Jayaswal's theory that the statues are to be looked upon as those of the two *Saiśunāga* emperors!!

Regarding the age of the inscriptions Mr. Banerji remarks: "Even if we reject other evidence about the date of these two specimens the script of the short inscriptions on their backs would be sufficient to prove that the statues of *Kanishka* is decidedly later in date than the *Patna* ones." (p. 210.)

In other words, the script of the *Patna* statues is, in the opinion of Mr. Banerji, decidedly earlier in form than the early *Kushan* alphabet. Yet when Mr. Banerji proceeds to examine in detail the palæography of the inscriptions on *Patna* statues, he notes that—

- (1) "the vowel *A* in *Aco* very closely resembles in form the same vowel in the *Sarnath* Inscriptions" (which the editor of the record referred to the year 40 of the *Kushana* era on palæographic considerations).¹⁰
- (2) "the form of *ca*.....in the *Patna* inscription resembles that in a *Mathura* inscription of the year 52 of the *Kuṣāṇa* era."
- (3) "the form of *cha* in *choni*....in the *Patna* inscription resembles the *Kuṣāṇa* form."
- (4) "examined palæographically the inscription on the statue of *Varta-Nandin* also points to the same conclusion." (p. 213.)

It is difficult to reconcile the results of this detailed examination by Mr. Banerji with his general statement that the script of the *Kushana* inscriptions is decidedly later in date than that of the inscriptions on the *Patna* statues. On the whole, the logical outcome of Mr. Banerji's argument is that the inscriptions on the *Patna* statues really belong to the *Kushan* period, and in this view Mr. Chanda and myself are in entire agreement with him.

Mr. Banerji's argument to explain the occurrence of a late inscription on an early statue (p. 214) is weak in the extreme and need not be seriously considered. It is enough to point out that if it were the object of 'somebody connected with the Art gallery' to make the *Saiśunāga* statues familiar to the people who had altogether forgot them, he should certainly have chosen a most conspicuous place to insert the name which, by the way, would most probably have been associated with usual royal titles and the family name, viz. *Saiśunāga*.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt.

IN 1887—something over thirty years ago—I commenced making notes and selections for a series of elaborate articles on the currency and coinage of the former Kingdom of Burma, as I felt myself to be in a position to rescue from oblivion an ancient system which was inevitably passing away beyond recall, and as at the same time that system had in it a great deal that explained the more advanced methods obtaining in other parts of the world, while it retained much that threw light on the methods of ancient and even primitive times. The point of special interest was that I could study going on around me in Upper Burma the ways of a civilised people that was still carrying on its domestic life and its commerce without coin of the realm as its medium of exchange. The ideas as to money and money values involved in such conditions are so entirely at variance with those that have prevailed in the western world and even in the Near and Middle East for many centuries, that it seemed to me, for the sake of a scientific knowledge of the true meaning of habits of such transcendent importance to mankind as the modes of conducting commercial relations, to be worth while to make what collection of facts and comments thereon I could before it was too late.

The heavy obligations of a busy official life, however, prevented my putting my notes and observations into print until 1897, in which year I commenced the contemplated series of articles in this *Journal* (Vol. XXVI, p. 154). I then examined firstly, currency without a coinage, taking peasant currency for my first detailed subject (p. 157), passing on to the use of chipped bullion (p. 160), the effect of bullion currency (p. 197) and valuation by weight (p. 204). Next I considered the evil of bullion currency (p. 211), an important and much misunderstood point, as articles in the daily papers of England alone show to this day. After this, I examined the age of bullion currency in Burma (p. 232) and made a complete enquiry into the history of the terms *dinga* (p. 235) and *tickal* (p. 253).

Retracing my steps somewhat, the next subject examined was the general one of barter and metallic currency (p. 260), considering barter generally (p. 261) and then the many special articles which have been used by man as the medium of exchange, both natural (p. 281) and manufactured (p. 285). This led me to the study of conventional non-metallic articles used for money (p. 290), which was followed by brief notes on the history of exchange in the Far East (p. 309), with some additional notes on barter (p. 311).

The research into the above questions led to an historical consideration of the vast subject of bullion weights (p. 313), commencing (p. 314) with the all-important fundamental low denomination or standard found in the seeds of the *abrus* (*ywé*) and the *adenanthera* (*ywéjji*, *ywégyi*). This enabled me to examine the Burmese weights and compare them usefully with those of India and the surrounding nations (p. 318). I then (in Vol. XXVII) found myself deeply involved in the question of the history of the bullion weights used in many countries and at many times, commencing with Siamese and Shan weights from English and French sources (p. 1) and going on to Chinese weights (p. 29) and Malay weights (p. 37). To complete the subject, I examined the weights used in Southern India (p. 57) including those reported by many early European travellers (p. 63 and again, p. 85).

Going back to Burma, the next subjects taken up were those of the Pali and old Burmese weights (p. 113) and the standard weights of the Burmese Kings (p. 141).

I am afraid I then became rather lost as to my main subject in an enquiry into the ways of the minor peoples inhabiting what is now known as Burma and its neighbourhood, because it involved an examination of their languages (p. 141) so far as they related to money, currency and weights. In this way the following languages were searched, so far as they were known at the date of writing, 1898:—Karen (p. 144), Talaing (p. 150), Manipuri (p. 169), Kachin-Naga Group (p. 197), Chin-Lushai Group (p. 253). The time and space spent on this enquiry was not altogether wasted, as it enabled me from personal enquiry to provide a working transliteration or rather transcription of Karen, which at that date did not exist, making it a sealed tongue to all who could not study the language on the spot, and also of all the other tongues above mentioned, in such a way that general Oriental scholars could readily understand the terms used and compare them with other languages. The enquiry as to Manipuri was specially useful, as it disclosed an illuminating system of monetary reckoning of a very ancient type and explained much that has been puzzling to students of Oriental weights and measures and monetary systems, besides being in its essentials a system that is at the bottom of habits that have obtained in countries very far removed from Manipur in history and civilisation.

The next thing that happened was that the pressure of official duties in the Indian Empire prevented my resuming the research further until my retirement in 1904, and since then I have found, as many others have found, that a return to life in England meant a pressure of fresh duties as heavy as that of official life in the East, with the consequence that until now I have been unable to publish anything further on this subject. The close of the European War, however, and the hope of a partial cessation of work connected therewith and of postal difficulties have determined me to publish what I still can of notes collected so long ago, as they contain information which, so far as I know, is not to be found elsewhere.

Some of the old notes I found to be almost ready for press, some to be far advanced and some still in the stage of being mere notes; and as it is now more than a quarter of a century since I was in Burma, I am not able to do more than publish what there happens to be already collected or to maintain the strict sequence of the former articles. I will therefore print those notes that are most advanced first, leaving the rest to follow in such order as may be found convenient.

The articles above described do not cover all that I have written on the general subject of currency, for opportunities have been taken as they have arisen to examine other phases of the same and kindred subjects. Thus in 1899 (Vol. XXVIII, p. 104) I published some Notes on the Development of Currency in the Far East, showing how all the existing Troy weights and currencies in India and the Far East are based on one, and sometimes both, of two seeds, the *abrus* and the *adenanthera*, the latter being double of the former, and that the whole currency of the Far East is based on the Indian Troy weight system. I also showed that in ancient India there were two concurrent Troy scales, which I called the literary and the popular, on one or other of which all the scales of modern India or of the neighbouring countries outside it are based. This led me to state that the modern Burmese scale is identical with the literary Indian scale, and so are the scales of all Far Eastern peoples possessed of the Indo-Chinese civilisation—the Siamese Shans and the Malays especially. I then passed on to show that neither in form nor in nomenclature is the so-called Chinese currency of the modern merchants trading in the Far East originally Chinese, but that it is an international system, entirely Malayan in origin, constituting the latest development of the ancient Indian literary scale.

On the other hand, the old Indian popular scale was caught up by the Muhammadan invaders of the 13th century A.D. and transmitted by them to the Europeans and Indians of to-day. It has found its way to the wild tribes of the Indian and Tibeto-Burman frontiers and to ancient China itself, before the days of the decimal scale in that country introduced by the Mongols in about the 13th century A.D.—a circumstance that has deeply affected the modern Chinese commercial scale, which is nowadays the Malayan scale in form and nomenclature and chiefly decimal in character.

I have here spoken practically in terms of Troy weight, because the Far Eastern peoples have never separated the ideas of Troy weight, currency and coinage.

The two Indian scales may be thus stated for clearness as 96 *ratī* to the *tōlā* for the popular scale and 320 *raktikā* to the *pālā* for the literary scale: this last corresponding to 320 *ywasgyī* to the *bōl* for Burma, 320 *hūng* to the *tamlūng* for Siam, and 320 *kūdari* to the *būngkal* for the Malays.

In 1900 (Vol. XXIX, pp. 29 and 61) I published an elaborately illustrated article on the beginnings of Currency which took me all over the world and over all time, ancient and modern. In it I discussed the three points of Barter, Currency and Money in their earliest and simplest forms. Barter was defined as the exchange of possessions pure and simple: Currency as the interposition of an article in common domestic use between the articles bartered, the interposed article being the medium of exchange. Money as the use of purely conventional articles as the medium of exchange. That is to say, Barter is the exchange of one article for another: Currency implies exchange through a medium: Money, that the medium is a token.

I then gave many instances of pure barter between savages and semi-civilised peoples and the civilised, and showed by instances how the border between barter and currency was crossed. The process is not difficult, but the passing of currency to money involves getting over many difficulties from the use, for the medium of exchange, of roughly measured natural articles of many kinds to carefully measured and officially marked manufactured articles, leading eventually to the use of gold, silver and copper money as the survivals of the fittest of almost every conceivable article tried at some place or at some time or other. A clear understanding of this fundamental subject is necessary to a complete comprehension of discussions such as that opened up by a consideration of the present enquiry or one analogous to it—that is, of the Currency and Coinage of any given country.

In 1913 I published in Vol. XLII, pp. 1-73, a long and elaborately illustrated article on the Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States, which had occupied my attention for some time previously. There were mysterious exhibits in museums of articles in tin, thought to be old Malay toys. A very careful examination, however, of all the available specimens showed them to be beyond question specimens of some system of a forgotten currency or money. There were among them tin ingots on a scale and tin tokens, also to scale, representing the tin ingots—that is, these specimens represented a tin currency and a tin money in use among the Malays. Other specimens were models of animals, also to scale, representing a former tin currency. These discoveries led to an examination of the literature likely to illuminate the subject, and it was then discovered that there was a long continued, though now obsolete, currency and money in tin in the Malay Peninsula for at least 500 years up to quite recent times,

conducted in the more modern times on two scales—one representing the old Dutch and the other the British monetary system introduced into the Peninsula by Europeans.

Incidentally the enquiry led to many interesting discoveries, *e.g.*, the true explanation of some of Tavernier's plates of Oriental coinage (1678) and of many other specimens of coins in museums, books, and so on, and of Albuquerque's Portuguese Oriental Coinage (1511).

The scales used in this Tin Currency proved to be of a most interesting nature, opening up, through the Manipuri system already mentioned, a wide vista of analogous developments all over the world: in Russia, in old Portugal and Holland and practically every country of modern Europe from the days of Charlemagne in the 7th century; in ancient India and Kashmir, and even Egypt, Assyria and Persia. The enquiry took one in fact nearly everywhere in ancient and modern times, showing that one was here on the track of some working of the human mind that is universal.

It is this consideration that in reality makes such a study as the Currency and Coinage among the Burmese possess an interest far outside the boundaries of the country now known as Burma, because in Burma we have in this matter, as it were, a living link between the present and the past.

I have gone thus at length into what I have written on this enquiry so that the reader may be put into possession of what has preceded the present notes and make himself, if he so wishes, acquainted with so much of the subject as will render them the more intelligible and useful.

I commence my further notes with some on lump currency, beginning with silver.

LUMP CURRENCY.

1.

SILVER.

The raw lump currency of Upper Burma consisted of gold, silver, and lead,¹ but not of copper,² so far as I know, as that metal is not, I believe, to be found in the country.

¹ From the Shàn State of Thên-nì: Yule, *Ava*, p. 258; Laurie, *Our Burmese Wars*, p. 373. For interesting references to lump gold, see Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, pp. 77, 217.

² See Yule, *Ava*, p. 259; Crawford, *Ava*, pp. 427, 433, 436, 444. But see Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and Col. Strover's *Report on the Metals and Minerals of Upper Burma*, quoted in Laurie's *Our Burmese Wars*, p. 372. Cf. Crawford's statement as to Siam, in his *Siam*, p. 331; also *B. B. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 54, 416. So the Chinese found that the people of San-bo-tsai (? Sumatra) in the days of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) had no copper currency, but merely (? lump) gold and silver: *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, p. 187. Cf. Miss Corner's *China* written for Bohn, Bell's ed., p. 7; and *Pyrard de Laval*, Hak Soc. ed., Vol. I, p. 232 f, as to the Maldives in 1602. See also Strettell, *Ficus Elastica*, pp. 76, 111; Staunton, *Embassy*, 1797, as to Cochin China, p. 169 f. Silver or "compraw" is the currency of the Kachins. See Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, pp. 151, 425. This word is *kumpraw* in Symington's *Kachin Vocabulary*, and is given as synonymous to rupee; *s.v.* Rupee: and it is *comprong* in Anderson's vocabulary at p. 468, *op. cit.* Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, however, in a Plate facing p. 315, shows "copper lats at Bassac and Ubone" (on the Mekong) without description: see also Bowring's *Siam*, Vol. I, p. 257.

In reference to copper, Dr. Anderson, *Siam*, p. 179, tells a good story of a lie in defence of delinquencies. When Potts, the factor at Ayuthia, at the time that the factory was burnt in 1682, was called upon to account for the losses, he explained that 500 chests of Japan copper, which the Company had in specie in Ayuthia, had been eaten by white-ants. Alexander Hamilton, the original *raconteur* of the tale, however, remarks that "Copper is thought too hard a morsel for them." In his *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 468, Anderson gives the same vernacular word for "copper" and "brass." Yule, *Ava*, p. 345, has a very interesting note on the manner in which copper was procured in Upper Burma from the process of changing coarse (*i.e.*, heavily alloyed with copper) silver into fine. "In this way," he says, on the authority of Mr. Spears, "that about 12,000 viss (above 20 tons) of copper annually reached the capital."

The purest recognised silver in Burma is called **Shân b'ò**, or pure silver, and is extracted from lead ore in the Shân country. It is also known, on account of its appearance, as **chaubin-bauk b'ò** and **k'ayûbât-ngwé**. There is silver known as **Burmese b'ò**, and the process of extraction would appear to be the same in both cases.

The appearance³ of Shân b'ò is shown by fig. 1, Plate I, a point which will be alluded to later on, while a piece of Burmese b'ò, which has undergone the process of chipping for currency, is shown in fig. 2, Plate I. Shân silver is said to contain six per cent. of gold, and reddish yellow spots, caused by salts of gold created in the process of extraction from the ore, are frequently to be seen on the reverse surface of Shân b'ò.

Yule says, *Ava*, p. 260, that b'ò was the currency obtaining between the Burmese and foreigners, but that the King refused it as such, owing to the greater difficulty of testing it than of testing *dain*, a lower quality of silver. He also says on the great authority of Col. Burney that *k'ayûbât-ngwé* was an inferior quality to b'ò,⁴ thus differing from my information.

For the high quality of Shân b'ò, we have an interesting reference in McLeod's *Journal*, where he says, "The silver current is of the best description, either the Chinese stamped square coin or *bau* [b'ò] silver, or the Burmese *ywetni* [*ywetnî*]."⁵

Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, pp. 30, 31), who saw a great deal of Burmese silver in the first quarter of the last century, agrees with Yule, and so far disagrees with me in differentiating between b'ò and *k'ayûbât-ngwé*.⁶ He says that the *k'ayûbât* silver "is supposed to denote a particular fineness, which by Burmese law but [? ought] to be ten-ninths *ywetni* in value; i.e., 9 *tikals* of *k'ayûbât* pass for ten of *ywetni* silver; or it should contain 19½ b'ò and ¾ copper."

As to b'ò he makes a curious, but natural, mistake. I will give his statement *verbatim*. He says, "*Ban* signifies 'pure' or 'touch,'⁷ and is the purest obtainable by the Burmese process of refinery. This word is synonymous with *banny* of the *Ajeen Akbery* [*bânî* of the *Áin Akbarî*]: *bunwary* [*banwâri*] is the Indian name of the touch-neededles used in roughly valuing the precious metals." Now the word b'ò is usually spelt by writers as *baw* or *bau* and was mistaken by Prinsep in Burney's MSS. for *ban*. Hence all his wrong etymology and inferences. The mistaking of *au* for *an* in Burmese words containing the sound which I write as *o* (= *aw* in *awful*) is very common in books. Some are full of such mistakes e.g., the value of Macmahon's *Karens of the Golden Chersonese* is entirely marred by this printer's error, and so is that of many papers on Burma and the neighbourhood printed by the House of Commons.

The second quality of silver is called **dain** running about 89 to 93 per cent. of b'ò.⁸ It is known by the marks of striation on its upper, or obverse, surface. A specimen is shown in fig. 3, Plate I. This was the silver used, according to Yule, *Ava*, p. 260, for the trade with China.

³ By "appearance" is usually meant in these pages the upper, or obverse, surface of the metal. The lower, or reverse, surface takes usually the form of the crucible or pot in which it has been melted.

⁴ From 2½% to 4% worse.

⁵ Bowring, however, says exactly the reverse, and states that in the Laos Country oval ingots of base metal circulate: *Siam*, Vol. II, p. 21.

⁶ He writes the word *kharoobat*.

⁷ It is really the name for "pure silver."

⁸ Yule says, *Ava*, p. 345, 95 per cent. of b'ò

Prinsep, *op. cit.*, p. 31, says that in his time *dain* was the most common form of bullion in circulation, and was so called from an assessment levied during the late King's reign (Bôdôp'ayâ) upon villages and houses:⁹ *dain* signifying a stage, or distance of two miles. He says it was supposed to be 10% better than *ywetní*, but varied in reality from 1% to 10% better; and he points out that to admit it to be 10% better would make it equal to *k'ayúbât*, which was not the case.

For the statement that the word *dain* was derived as Prinsep says I have often tried to find corroboration, and there are difficulties in accepting it as correct, e.g., *dain* (spelt *dôn*) means in Burmese, without the heavy accent, (1) a petty chief, foreman of works, the controller of an establishment, such as a gambling-house, opium-den liquor-shop: (2) a class of Government servants in charge of petty offices: and (3) according to Judson, *Burmese Dict.*, "a silver of a certain quality better than *ywetní*."¹⁰ Whereas the word for "a stage or distance of two miles" is *tain* or *atain*, spelt *tôn* or *atôn*. *Tain*, without the heavy accent, means (1) a post, a column: (2) to ask leave: (3) to reach, arrive, attain: (4) to use for a warp in weaving, to set the time in singing. *Atain*, without the heavy accent, means (1) the measure of 1000 *tás* about two miles (*cf.* the *kós* of India): (2) a warp: (3) the right hand ox in a team.

The special assessment alluded to by Prinsep is that mentioned in Spearman's *British Burmah Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 447, who says that "in 1798 A.D. a call of 33 1/3 *ticals* of silver was made from every house. This took two years to collect and produced about Rs. 6,000,000. What the actual amount levied from the people was it is impossible to ascertain!"

Prinsep gives us another class called *mādain*, which Burney stated to be equal to *ywetní*, but it was in reality much worse. He says it has been extensively circulated and was a "late introduction," say about 1825, and consisted of silver mixed with lead.

Malcolm, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 269, says that "*Dyng* has the flowered appearance over all the cake in larger and longer crystals [than *ywetní*], and is cast into cakes weighing about twenty *ticals*, but varies exceedingly in fineness, being of qualities from Huet-nee [*ywetní*] to ten per cent. purer. It is assumed to be five per cent. purer."

Ngwêlôn and *maingyôn-ngwê*, the latter a Shân (Müngyang or Müngyông) silver, both known by their appearance, are said to be equal to *dain* in fineness. A specimen of *ngwêlôn* is figured in fig. 4, Plate I, and of *maingyôn* in fig. 5, Plate I. The latter is much worn.

The third quality of silver is called *ywetní*, about 85 per cent. of *b'ò*,¹¹ and is especially interesting as having been the old native Burmese standard of silver; at any rate when the Burmese Court was at Ava, Amarapûra and Mandalay, so much was it the standard in King Mindôn's time that Yule tells us (*Ava*, p. 260) that *dain* was frequently valued in terms of *ywetní*. A specimen of *ywetní* is shown in fig. 6, Plate I. Like Shân *b'ò* this silver is frequently thickly covered on its reverse surface with spots of (litharge) salts of gold.¹²

(To be continued.)

⁹ See Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 211.

¹⁰ My idea is that *dain*, in its application to silver, merely means "chief" or "best" or "principal." See Stevenson, *Burmese Dict.*, s.v.

¹¹ Yule, *Ava*, pp. 260, 345, says it varied from 85 per cent. to 90 per cent. of *b'ò*, the alloy being copper. At p. 344 he values gold in terms of "*ywetní*" (*ywetní*) silver; but on p. 345 he calls it "*yu-wetní*."

¹² It is probably the *ngwêgwet* (spotted silver) of the consignment from Sir Frank Gates in 1889, which never reached me.

PATNA MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF JAYASĒNA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, B.A.; CALCUTTA.

The subjoined inscription was discovered in a village called Janibigha situated at about 6 miles to the east of the modern site of Bôdh-gayâ, whence it has now been removed to the Patna Museum. It has already been published by Mr. H. Panday, of the Archaeological Department, with a preliminary note on its importance by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, p. 266 ff, and Plate. As Mr. Panday's transcript and translation are, I am afraid, anything but accurate and as Mr. Jayaswal's historical conclusion unfortunately, is open to serious doubt I am compelled to publish this paper and I sincerely hope, that my remarks and emendations will receive the due attention of Mr. Panday who I hear, is engaged upon editing this inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The inscription is carefully engraved on a piece of stone. It contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$. On the whole it is in a good state of preservation; but a portion of the stone has broken away from the left margin, thus the beginning letter of l. 9 has totally disappeared, and the beginning letter of l. 10 has been partially damaged. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{7}{16}''$ to $\frac{11}{16}''$.—The alphabet belongs to the Proto-Bengali type of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and is the same as in the Bôdh-gayâ inscription of Aśokachalla, of the year 74 of the Lakshmanasēna era.¹ With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following: the medial *u* is shown in a variety of ways,² e.g. by an angle at the base of a letter, as in *purāṇam* (l. 1), by a slanting right hand stroke at the base, as in *Buddhasēna*[°] (l. 8) and also by a curve turning to the left from the end of the stem, almost like a subscript *t* in shape, as in *śudī* (l. 14); the subscripts *ṭ* and *ṭ* are almost similar in *°stalam* (l. 3) and *dusṭa* (l. 11); the subscript *th* in the conjunct letters *ṭth* and *sth* in *Koṭṭhalā* (ll. 4-5) and *sthala* (l. 4), as well as the conjunct *tm* in *°tmajēna* (l. 8) deserves specially to be noted: the superscript *r* is put on the top of a letter, as in *ā-chandrārkkam* (l. 5): *l* occurs in two forms, as in *Maṅgala* (l. 6) and *Lakshmaṇa* (l. 13); the *anusvāra* is of the form of a circle, either detached from the vertical, as in *purāṇam* (l. 1), or touching the same, as in *jinānām* (l. 2); the *visarga* resembles the English figure 8 and sometimes carries a tail, as in *sahitaḥ* (l. 4) and *kṛitinaḥ* (l. 7), an abnormality noticed by Bühler regarding the sign as it occurs in North-east Indian inscriptions and MSS. of this period;³ the sign of *avagraha* is employed only in *sisṭō 2'thavā* in l. 11; and the sign for *Om* (l. 1) is exactly similar to that in the inscription of Aśokachalla mentioned above.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory phrase *Om svasti* in l. 1 and the concluding words which express the date in ll. 13-14 the whole text is in verse. As regards orthography, it may be noticed that *gh* has been substituted for *h* in *Siṅghalasya*⁴ in l. 6; the same sign has been used both for *v* and *b*; a consonant is doubled after a superscript *r*, only in *ā-chandrārkkam* in l. 5; and that an *anusvāra* is wrongly employed in *paramparīṇam* in ll. 1-2.

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 27 ff.

² Regarding this matter see Kielhorn's remarks, Assam plates of Vallabhadēva, *Epi. Ind.*, V, 182. Mr. Panday speaking of the medial *u* says that the 'triangular type' of it occurs in *purāṇam* (l. 1)—*JBORS*, IV, 276. This is, however, not a fact. Such inconsistencies, I regret to say, are not rare in Mr. Panday's paper. E.g. in l. 13 he would read a symbol for 4 in between the two signs of interpunctuation that occur after the word *mâtā*, and remarks that "the fourth verse of the record ends here." I could not, however, trace anything of the kind either on the stone or the plate published by him.

³ *Indian Palaeography* (Eng. Trans.), 59.

⁴ For another instance of this substitution see inscription of Aśokachalla, of the year 51 of the Lakshmanasēna era.—*Epi. Ind.*, XII, 29, ll. 9-10.

It belongs to a king named **Jayasēna** who is styled **Āchārya** and **Piṭhipati**, i.e. 'Lord of Piṭhi', and it carries back the genealogy to only one step further, viz. to **Buddhasēna**, father of the reigning king. After the initial words *Om svasti*, the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the city of **Mahābōdhi** and the **Bōdhi-tree**. It then notifies the free gift of the village of **Kotthala**, which is in **Saptaghatta**, together with its land and water, and plough-tax to the **Vajrasana** for the residence of the *Bhikshu* **Maṅgala-svāmin**, come from **Ceylon**, in whose hands was placed the charter registering the grant. Then follows the date, the year 83 of the **Lakshmanasēna** era, the 15th day of the bright-half of the month of **Kārttika**. This date does not admit of verification. It would correspond, according to the calculation of Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, to (Friday) 1st November, A.D. 1202, 'on which day Kārttika śukla 15 ended at 60, i.e. 36 ghaṭikās after mean sunrise.'

Of the **localities** referred to in the inscription only **Piṭhi** has been found mentioned already in two other places, though it cannot be, at present, definitely identified. The word occurs in the commentary to the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandi (*Memoirs ASB.*, Vol. III, pp. 36, 38) and the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 323, l. 5). Dr. Sten Konow, in his paper on the inscription, put forth the conjecture that this Piṭhi is but another name for Piṭṭapuram in the Madras Presidency. It was Mr. R. D. Banerji, who first definitely said that it must lie near the boundary of Magadha (*Memoirs ASB.*, Vol. V, p. 87). Mr. Jayaswal now points out that the commentator of the *Rāmacharita* explains the word *Piṭhipati* by *Magadhādhipa* (*JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 267). The conclusion which now suggests itself to us, is that Piṭhi and Magadha are practically identical. At any rate, this much is certain on the strength of the present record, that it included Bōdh-gayā and the region around it, as the inscription has been discovered in that locality. This conclusion is forced upon us also by another inscription, the main contents of which will be discussed presently. The other localities mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it enlightens us about two hitherto unknown kings ruling over Bōdh-gayā, viz. **Buddhasēna** and his son and successor **Jayasēna**. The former, it is to be marked, is not designated king in the inscription; and from this Mr. Jayaswal infers that he never was a king properly so called, he was only some 'collateral' of the contemporary Śīna king (*op. cit.*, p. 267). But from an independent piece of evidence which will now be considered here for the first time, it appears that he did reign. It is contained in an epigraph discovered at Bōdh-gayā many years ago. It is now missing, but fortunately enough a photo-lithograph of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his *Mahābōdhi*,⁵ which, therefore, is our mainstay at present. Cunningham concluded, that it was a record of the reign of **Asōkachalla**, perhaps because his name is found mentioned in l. 8. But he did not publish a reading of the text, nor has any other scholar done so, till quite recently an attempt was made to decipher the inscription by Pandit B. B. Vidyavinode of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.⁶ But comparing his reading with the plate itself I find that in many places the text should be read differently. The most important information contained in it and which has not yet been noticed, is, that the record belongs, not to **Asōkachalla** as Cunningham took it to be, but to a quite different individual—**Buddhasēna** by name, who bears the titles *Piṭhipati* and *Āchārya* just like

⁵ Pl. XXVIII, No. C.

⁶ *Vaṅgīya-Sāhityaparishat-patrikā* (Bengali Journal), 1317 B. S., 217.

Jayasēna of the Patna Museum inscription. This Buddhasēna, who is beyond doubt Jayasēna's father Buddhasēna, of our record, is represented in his inscription as registering a donation (*vr̥itti*) to one *Bhikshupaṇḍita* Śrī-Dharmmarakshita, the religious preceptor of the king of Kamā (Kumaon), who seems to be no other than Aśokachalla himself; and it further appears that Buddhasēna makes a similar grant to a number of Ceylonese *sthaviras* (ll. 13-14). At the end of the inscription there is mention of two officers, apparently of Buddhasēna, whose titles are respectively *Sāadhanika-Rāṇaka* and *Māṇḍalika* (ll. 19-20). It is in the form of a declaration issued to the inhabitants of Mahābōdhi including their elders and also the tillers of the land. These characteristics are enough to prove that Buddhasēna did actually reign. Moreover, the declaration, as it is issued to the inhabitants of Bōdh-gayā, shows that his dominions must have included at any rate the modern district of Gayā and its adjoining territory, or in other words, this was a part of Pīṭhi of which he was the sovereign. Now, I must admit that it is very difficult to restore the actual and entire text of the inscription from the plate published by Cunningham. And though I have prepared a reading of it myself, I do not venture to place the whole transcript before scholars, as I consider it merely tentative in many places. Still I reproduce here the following extract, as it constitutes by far the most valuable portion of the record and especially as there cannot be, I hope, any great difference of opinion about the general correctness of its reading:—

1. svasti | 7 pātakāt | Pī.
2. ṭhī-paty-âchārya⁸ - Buddhasēnad [ēva] [Bu]ddha-sam
3. gh-âdi-sakala-śrīman-Mahābōdhi-vṛi-
4. tter=yathā-pradhān-âdi-prativâsinô
5. janapadān karshakām = śch = ârōpyayitva⁹
6. âvadati viditamam¹⁰ = astu bhava
7. ntô (?) ¹¹ vṛittir = asmābhir = aty-âdinā ¹² Rāja-Śrī-
8. Aśogachalladēvānām¹³ mukhyatamā -
9. nām cha Kamā-rājaguru-bhikshu-panḍita-
10. Śrī-Dharmmarakshita-charaṇānām = â-chandrā -
11. srkkam sama[rppi]tā

From the above passage we learn that a king named Buddhasēna was ruling over Bōdh-gayā at the time when Śrī-Dharmmarakshita, the religious preceptor of the king of Kamā (Kumaon), came to visit the place. Another inscription too, dated in the year 1813 of the *Nirvāṇa* era, mentioning the name of Aśokachalla,¹⁴ and likewise discovered at Bōdh-gayā, tells us that at the time when Dharmmarakshita visited the place and was there engaged in superintending the construction of a certain *gandhakuṭī* by a prince named Purushōttama, Bōdh-gayā was under the rule of a king who belonged to the Chhinda

⁷ There are five letters visible on the plate which no doubt form the name of the place whence the record has been issued. But I fail to clearly read them.

⁸ This portion was completely misread by Pandit Vidyavinod

⁹ Read *aropya*.

¹⁰ *mata* is superfluous.

¹¹ Should be corrected to *bharatām*.

¹² Should perhaps be corrected to *ity-âdinā*.

¹³ Read *Aśokachalla dēvānām*.

¹⁴ Fleet supposed that he is not the same king whose records we have got, of the years 51 and 74 of the Lakshmanasēna era—*JRAS.*, 1909, 348-49. But Mr. Banerji has since satisfactorily shown that the two are identical—*JASB.*, N. S., IX, 272-73

family.¹⁵ The presumption is therefore natural that he is the same as Buddhasêna, father of Jayasêna of our inscription. It is interesting to note that before the family of Buddhasêna came to power in Pîṭhî, there ruled in this part of the country another family of Pîṭhî lords called the Chhikkôras. They were connected, through matrimony, as we know from the Sârnâth inscription of Kumaradêvî, with the Gâhaḍavâla kings of Benares, and Bôdh-gayâ must have been under them, at least in the time of Gôvindachandra, whose dates range from A.D. 1114 to 1168.¹⁶ These Chhikkôras seem to have been dispossessed of their territory towards the end of the 12th century A.D. by a new family of Pîṭhî rulers, viz. the family of Buddhasêna. It is very likely, that it was he who first established the greatness of the Chhinda line; because, in his inscription, there is no mention of his predecessors and in the inscription of his son Jayasêna too, the genealogy is carried back to his father only. It has, however, been assumed that these individuals, viz. Buddhasêna and Jayasêna, represent, though indirectly, the family of the Sênas who for about a century and a half ruled the political destinies of Bengal. Thus Mr. Jayaswal writes:¹⁷ "This inscription now proves that the neighbouring district of Gayâ remained under a scion of the Sêna family in the time of Muhammad *ibn* Bakhtyar." But let us see if this inference is logical. Considering the fact that these kings have their names ending in *Sêna* and that Târanâtha in his list of the later Sêna kings mentions one Buddhasêna, it no doubt seems tempting to suppose that they belonged to the Sêna dynasty; but, according to Târanâtha himself, this Buddhasêna was succeeded by his son, whose name is not Jayasêna but Haritasêna.¹⁸ Thus no other evidence can be put forward to connect this family of rulers with the Sêna dynasty save and except the name-ending *Sêna* on which, however, we cannot lay much stress. Moreover, there is absolutely no proof that the Sêna rule really survived in the heart of Magadha immediately after the Muhammadan invasion. On the other hand, in the *Tabkati-Nasiri* (p. 558) there is a definite assertion to the effect that the Sênas continued to rule for a considerable period after the passing away of Lakshmanasêna, in the country of 'Bang,' i.e. Eastern Bengal, and not on the Bihar side. Again, at the time of the Muhammadan invasion, as it follows very clearly from the same authority, there was absolutely no trace of the Sêna power in Bihar. As a matter of fact, Bakhtiyar passed through it and came upon Bengal where only he could find the Sênas ruling. At any rate, even if a portion of Magadha were under the successors of Lakshmanasêna during this period, their central power rested not in Bihar but in Bengal. Again, only the use of the Lakshmanasêna era at Bôdhgayâ or Tirhut is not in itself any definite proof of the continuance of the Sêna rule in Bihar. Under these circumstances, therefore, it cannot be maintained that at a later period, the Sênas became masters of Magadha and called themselves Pîṭhîpatis—a title which they did not adopt even during their palmy days when they actually carried their victorious arms through Magadha. Then again, we never find the title *Âchârya* attached to the name of any Sêna king in the whole range of Sêna inscriptions. Another important point, however, on which I should lay special stress, is that the Muham-

¹⁵ This inference is based on the following verse: *Prakhyâtam hi Sapâdalaksha-sikhari-kshmapâla-chandâmanim śilaiḥ śrīmad = Asokachallam = api yô natvâ vintya svâyam | atra = Chchinda-narêndram = Indra-sadriśam bhrashṭa munēḥ sâsanē sthity-ôddhâram = asau chakâra param = Âscharyyam kalau durjjayâ* —Above, X, 342, v. 11.—cf. also Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid*, 1913, 84. 8 8

¹⁶ See Kielhorn's *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*.

¹⁷ *JBORS.*, IV, 266.

¹⁸ Above, IV, 357.

madan invasion took place in or about A.D. 1199 and after that according to Tāranātha came the later Sēnas who were *subordinate* to the Turushkas or Muhammadans.¹⁹ The first of this series of subordinate Sēnas is Lavasēna II who was succeeded by Buddhasēna. The latter, if Tāranātha is to be believed, should, therefore, naturally be placed much later than A.D. 1202 and as such could not probably be the father of Jayasēna.

Text. ²⁰

1. Ōm²¹ svasti || ²² Śrīman – Mahābōdhi-puram²³ purāṇam paramam²⁴ –
2. riṇam niyatam Jinānām | hy = adhvasthitānām sthiti –
3. r = asti yatra sambōdhayê²⁵ Bōdhitārōs = talam cha || [1*]
4. ²⁶ Śrīmad-Vajrasanāya sthala – jala – sahitaḥ Kōtṭha –
5. la—grāma²⁷ ēsha ā-chandrārkkam pradattas = tad – adhivasata –
6. yê Maṅgalasvāmi – bhikshōḥ | hastê śrī – Siṃghalasya²⁸
7. tripiṭaka – kṛitīṇaḥ śāsanīkṛitya rājñā nir – vyā –
8. jaḥ Saptaghaṭṭē halakara – ka [li] tā²⁹ Buddhasēn – ātmajê
9. [na] || [2*]³⁰ Dattō³¹ dānam = imam grāmam Jayasēnaḥ sa bhūpatiḥ |
10. [Pi] thī-patir = uvāch = ēdam = Āchāryaḥ satyavāg = vachah || [3*]³² Vamśē
11. madiyê yadi kô = pi bhūpaḥ śi-ḥtô S thavâ dushṭata –
12. rô vinashṭah | vyatikramam ch = ātra karōti tasya tâ –
13. taḥ kharah sūkarikā cha mâtâ ||³³ [4*] || Lakshmana –
14. sēnasy³⁴ = ātita – rājyê³⁵ Sam 83 Kārttika Sudi 15.

¹⁹ Loc. cit. See also V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., 421-2.

²⁰ From the original stone. Above the writing there is a representation of Buddha seated in the *bhūmi-sparśamudrā* under the Bōdhi-tree, and the sun and the moon on both the sides, showing perhaps the permanency of the grant. For a similar representation cf. *Epi. Ind.*, IX, PL opposite p. 262.

²¹ Expressed by a symbol.

²² Metre : Upajāti.

²³ Mr. Panday reads it as *pradana*. To show that it is not so one has got to compare these two letters with *pradā* in *pradatta* (l. 5) and *pura* in *purāṇam* (l. 1) occurring just after the word in question. Further, the reading *pradana* would offend against the metre and render the construction grammatically impossible. If *mahābōdhi-pradana* is taken to be an adjective of *bōdhi-tārōs* = *talam*, which Mr. Panday apparently prefers, then the particle *cha* has nothing to be connected with. My reading *puram* removes all these difficulties. For *śrīman-Mahābōdhi* as a place name see e.g. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 29; and above, XVII, 310. Bōdh-gayā used at this time to be called Mahābōdhi. Cf. Purushōttama's *Bhāshāvṛitti* (III, 3, 137), a work of the 12th century A.D. which cites *Mahābōdhi-gantāsmah* as an illustration, and Cunningham's *Mahābōdhi*, p. 3.

²⁴ Read *parampa*.

²⁵ Read *sambo*.

²⁶ Metre : Sragdharā.

²⁷ The letter *m* has been damaged.

²⁸ Read *śrī-Siṃghalasya*.

²⁹ The upper portion of the *i*-stroke has peeled off. Read *kalitô*.

³⁰ Metre : Ślōka (Anushtubh).

³¹ Wrong for *dattvâ*.

³² Metre : Upajāti.

³³ Below the writing there is an indecent, traditional representation of this curse which is, however, not 'the first instance that has come to notice in Bihar,' as Sir Edward Gait says—*JBORS.*, v. 5. For this see also an inscription of Asōkachalla, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.—*Epi. Ind.*, XII, 28, pl. Cf. also *Jo(yo)anyathā karōti tasya gardabhaḥ pitā sūkari mâtâ* in a Nāgavamśi inscription—*ibid.*, IX, 164; X, 34 and 42. The earliest representation of the above figure, so far as it has come to my notice, is to be found on a Bharhut relief, in the Indian Museum. After the word *mâtâ* and before the word *Lakshmanasēnasya* there is a blank space. To show the importance of a particular proper name in Indian epigraphs a space was occasionally left blank before it. Is the space left here to make the name *Lakshmanasēna* appear more prominent than it would otherwise have been?

³⁴ The letter *n* has been so engraved that it looks like *s*.

³⁵ Mr. Panday wrongly reads it as *rājya-sam*. But the *ē*-stroke is very clear. In the two inscriptions of Asōkachalla also we get *ātita-rājyê*. Apparently through an oversight this phrase in the above records was mis-read by Mr. Banerji as *ātita-rājya*—*JASB.*, N. S., IX, 271-2; but cf. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 29, 30. Curiously enough this erroneous reading has been supported by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha in his new edition of the *Prāchīna-lēkhamālā*, 185, n.

Translation.

Ôm. Hail !

(v. 1)—I invoke³⁶ the illustrious, ancient and traditional city of Mahâbôdhi wherein constantly reside the Jinas³⁷ who are on the Path,³⁸ and also the foot of the Bôdhi tree. (v. 2)—This village of Kôṭthalâ in Saptaghâtta, with (its) land and water³⁹ and the plough-tax, is made over without reserve⁴⁰ to the illustrious Vajrasana, for as long as the sun and moon endure, for the residence⁴¹ of the Ceylonese⁴² monk Maṅgalasvâmin, versed in the Tripiṭakas, in whose hands is (placed) the charter (of the grant) by the king, the son of Buddhasêna. (v. 3)—Having given this village as a grant king Jayasêna, who is truthful⁴³ (and is called) Piṭhîpati (Lord of Piṭhi) and Īchârya, uttered these words: (v. 4)—If any king of my family, (apparently) gentlemanly, wicked or depraved, violates this (grant) his father is a jack-ass and (his) mother, a sow.

On the 15th day of the bright-half of Kârttika, of the year 83 since the (commencement of the) reign (now) passed⁴⁴ of Lakshmanasêna.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

12. Restrictions on Religious Buildings and Festivals.

7 January 1716 7. Consultations at Fort St. George. Whereas great number's of these small Pagodas have been clandestinely built, without the knowledge or permission of the Government, and more are daily begun upon, which tend to

raising disputes among the Casts none shall be built henceforward without the permission of the Governour and Council.

No colours [flags] for the Future shall be us'd at any Feast in Madrass but the English commonly known by the name of St. Georges colours with a white Field and red cross. (Madras Public Consultations, vol. 87).

R. C. T.

³⁶ *Sam+bulh* in the causative means "to call to." See Monier Williams, *s.v.*

³⁷ *I.e.* the Buddhas, past, present and future. Mr. Panday's translation is 'Conquerors.' For Jinas meaning past, present and future Buddhas cf. *Suvarṇaprabhâ* ed. Sarat Ch. Das (Buddh. Text Soc.), 23. The passage reminds one of the list of sacred places where the Bôdhisatvas were predestined to live for all time. See above, XXXIII, 80-81.

³⁸ *I.e.* to salvation. The word *adhvan* here means the *Bôdhi-mârga*, *i.e.* the Path of Knowledge.

³⁹ Cf. *śaḡalasthala* of other records.

⁴⁰ *I.e.* free.

⁴¹ The word *adhivasat* has been taken to mean a 'monastery' by Mr. Panday, though along with that Mr. Jayaswal suggests that it could also mean the residence of the monk. This latter alternative explanation appeals to me as the more natural one. *Vasat* no doubt means technically a Jaina temple, (Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 207) and it is also well-known that its Prâkrit equivalent is *vasahi* or *vasahikâ* and Kannada *tadbhava basadi* or *basati* (Hultzsch, *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, 200, n. 1 and Kielhorn, *Epi. Ind.*, IX, 148, nos. 4-5); but nowhere do we meet with a word derived from *adhi* and *vas* to denote the sense of temple, either in Jaina or Buddhist literature. The word should therefore be better taken in the sense of 'settlement' or 'residence.'

⁴² For the use of the honorific *śrî* before the *taddhita* form of a place-name cf. *Śrî-Sâmatatikah*, meaning 'come from Samatata', in a Bôdh-gayâ inscription—See *ASR.*, 1908-9, 158.

⁴³ Regarding the word *satyavâk* Mr. Panday says that this is an 'epithet' of king Jayasêna and may be compared with the same epithet in the Deopârâ inscription of Vijayasena. But unfortunately it has escaped his attention that the word *satyavâk* to be found in l. 10 of the epigraph, in the passage *satyavâk kaṇ'habhittau* which refers to Hemantasena, is not an epithet at all for the simple reason that it does not qualify anything. Kielhorn accordingly translated the clause, 'in his throat true speech,' etc. —*Epi. Ind.*, I, 312. *Satyavâk* in our inscription is a Bahuvrîhi compound, whereas in the other one it is a Karmadhâraya compound, and as such it would be wrong to take the latter as an attributive.

⁴⁴ This rendering is after Kielhorn—above, XIX, 2.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 42.)

PRINSEP, *Useful Tables*, p. 31, tells us a good deal about *ywetnî*, *yowetnee* as he writes it; and among other things that it was the standard in his time. He calls *ywetnî* "(red-leaved) flower, or star silver;" and says it was "so named from the starry appearance of the melted litharge on its surface." He further remarks that it was sometimes written by Europeans, *rowanee*, *rouni*, and *roughanee*. As to its quality he says the legal (? standard) touch was 85% of *b'ò* but that the average 60,000 *tôlas* of *ywetnî* "in the late Ava remittance" turned out 2 *dwt.* worse owing to a loss of more than 1% in melting from the exterior *scoriæ*.

Ywetnî must also be the silver referred to by Crawford (*Ava*, p. 410) as used for the payment of fines to the so-called Courts in his day (1827), for he says they were paid in *tickals* of silver of 10 per cent. alloy. This *tickal* was taken by English merchants in the early part of this century at half-a-crown.¹³

In his examination by Mr. Crawford in 1826, Mr. Gouger (afterwards author of *The Prisoner in Burma*) speaks constantly of *tickals* of "flowered silver"¹⁴ in valuing produce. Mr. Judson, the well-known missionary, used precisely the same expression in the same circumstances.¹⁵ That "flowered silver" meant *ywetnî* or standard silver, we gather from Symes, writing a generation earlier, and also from Cox, who wrote a year later than Symes. The observant author of *Two Years in Ava*, p. 280, also must have meant *ywetnî*, when he says, "The flowered silver is the least adulterated with alloy."

Symes, in his account of the Burmese currency as he found it in 1795, goes considerably wide of what must have been the true facts. He was aware that "the quantity of alloy varies in the silver current in different parts of the Empire. At Rangoon it is adulterated 25 per cent. At Amarapura, pure, or what is called flowered silver, is most common. In this latter all royal dues are paid." Here he evidently refers to *ywetnî* or

¹³ Crawford, *Ava*, p. 440; Symes, *Ava*, p. 327

¹⁴ Groeneveldt's extracts from the *New T'ang History* (A.D. 618-906), Bk. 222, Pt. 2, in *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, p. 142, seems to allude to smelting like this, when he quotes as to Java (Kaling):—"They cut leaves of silver and use them as money." The Burmese expression for "flowered silver" is *ngwetbwin* (silver flower), which Stevenson, *Dict.*, s.v., explains as "a flower that appears on the surface of good silver, thence called flowered silver." The expression "flowered silver" indeed seems to have been known in China, for Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 59, quoting Pauthier's extracts from the *Yuen-se, or Annals of the Mongol Dynasty*, says that "on the issue of the paper currency of 1287 the official instructions to the local treasuries were to issue notes of the nominal value of two strings, i.e., 2,000 *wen* or cash, for every ounce of 'flowered silver.'"

¹⁵ Crawford, *Ava*, Appendix, pp. 13, 59, 75f. See also Symes, *Ava*, p. 327; Cox, *Burmhan Empire*, pp. 39, 317, 321; Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, p. 222. See also Gouger, *Prisoner in Burma*, p. 14, where boatmen are paid in *tickals* of "flowered silver." Flowered silver was standard silver in Pegu about A.D. 1700, A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 42f.

standard silver, as his table given below shows; but this "standard" silver of the Court was never "pure" silver, or anywhere near it. He writes:—

"The several modifications are as follows:—

<i>Rouni</i> ,	or pure silver,		
<i>Rounika</i> ,	5	per cent. of alloy,	
<i>Rounizee</i> ,	10	do.	do.
<i>Rouassee</i> ,	20	do.	do.
<i>Moowadzoo</i> ,	25	do.	do.
<i>Woombo</i> , ¹⁶	30	do.	do."

*Rouni*¹⁷ is merely a rough attempt to transcribe *ywetni* into English characters (*y=r* in this as in many Burmese words, and the *t* is hardly heard): *rounika* is perhaps for *ywetnîgè*, a lump of *ywetni*: *rounizee* = *ywetnîzî*, a piece of *ywetni*: *rouassee*, perhaps = *ywetnî*, a piece of leaf, or flowered silver:¹⁸ *moowadzoo*, I can only conjecture to be *mojo*, a gold standard, to be described later on: *woombo*, there is little doubt, must stand for *wun-b'ò*, i.e., official "pure" silver. I think we may, therefore, take it that whatever Symes was told as to alloys referred to *ywetni* as the standard, and that he was either misinformed about or misunderstood the vernacular terms for the various classes of alloyed silver.¹⁹

The question, however, as to what was meant by "flowered silver" may be looked upon as set at rest by the observations of Malcolm in his *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 269. He there tells us:—"The price of a thing is always stated in weight, just as if we should say in answer to a question of price, 'an ounce' or 'a drachm.' When an appearance like crystallisation is upon the centre of a cake, it is known to be of a certain degree of alloy and is called 'flowered silver.' Of this kind which is called Huetnee [*ywetni*] the *tickal* is worth fifteen per cent. more than the *Sicca* rupee. The Dyng [*dain*] has the flowered appearance all over the cake in larger and longer crystals." Flowered silver, then, meant firstly '*ywetni*,' and secondly '*dain*.'

That Symes, irrespectively of the above remarks, meant *ywetni* silver when he speaks of standard or recognised payments is proved by his remarks, *Ava*, p. 317. Talking of the military tax, he says:—"Commonly every two, three or four houses are to furnish among them the recruit, or to pay 300 *tickal* in money, about £40 to £45." Taking the English pound to be in his day Rs. 10, then 300 *tickals* are equal to Rs. 400 to Rs. 450, or 1 *tickal* = Rs. 1-5-0 to Rs. 1-8-0. In other words, he reckoned the tax in *ywetni* silver. Cox, however, intending, I think, to speak in terms of *ywetni* silver, works out the *tickal* (*Burmhan Empire*, p. 44) at Rs. 1-4-0, when valuing the outturn of the Yenangyaung oil wells.²⁰

¹⁶ For the true names of alloyed standards, see later on in these pages.

¹⁷ The variants of this word are given later on.

¹⁸ Of Java we read in the Chinese *New Hist. of the Tang Dynasty*:—"They cut leaves of silver and use them as money." See note 14 above.

¹⁹ As late as 1889 I was given equivalents in lead for silver in terms of *ywetni*. It should be remembered that Col. Symes was a real pioneer, and though his book shows him to have been an acute observer and quite the right kind of man to send on the delicate embassy he had to conduct, he was evidently not an Oriental scholar. Hence his statements must be taken with the caution that these two facts demand of the enquirer. His mistake as to *ywetni* being "pure silver" is natural enough, for in 1893 an official born and bred in Rangoon and an intelligent man, told me that *ywetni* and *b'ò* were one and the same thing!

²⁰ In an account of these wells, communicated in 1801 to *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI, p. 132, Cox says distinctly:—"The cost of sinking a new well is 2,000 *teals* flowered silver of the country, 2,500 *sicca* rupees."

Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 450, writing in 1870, says:— The amount remitted from the various districts of Pegu before the second Anglo-Burmese War [to the King] has been ascertained with some approach to accuracy. The revenue was paid in *rwek-nee* [*ywetnî*] silver and taking a viss (lbs. 3.65) or 100 *tickals* of this as equal to Rs. 130,²¹ the annual remittances were, etc."

Horace Browne, in his account of the *District of Thayetmyo*, 1874, pp. 95f., 101ff., 107 and 111, makes, for the present subject, most valuable notes on Burmese currency and revenue at all dates from 1783 to 1852, and he says distinctly that the revenue was collected in *ywetnî* silver which he calls ²² "5 per cent. alloy," no doubt under a misapprehension. At any rate, he gives, in every instance, a statement of the rupee value of the old revenue, which is stated in viss of silver, and his calculations show that the *tickal* of revenue was worth about Rs. 1-7-0. This proves that it was paid in *ywetnî* even if General Browne had not said so in so many words. On one occasion there was, however, a remarkable divergence from this standard. On p. 96 it is stated that the Myêdè township was greatly harassed by the officials of Kings Thârâwadî and Pagàn (1838 to 1852), and that "sums were wrung from the people with the maximum of oppression and extortion." There are seven separate calculations in rupees of the value of the silver extorted in viss at this period. In each case the calculations work out at a trifle over half a rupee per *tickal*, showing that the demand must have been paid in a very debased silver, worth about 30 per cent. only of *ywetnî*.

In La Loubère's time, 1688, the practice in Siam was clearly to refer to a standard silver, the stamped *tickal*. Thus he says in the quaint English Translation ²³:—"Some informed me, as a thing very remarkable, that the Siamese sold course Silver by weight, because they had seen in the Market that Commodity in one of the Scales, and silver Money [stamped *tickals*] which serv'd as a Weight in the other. The same Names do therefore signifie the Weights and Money both . . . Gold is a Merchandize amongst them, and is twelve times the value of Silver, the purity being supposed equal in both the Metals." ²⁴

Ywetnî silver was current as a standard in Kiang Tung in 1836, as is shown by McLeod's valuing wholesale prices there in *ywetnî*.²⁵

The Kings of Burma seem to have kept their treasure in pigs of silver presumably of standard quality. Here is Mr. Gouger's interesting account of the Treasury in 1823.²⁶ The King "took his walk to the Shwai-dyke [Shwêdaik=Treasury], in front of which, exposed in the open air, were arranged some hundreds of logs of pure silver, shaped like pieces of ships' kentledge, but unfortunately for me, wanting the handle with which kentledge is furnished for the convenience of lifting. The King made some remark about them. 'Your Majesty,' said I, 'must have honest subjects: in my country they would be stolen.' 'They are too heavy,' he rejoined, 'They cannot be lifted; each piece weighs 100 viss.' 'My countrymen are very strong—they would walk away with them on their shoulders. I could almost do it myself, Your Majesty.' 'Try,' said the King, 'if you can lift one, I will give it you.' The calculation ran through my head in an instant—365 lbs. av. of pure silver!

²¹ An interesting variant of value to that usually given, viz., Rs. 125.

²² *Vide* pp. 101, 103.

²³ *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, Vol. I, p. 72: see Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I, p. 257ff., where the custom is shown to be the same in 1855.

²⁴ See also Mandelslo, *Travels*, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 130.

²⁵ *Parl. Papers, House of Commons*, No. 420 of 1869, pp. 61, 81.

²⁶ *The Prisoner in Burma*, p. 111f.



It is worth trying for at all events. I was young and not deficient in strength. Up went one foot of the log in an instant, and I believe the Golden Foot was for the moment terrified lest I should run away with it. Had there been a handle I should certainly have accomplished the feat of lifting it: but the sharp edge of the block cut my hands like a knife and I was obliged to give it up, amid the bantering laughter of the King and his Courtiers."

It may not be out of place to note here **the light that the existence of this standard silver in the XIXth Century after Christ—standard by custom and rightly described by Yule as "understood to be the medium of payment when no stipulation as to kind of money is made"—throws upon a transaction recorded as having taken place in the very dawn of Biblical history.**²⁷ When Sarah died, as a stranger in the land of Heth, at Kirjath-arba, "the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan," Abraham wished to treat with Ephron, the son of Zohar, for the sale to him of the cave of Machpelah, "which is in the end of his field." "For as much money as it is worth ye shall give it me." And Ephron answered, "The land is worth four hundred shekels of silver." So **"Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver . . . four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant."**²⁸

Abraham, then, did precisely what a purchaser in Mandalay would have done a few years ago: he paid for his land by weight of silver of the ordinary recognised standard.²⁹

Thâk'wâ, of about the same fineness as *ywetnî*, is used in Bamò chiefly, and is said to be extracted by the Chinese across the border. It is really known by its spongy appearance on its reverse surface, and by the rings caused by the settling down of the molten metal on the obverse surface. Two specimens are shown in figs. 7 and 8, Plate I. The latter has been chipped for use.

It is possible that this is not of Chinese, but of Shân make, as, in a plate facing p. 315 of his *Among the Shans*, Colquhoun gives a picture of "cast silver in use in the Independent Shân States, which from its appearance is *Thâkwâ* silver."³⁰ Colquhoun, however, gives no explanation of this, and, I may add here, of many another Plate in the book.

Descending from and concurrent with the specially named qualities of silver, there is **a large quantity of recognised alloyed standards** with local names signifying the amount of alloy contained in the lump. The Taungwin Mingyi, second minister to King Thîbò, gave me a list of twenty-two from memory, but the ordinary trader only recognises about eight.³¹

²⁷ The passage is, however, supposed to be a late interpolation; see Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 246.

²⁸ Compare with this transaction that already quoted, *ante*, Vol. XXVI, p. 209, as taking place in A.D. 1794. So also did Mrs Judson always "weigh out" money at Ava in 1823. See Wayland's *Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, pp. 252, 275, 296. So did the merchants in Cambodia in 1831, and in Siam in 1833 (Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, pp. 56, 202, 205). So also did the people of Borneo in A.D. 977 (*Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I, p. 229).

²⁹ The whole sale recorded in the 23rd Chapter of Genesis, whence these quotations are taken, is replete with customs still obtaining in North India. Other Biblical references to similar pecuniary transactions in precurrency days are:—Gen. xvii. 13; xx. 16; xxxiii. 19; xliii. 21; Exod. xxx. 15; Job, xlii. 11; Judges, ix. 4; xvi. 5; xvii. 2f.; 1 Sam. ix. 8; xxiv. 24; 1 Chron. xxi. 25; Is. xxxiii. 18; Ezra, vii. 25.

³⁰ Names for qualities of silver do not appear to be constant throughout the country, e.g., in this instance. I have known Shân *châlôn* silver called *thâgwâ*.

³¹ See Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 38, who, however, has a very imperfect note on the point. Yule, *Ava*, p. 345, says that the silver standards varied from pure to 60 per cent. alloy.

The Lists as respectively given me are as follows:—

Taungwin Mingyi's List.

Looking on *b'ò* as pure silver³² and on *dain* and *ywetní* as nearly pure, the Minister proceeded with his list thus:—

Tamàtkè	..	..	Rs. 1	alloy in	Rs. 10	silver (<i>b'ò</i>)	97½ %
Ngâmûgè	..	..	½	..	..	..	95 ..
Thông: mâtke	..	..	¾	..	..	..	92½ ..
Tasègè	..	..	10	..	..	..	90 ..
Ngâmàtkè	..	..	1½	..	..	..	87½ ..
Sêngâjâtke	..	..	15	..	..	..	85 ..
Tajàtko'ni'mûgè	..	..	17 <i>mûs</i>	..	..	..	83 ..
'Nasègè	..	..	Rs. 20	..	Rs. 1	..	80 ..
Asèkkè	..	..	25	..	..	..	75 ..
Thôngzègè	..	..	30	..	..	..	70 ..
Thôngzèngâgè	..	..	35	..	..	..	65 ..
Lêzègè	..	..	40	..	..	..	60 ..
Lêzèngâgè	..	..	45	..	..	..	66 ..
Ngâzègè	..	..	50	..	..	..	50 ..
Ngâzèngâgè	..	..	55	..	..	..	45 ..
Chauksègè	..	..	60	..	..	..	40 ..
Chauksèngâgè	..	..	65	..	..	..	35 ..
Ko'ni'sègè	..	..	70	..	..	..	30 ..
Ko'ni'sèngâgè	..	..	75	..	..	..	25 ..
Shi'sègè	..	..	80	..	..	..	20 ..
Shi'sèngâgè	..	..	85	..	..	..	15 ..
Kôzègè	..	..	90	..	..	..	10 ..

Traders' List.

The eight kinds of silver used ordinarily in the bar are, in terms of *b'ò* silver, as follows:—

Tamàtkè = 97½ %.	Ngâmûgè = 95 %.	Thôngmâtke = 92½ %.
Tasègè = 99 %.	Ngâmàtkè = 87½ %.	Sêngâjâtke = 85 %.
Nasègè = 80 %.	Tajàtko'ni'mûgè = 83 %.	

The *shi'sègè*, or 80 % alloy, quality is, however, not uncommonly met with.

"Rupee silver" is *chaukmûgè*, i.e., 6 *mûs* alloy in 100 *mûs*, or 94 per cent. of *b'ò* silver. Of this fact we have two very interesting proofs. In Judson's *English and Burmese Dictionary*, 1849, we have "rupee—*chaukmûgè dīngâ*," i.e., "six-mû coin" and in Lane's *English and Burmese Dictionary*,³³ 1841, we have precisely the same information: while in Judson we have also "*tickal—akyat*," showing that the rupee was then differentiated from the *tickal* and reckoned *chaukmûgègè* silver.

Yule says, *Ava*, p. 261, in noticing the low classes of silver above mentioned, that all below 50 per cent. silver were liable to confiscation by the King, and that they were practically confined to the provinces. He says further that before the War of 1824, the currency at Rangoon, which was then a mere provincial seaport, had only 25 per cent. of silver in it, and after the War but 10 per cent.³⁴

³² Which it is not, by the way. See Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 50.

³³ I cannot help thinking, on a careful comparison of the two books, that Judson is more indebted to Lane than the absence of acknowledgment would lead one to infer.

³⁴ See also Symes, *Ava*, p. 337.

In 1786 Flouest says³⁵ that in Rangoon the best silver was of ten per cent. alloy, and that silver of 25, 30, 40, and 50 per cent. was current. He gives a letter in full from "Bassim" [Bassein], dated "le 15 8bre, 1784" in which the writer says he "had settled an account, which at the present moment has reached 735 *ticals*, or 'roupis', of 25 per cent."

Anderson in *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 44, has an unconscious and exceedingly interesting note on the manufacture of *lêzègè*: silver (40% alloy). He says that at Bamò in 1868, a few persons were employed in melting silver for currency. "To six *tickals* of pure silver purchased from the Kakhyens [Kachins], one *tickal* eight annas of copper wire are added, and melted with alloy of as much lead as brings the whole to ten *tickals* weight."

Strettell, *Ficus Elastica*, p. 76, has an interesting but confused reference to silver standards on information taken from Capt. A. B. Bower's *Bhamo Expedition Report*, 1868, though he says it corresponds exactly with what he found to be the case himself. He says that the legal amount of alloy allowed in silver is that given below:—

Nga-yay (= *ngâzègè*), very rough, containing 1 *tical* silver, *tical* lead, $\frac{3}{4}$ *tical* copper.

Ah saik-gnway (= *asèkkè*), rough, contains 1 *tical* silver, $\frac{3}{8}$ *tical* lead, $\frac{1}{8}$ *tical* copper. Hnit-mat-gnway (= *'nasègè*), 1 *tical* silver, $\frac{1}{8}$ *tical* lead, $\frac{1}{8}$ *tical* copper.

The only value the above information has lies in the fact that it shows **how silver was alloyed for currency**. The standards above referred to would be 50%, 25% and 80% silver respectively: the last being apparently what he understood to be standard silver, a long way below *ywetní* or real standard silver.

The specimens figured in Plate I are:—*sengâjâtkè*, 15 per cent. alloy, fig. 10; *asèkkè*,³⁶ 25 per cent. alloy, fig. 11, which is the "oyster-shell silver" of Ridgeway (p. 22); *lêzègè*, 40 per cent. alloy, figs. 9 and 13. The quality of the *sengâjâtkè* and *asèkkè* specimens could be judged by their appearance, but I had to get the *lêzègè* specimen tested by the usual assay process before an opinion was passed on it.

Fig. 12, Plate I, represents a class of silver sometimes met with and called **ngwema** "mother of silver." It has a fictitious value, as it is **valued as a charm**, because it contains within the bulge (visible in the figure) some grains of sand or grit, probably by an accident in the process of smelting, which make a sound when it is shaken.³⁷

I have already remarked that value is estimated by reference to silver standards, and hence **fineness or touch is itself reckoned in terms of tickals, mûs and pês, or more conveniently nowadays in terms of rupees, annas⁸ and pies**. All the names of standards in the lists above given are terms directly indicating touch on this principle.

³⁵ *Toung Pao*, Vol. II, p. 41. Hunter, who was in Pegu the year before Flouest, says much the same thing in his *Pegu*, p. 85:—"The purity of the silver, of which there are three degrees established by law or by custom; the 25 per cent., the 80 per cent. and the 75 per cent. The first has one-fourth part; the second one half; the third three-fourths of alloy."

³⁶ The word really means "one quarter alloy." The specimen given in the Plate has three small stamps on it, no doubt the mark of fineness; and so this particular piece should be referred to the class of stamped lumps. The specimen shown, however, was chosen for its remarkable freshness as an illustration, and it is not usual to find *asèkkè* silver stamped in any way. See later on. It is the *ngwêz'ò*, the "moderately alloyed" silver of Stevenson's *Dict.* He also gives it the name *ngwâmwâ* (hairy silver) from the "hairy or feathery appearance (*mwângwê daung*) on the surface of silver moderately alloyed."

³⁷ With this may be compared the term *shwêmdâ*, "mother of gold," which, however, Stevenson, *Dict.*, says is "pure gold ore," meaning thereby (?) nuggets or gold-dust.

³⁸ The confusion between *mûs* and *annas* is nothing new, for Bayfield writing in 1836, says (*Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 229):—"Each Burman, Shan, or Singpho labourer pays six Burman annas (about half a rupee) for permission to dig." Here he meant six *mûs* of *ywetní* or standard silver.

A comparison of Prinsep's tables and statements ³⁹ with those above given by myself will be found a useful contribution towards this phase of the present subject. I therefore record below what he has said word for word in his *Useful Tables*, merely changing the spelling of the Burmese words so as to conform with that above used.

In explanation of the terms used, he says, p. 36, that the following will serve as examples of the mode of evaluating bullion:—

Dain, kômûdet is *dain* 9 per cent. better (than *ywetnî*).

Dain, ngâmûdet is *dain* 5 per cent. better.

Ywetnî is standard (85 touch).

Ywetnî kyàtkè or *tasègè*, is 1 *tikal* or 1/10 alloy (meaning 1/10 weight of alloy added to standard).

Ywetnî, chauksèngâjâtkè, is 6 tens 5 *tikal* alloy (meaning 65 per cent. alloy added).

Ywetnîjô, *hal* is *ywetnî* (and half alloy).

At p. 50 he gives the following valuable table of assay, in which the reader will find no difficulty in referring his transliterations to mine.

ASSAY OF AVA SILVER.

Burmese denomination.		Meaning of Ava Assay Report.	Touch.	Calcutta Assay Report.	Touch.	Value of 100 <i>tikal</i> in Fd Rs.
Bán (supposed to be pure)	..	pure silver..	100	Br. 16.5	98.6	151.57
Kharoobát (shell circled)	..	5 % under silver	95	Br. 6 5	94.3	145.16
Dain, ta Kyat det	..	10 „ above standard	93.5	Br. 2	92.5	142.28
Do. Ko moo det	..	9 „ do.	92.6	Standard.	91.7	141.00
Do. Sheet moo det	..	8 „ do.	91.8	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44
Do. Kwon, neet moo det	..	7 „ do.	90.9	Wo. 3	90.4	139.08
Do. nga moo det	..	5 „ do.	89.7	Wo. 5	87.6	137.79
Modain, (alloyed dain)	..	2	..	Wo. 42	74.1	114.08
Yowetnee (red flowered or star)	..	Ava standard	85.0	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44
Do. Kyat gé	..	10 % alloy	77.3	Wo. 14	85.8	132.03
Do. tshay nga Kyat gé	..	15 „ do.	73.9	Wo. 38.5	75.6	116.32
Do. nheet tshay gé	..	20 „ do.	70.8	Wo. 34	77.5	119.21?
Do. thoun tshay gé	..	30 „ do.	65.4	Wo. 72	61.6	94.85
Do. le tshay gé	..	40 „ do.	60.7	Wo. 77	59.6	91.65
Do. nga tshay gé	..	50 „ do.	56.7	Wo. 88	55.0	84.60
Do. Kyouk tshay	..	60 „ do.	53.1	Wo. 109	50.4	71.14
Do. Khwonnheet tsay gé	..	70 „ do.	50.0	Wo. 107	51.3	72.42
Do. sheet tshay gé	..	80 „ do.	47.2	Wo. 112	49.3	69.22
Do. Ko tshay gé	..	90 „ do.	44.7	Wo. 116	43.5	66.65
Yowetnee gyan	..	½ yowetnee, ½ alloy	42.9	Wo. 131	37.0	57.04
Rangoon Yowetnee	..	5 per cent. better than Ava standard.	90.0	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44

“A deduction of 1 per cent. should be expected from the produce of Ava Bullion on account of the vitreous coat of litharge which adheres to the lumps.

³⁹ Some of the silver given to Prinsep to examine is probably still in existence in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Mint Collection: see Nos. 982, 983, 984, 991, 992.

"This table is abstracted from the examination of 35 specimens of silver specially prepared in Ava, in presence of the Resident, purposely for the comparison of the Burmese with the English assay."

The lowest class of silver above noted is that containing 80 per cent. alloy, but Yule, *Ava*, p. 345, beats even this low rate by stating that, among the Shans, silver often contained fully 100 per cent. alloy. This would, however, mean strictly that there was no silver left, and what he really means, I take it, is a reference to the *ngázègè* or half silver standard, which of course contained only 50 per cent. alloy.

The great number of qualities of silver above noted is thus accounted for by Alexander Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 43:—"Silver of any Sort is welcome to them (Peguers). It pays the King eight and an Half per cent. Custom, but in lieu of that high Duty, he indulges the Merchants to melt it down, and put what Alloy they please in it, and then pass it off in Payments as high as they can. Rupee Silver which has no Alloy in it, will bear twenty-eight per cent. of Copper-alloy, and keep the Pegu Touch, which they call **flower'd Silver**, and if it flowers, it passes current."

The above statement refers to dealings at about A.D. 1700 and proves that the **standard silver of the Peguan Kingdom was of a most inferior quality**, for assuming rupee silver to have always been about 94 per cent of *b'ò*, or modern Burmese pure silver, the standard of old Peguan flower'd silver must have been about 66 per cent. of *b'*.⁴⁰

I regret that I have been unable to find anywhere a table of **Shan silver standards** to compare with the Burmese, because it is pretty evident that the two nationalities have in reality much the same customs as to currency. A search through Cushing's *Shân Dictionary* would unearth a good many of the terms used by the Shâns for silver and gold in their various forms, but unfortunately he never gives any definite renderings of the words he records. However, for future research it is something to have an idea as to what the terms are, and so I give here such as I have come across in my many wanderings through this valuable work.

K'am is gold, and we find, p. 79, *k'amkik*, pinchbeck (*mojo*); *k'amyôngpin*, very fine soft gold. *Ngün* is silver, and we have, p. 122, *ngünkiû*, very pure silver; *ngüntêng*, *dain*⁴¹ silver; *ngünmaü*, alloyed silver in cakes. *Kiû* is described as very pure silver, at p. 29, of two kinds, *kiûmais'ê* and *kiûpantang*. *T'ônk'ò* is given at p. 268 as very pure silver, and is (?) *thâkwâ* silver. And at p. 479 we have *lông-ngün*, flowered silver. At p. 375 are given *pîr* "silver from the crucible, Shân silver, pure,"=the Burmese *b'ò*: and at p. 265 we have *t'üü*, "pure silver:" p. 459, *lang*, "very pure silver."

Then there is at p. 284 *nâranî* and *hâranî*, a good variety of gold, evidently the *nâyânî-shwê* and *nâyâkâ-shwê* of Stevenson's *Burmese Dict.*; but what standard of gold these words represent I do not know.

My own efforts in this direction are hardly more satisfactory, and I merely give the terms for what they may be worth, thus:—

Burmese.	Shân.
<i>b'ò</i> (but ? should be <i>dain</i>).	<i>ngündai</i> .
<i>chaubinbaur</i> (but I think <i>ywetnî</i> is meant).	<i>nak'ônbat</i> .
<i>chaubaukngwê</i> (<i>chaubinbaur</i>).	<i>ngünmai</i> .
<i>ngwêlôn</i> .	<i>mûwain</i> .
<i>môjô</i> (bad quality gold, half gold, billon).	<i>taungnâ</i> . ⁴²
(lowest quality silver).	<i>ngünpadî</i> , <i>papa</i> .

(To be continued.)

⁴⁰ On this point see my remarks later on under the head of "lump lead," when comparing lead, copper and silver standards in modern bazars.

⁴¹ Given as *dain* to me by a Shân from the Thatôn (Sâtûng) State.

⁴² For (?) *taungnam*, copper quality or "copper fine."

NEW LIGHT FROM PREHISTORIC INDIA.

BY PROF. PANCHANAN MITRA, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

I.—Scripts and Signs from Indian Neoliths.

IN the course of my studies of the prehistoric artifacts of India deposited in the Indian Museum (as arranged and catalogued recently by Mr. Coggin Brown), I began to come across distinct marks or etchings on some neolithic specimens. A list of these marks is given here and they are of special interest; not so much as giving us "marks" sometimes similar to those found by Mr. Yazdani from the prehistoric pottery of the Madras Museum (*vide* the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, pp. 56---79), as being almost identical with some signs and scripts of prehistoric Egypt. Already the systematic search in Southern and Western Europe has brought to light marks belonging to prehistoric ages from various parts of the Iberian peninsula. Thus Estacio da Viegas¹, found them from Fonte Velha near Bensafrim, from Portella, the harbourside of Bartholomew de Messines, from Monte de Boi, from the environments of Martin Longo and other places of the provinces of Algarve and Almetjo and also in Minho and Traz-os-Montes. So also Delgado² reports similar marks from Alcala del Rio, northward of Seville and Gongora Y Martinez,³ from Fuencaliente, the cave of the Letreros, cavern of Cero del Sol and other places of Andalusia. And the seven signs from Pouca d'Aguiar in the province of Traz-os-Montes in Portugal have been ascertained to be of alphabetic value and even to indicate a prayer to the Sun-god by Severo.⁴ These belong to the early Neolithic period there, which is reckoned roughly as belonging at least to 5000 B.C.⁵

Similarly when dealing with the later brilliant Bronze Age of the Ægean culture area in the *Histoire Ancienne dans l'Antiquite*,⁶ in 1894, Monsieur Perrot had felt justified in summing up as follows:—"The first characteristic which attracts the historian's notice when he tries to define pre-Homeric civilisation is that it is a stranger to the use of writing. It knows neither the ideographic signs possessed by Egypt and Chaldæa, nor the alphabet properly so called, which Greece was afterwards to borrow." Yet in 1893-4 seal-stones began to be discovered in Greece by Greville Chester⁷ and Crete by Evans, and by the year 1895 it was possible to conclude, not only that the engravings of certain seal-stones showed all the characteristics of a system of writing, but even that the script was of the nature of a syllabary. If such was the state of affairs in Europe, no wonder that the reviewer of the Megalithic monuments of the Deccan would pass on with a hasty mention of some cup-markings,⁸ and Brecks in his classic *Primitive Tribes of the Neilgheries*, while giving us a plate photographing a prehistoric cromlech at Melur with some evident inscriptions, did not care to describe what it was. But the pity is even

¹ *Antiguidades Monumentales de Algarve*, Vol. 4, pp. 275, 285, 286-8.

² *Nuove metodo de classificacion de las medallas autonomas de Espana*, Book I, p. 132.

³ *Ant. preist. de Andalusia* (Madrid, 1868), pp. 65, 67, 73, 131.

⁴ *As necropoles dolmenicas de Traz-os-Montes* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 737.

⁵ Vide *Sudwest Europäische Megalithkultur und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient*, by Dr. G. Wilke, (1912), p. 46.

⁶ English Translation, p. vi.

⁷ Vide *Mon*, 1903, Art. No. 28.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, p. 55.

Bruce Foote, while pointing out that some of the prehistoric potteries contained "owner-ship-marks", and giving us in one of his plates (No. 47) of his second volume of *Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities* some interesting pottery "marks", did not think they were worth a passing thought. It was only in 1917 that Mr. Yazdani, while conducting some excavations in Hyderabad cairns, being struck with the notable similarity of some prehistoric pottery marks with the Brāhmī script, his memory being still fresh with the inscriptions of the Maski edict, which he had to copy down, undertook a list of these marks which he published in a table as already mentioned. But so much were the Indian antiquarians prepossessed by the idea of the lateness of Indian script that the thought of its occurring in prehistoric artifacts in India got no place in their minds and so Mr. Coggin Brown naturally failed to notice that there were not only isolated marks on several but also continuous signs on two which bore his catalogue number. As soon as it was clear to me that definite continuous marks occurred on two Indian Neoliths I at once realised the immense value of these finds on the question of the origin of Indian script, and I lost no time to hasten upstairs to subject these specimens to the sound epigraphic knowledge of the officer in charge, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. The eminent professor has already been kind enough to refer to these finds and now he deciphered one satisfactorily by finding out that the signs looked like primitive Brāhmī characters reversed and holding the thing before a mirror gave a reading which we would see has been corroborated by other evidence. The two Neoliths bearing continuous signs come from almost contiguous parts of North-Eastern India, the one from Assam and the other from Bihar.

The first one is a well-polished celt sharpened at the edge and narrowed near the top in the characteristic manner of specimens from Assam though not formed into well defined shoulders like some other beautiful artifacts of the locality. It bore the Catalogue No. 998 and apparently could not be traced after having been catalogued. What was remarkable about the script was a continuous line at the bottom which evidently had run into a perpendicular at the left extreme. This no doubt indicated that the script ran from right to left. It is hardly worth the while to point out that such writing has been considered to be the most ancient form in historical India and also that such specimens of Brāhmī and Kharoshī have been reported from Eran and North-Western India and none from the North-East. Moreover, the continuous line at the bottom naturally reminded me of the plate number XXXIV of Estacio da Viera's *Antiquidades monumentales de Algarve*⁹ figuring an inscription from Fonte Velha near Bensafrim in Bezik-Lagoa, Portugal, which our Neolithic signs resemble most in the bold linear type of character measuring alike in both the cases nearly one mm. in length and ending also in a perpendicular at the left side of the line. It did not seem to have become independent of the bottom line or to have developed into the well-marked art of the linear script from Crete, tables of which have been given by Mr. Solomon Reinach in *L'Anthropologie*.¹⁰ Besides the bottom line and the perpendicular at the left extreme, four distinct signs lying clearly apart from each other may be easily differentiated from each other. It is rather fortunate that within the last ten or twelve years prehistoric palæography is being placed more and more on a very sound footing by a comparative study of the numerous signs unearthed from the Iberian peninsula, the Mediterranean culture area and prehistoric Asia Minor and Egypt. A systematic table of the signs have been given long ago by Horne in his *Natur-und*

⁹ Vol. IV, p. 273.

¹⁰ 1902, p. 4 Fig. 2.

Urgeschichte des Menschen and the latest can be found in the *Scientia*¹¹ from the learned pen of Doctor W. M. Flinders Petrie. If we take for granted that similar signs have similar acrophonic value and alphabetic character (which is not much doubtful) then we can read with the help of the last table at least three signs. The sign on the extreme left "U" is set down without any difficulty as identical with the Egyptian "Y" and also Carian sign for "Y" and the third from the left similarly to the sign for "I" in both these places. We should have been surprised if some of the signs from Assam had not presented some difficulty when being judged by a key which holds good of things from far-off Egypt. The second sign from the left resembles more a reversed Aśokan "ga" with the two lines more at right angles than the prehistoric Egyptian sign for "g" which can be said to be a reversed Aśokan "ga" with a short line joining the lower end at an acute angle. The fourth sign from the left appears to be even much more primitive. It harks back to the flag-like sign from the dolmens of Alvao in Portugal, but with this difference that the loop at the right hand top is not closed in the Assam specimen. It possibly represented the "A" vowel-stroke. The final perpendicular may be taken as a repetition of the "I" sign only joined at the bottom and lengthened a little or it might mark the end of the script in the same manner as the *parichchheda* mark at the end of a sentence in later days in India. Thus putting things together we get roughly a reading like "Y.G.I.A."

Now the surest test of the correctness of a reading is when it admits of a rational explanation and bears a meaning. In India alone probably of all countries of the world the hard setting of different cultures at different stages can be definitely ascertained, and thus to the wonder of the prehistoric archæologist he can actually hear the language spoken which was perhaps the dominant tongue of a pushing race long before the Semitisation or Aryanisation of the world. Our hopes have not been belied and turning to the primitive tribes of Assam whence came our Neolith, we had little difficulty in tracing the meaning. A Khasi vocabulary and grammar would at once point out that "I" is the diminutive article of both genders as "U" is the masculine and "Ka" the feminine article and "gyo" in Burma and "khiw" in Khasi means a hoe, primitive in shape but still in use locally. Now, why a spade should be written a spade or a hoe, is clearly realised when we find from the following extract how the word is connected with the thunder-weapon in folk-lore especially in the neighbouring districts (*vide* Coggin Brown's article in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. V, No. 8, 1909). Thus Mr. Gurdon writes in his celebrated book *The Khasis*¹²: "Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *mo-khiw*¹³, with its far-projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the 'shoulder-headed celts.'" Another interesting point is that according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone-celts is *mo-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *mo-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very great. Forbes says the name "mo-gyo" in Burmese means "Cloud or sky-chain" which he interprets "thunderbolt", the popular belief there as in other countries being that these implements fell from heaven When it is remembered that these stone-celts are of a different shape from that of the stone-implements which have been found in India (with

¹¹ 1918, I—XII.

¹² Second edition (Macmillan), 1914, p. 12-13.


¹³ 'Mo' in Khasi means large, as 'I' small.

the exception of Chota Nagpur) there would seem to be some ground for believing that the Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age. That these peoples were, what Logan calls, the Mon-Annam may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state "the discovery¹⁴ is interesting for other reasons, as it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to languages of the Mon-Annam or Mon-Khanver and those of the Mundas and the Khasis) was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Annam races and influence extended from the Vindhya all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." So if we were disposed to think that a chance coincidence merely made the prehistoric palæographic Egyptian key fit in to an Assam Neolith, the probability of correctness becomes more when the meaning is made clear and patent by a systematic anthro-philological enquiry. What is rather more important and an interesting link in our arguments is convincing proofs have already been brought forward by a learned savant, Mr. H. Frey, in 1905 in *Egyptiens préhistoriques identifiés avec les Annamites* mainly on linguistic grounds, that the prehistoric Egyptians and the present Annamites, are identical. Thus he wrote in page 6: "We mean to state finally and principally and we hope to be able to impart the conviction to those who are interested by these studies, that the language spoken in Egypt in prehistoric epochs, that is to say, 6000 years and more before Christ, was none other than what is but spoken to day by the Annamites and which in the monosyllabic form, as it then was, in some sort crystallised, (as much as time allowed has maintained) much of its primitive purity." We have already seen that the Khasi language bears marked affinities with the languages of the Annamite group. It is rather remarkable that the Khasis as they are, do not possess the art of writing and in fact they have adopted the English alphabet lately for their new growing literature. But still tradition is strong among them that they possessed the art of writing in some antediluvian age and they lost their book and arts while swimming for life during the flood.¹⁵ Lastly, the following quotation gives us a clue that this Neolith inscribed in some ancient Khasi tongue was probably used as a token of submission¹⁵ :—"The Rev. H. Roberts in his introduction to his *Khasi Grammar* states that tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem of submission." To prehistoric archæology, which saw its birth to make some Müllerian myths melt in air and unearthed the cup of Priam and the seals of Idomeneus' treasury, which has brought forth sure proofs of very ancient connections between such widely scattered tracts as Scandinavia or Spain and Crete or Egypt, and which is well nigh inclined to assign to a single race the thousands of megaliths spread almost all over the world, the connection between Neolithic Assam and predynastic Egypt is not much surprising. Some very interesting intermediate stages and 'missing links' will be adduced in the next two papers, which will go well nigh to demonstrate a great prehistoric Indian race, whom I should like to call Indo-Erythræan, was possibly responsible for some highly finished cultures, which almost simultaneously (or rather the more Eastern, the more ancient the culture) had its rise in prehistoric India, predynastic Egypt and proto-Sumer and Accad. And as botanists would call that land the place of origin where certain plants are still

¹⁴ Gurdon, *The Khasis* (2nd edition), p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid*

found *wild*, so anthropologists would tend strongly in favour of the land as the primitive and original home where the earliest wild stages are still as unmistakably found as the later higher developments clearly missed. Lastly it must be remembered that if Petrie's arguments that proto-Egypt is the ultimate source of all prehistoric signs in Europe and Africa, as it possesses the largest number, is sound, prehistoric India is in a much more vantage ground, as Mr. Yazdani's already published signs, together with the signs found later by himself and me, far outweigh in number those from Egypt.

With these words I pass on to the other remarkable artifact, the piece of red earthy hæmatite whose very make suggests to Egyptian hieroglyph for representing roughly a 't' 'd' sound joined to the symbol for 'aah' . Its immediate deciphering speaks volumes of the soundness of the Indian palæography as well as the epigraphic abilities of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, whose reading has been more than amply justified by the hieroglyphic indication of the value of the artifact itself as well as independent evidence from another quarter. I may mention here that another small beautifully shaped Neolith (Catalogue No. 20991) is identical in shape with the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign for "R'd" or "R'j."

Coming now to the script itself, we start with the clue of the hieroglyphic determinative which gives us the idea that the word is an "aah-ta" ending word, so if any doubt remain that the word was to be read from the left to the right is at once done away with and we also get the value of the large symbol as "TA" and we have already stated that Prof. Bhandarkar's reading from the purely Indian palæographic standpoint gave us the identical value when it was taken for granted that it was a reverse Brâhmî "Ta", whose existence has always been pre-supposed from the older manner of writing of the Brâhmî script notably in Eran. Similarly the first symbol on the extreme right was once for all settled for "Ma" though the right hand horn on the loop forming a straight line with the right hand side of the loop itself showed that it was of considerable antiquity—much more anterior to the Eran form. For though historic palæography has a tendency to pre-suppose a later date, the straighter the lines, prehistoric palæography has given once for all the lie direct to it, for the more we go back for at least in the history of the prehistoric script in S.-W. Europe we do not often get the preceding picture-writing but definite bold stroke. It seems that to the earliest man as to the young child it was easier to give indiscriminate dots and dashes rather than faithful artistic representations of objects round them not to speak of attaching a philosophic or rationalistic symbolical meaning to them, which pre-supposes a considerable development of the intellect taking thousands of years in the history of human culture. It is for this reason perhaps that the Hieratic has been definitely disproved to be merely a cursive development of the Hieroglyphic, as archaeological excavations have given us a long series of its fore-runners at a time when probably the latter was unknown. That is why also, perhaps, pre-Columbian Mexico whose civilisation left little to be desired or at least was not at all rude and primitive, gloated in the possession of probably the best form of picture-writing the world has ever known. In short we are even tempted to say that the palæographer's occupation is gone in the face of Piette's epoch-making discoveries of the painted symbols from Masd'Azil of which the modest date would be more than 6000 B.C. and which give us the capital letters "E" or "I" or "L" in a form which leaves little to be desired in the twentieth century A.D. At least now no one should enter into the question of the origin of the alphabet

in any part of the old world without full note of their long tale in the prehistoric dawn. These digressions apart, which were entered into merely to show that probably the laudable attempts of the great Cunningham to pre-suppose and evolve a fore-running Hieroglyph or Pictograph from the existing Brâhmi type were but love's labours lost, I pass on to the script in question which was deciphered as "Maata." We have already referred to the Acrophonic value of the artifact and now we would point out that "Maata" as an euphonym is very common amongst Egyptian sovereigns (witness name "Ra-maat" of queen Hatashu or Hatshepsheh). The word *mât*, *mat*, *mât*, meaning 'eye' also runs through several of the Mon-Annam languages to which the Munda of Chota Nagpur bears remarkable affinities, e.g., Mon, *mat*; Stieng, *mat*; Bahnar, *mat*; Annam, *mat*; Khasi, *Khmat* (dialectic *mât*); (vide Gurdon, p. 206).

Before passing on to other questions it is well to consider the probability of the knowledge of writing in Neolithic India. Bruce Foote in his masterly second volume on the Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities (*Notes on the Ages, etc.*, p. 15) points out: "That the Indian people of Palæolithic times did occasionally make drawings and engravements for special purposes, seem, however, more than probable, because implements suitable for the preparation of such drawings have been found, notably the 'chert-burin' from Jubbulpur resembling one from Les Eyzies." Thus what Masd'Azil has established in Europe, the Jubbulpur 'chert-burin' would lead us to in far-off India, namely, that alphabetiform signs (*Alphabetartige Zeichen*) first arose in the transitional period between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic ages. Moreover, graffiti etchings remarkably resembling those from the "Rein-deer" period of prehistoric Europe have been reported from Neolithic Kapgallu hills of the Bellary District. Similarly Mr. C. W. Anderson has reported of the Rock-paintings of Singapore in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1918, of which plate 8, depicting the folded palm of a hand, makes a near approach to the shape of our piece of Hæmatite.

Now not much doubt should remain as to the antiquity of our finds, which was collected by competent savants of the Geological Survey and catalogued as a genuine artifact of Neolithic India by the unassailable Indian geological and anthropological knowledge of Mr. Coggin Brown, as these Egyptian similarities unmistakably point to the same mysterious prehistoric connections to which I have referred already. At least the mere fact that Indian archæology, which takes us back to Naks-i-Rustam and Behistun tablets of the sixth century B.C., has not a word to say on this shows how far anterior to that period would have been the time of the contact of the Egyptian and Indian cultures as there can be proved to have been some, by these and subsequent evidence. Here we have two Neoliths, one of which we have read with a key supplied by prehistoric Egypt and the other harking back to some characteristics which are unmistakably Egyptian, so can we not say that they belong to a time when either prehistoric India was being influenced by predynastic Egypt (for the key which we have used belongs to pre-hieroglyphic and proto-hieratic period) or *vice versa*, or a common culture was swaying both the lands? Though the prehistoric data from India have not yet been exhausted, five catalogues have already enabled me sufficiently to enter into the same interesting problem in a second paper on the vestiges of a prehistoric race of India and a third paper on the chronology of the Indian early Iron Age and it would be seen that the conclusions, which prehistoric palæography clearly hints at, would be rendered highly probable by a comparative study of some ancient skulls and would almost settle into a valid scientific induction by the tests of prehistoric archæology and metallurgy of India.

One word more,—my friend Mr. S. Kumar who has piloted me often by giving me timely warnings of the pitfalls ahead suggested that these might be talismans or tribal sept-marks. It does justice to his strong commonsense and clear insight, for on turning over the pages of the *Anthropological Journal*, *Man* (1903, Article 28), at his suggestion I found that exactly the same doubts were thrown on Cretan stones when they were being unearthed in the late Nineties of the last century. But it is now held by a comparative study of talismans all over the world, that these are invariably bored for being used as pendants and both our Neoliths betrayed no trace of any boring. As to their being sept-marks, the mere fact that we have been able to decipher them by a key which reads alphabets and also that the reading has been rendered correct by the probable meanings which we have found quite suitable renders improbable the idea that they were mere uncouth symbols looked upon with reverential or superstitious awe.

Lastly, the "Maata" of our Neolith, written undoubtedly with reverse. Brâhmî characters according to Prof. Bhandarkar (who was kind enough to point out also that the reverse form could not have been due to its being used as a seal for the signs were inscribed or rather etched in very narrow lines on a very uneven part and thus could not have been meant for impression elsewhere), means a headman or chieftain. We have seen it forming a part of Egyptian royal names. It survives to-day curiously enough, such is the degradation of words brought about probably by social circumstances in the lowest degraded class in India, the cleaners of refuse—the "mehtar" and the "mehtua." Russell and, if I remember right, also Risley, have long ago pointed out that the word "mehtar" means a prince or head-man. The very depth of the social scale to which these peoples have sunk, shows the vast lapse of ages which must have gone by since the time these very people were actually princes and chieftains, from which position they sank and sank till the last of Indian primitive conquerors who gave it its dominant culture, the Sindhu-bank dwellers—the Hindus—came from the direction of "Ariane" and evolved a rigid social system which has shown little signs of any great modification since those ancient times, except it be in these days of mass education and British enlightenment. So these words, as it were, gives a side-light to those remote Neolithic pre-Aryan times, when a piece of red earthy hæmatite much prized by prehistoric Indians, shaped in a beautiful symbolical manner and inscribed with a word meaning a leader, might have been part of the paraphernalia of some pre-Aryan patriarchal ruler. Now it is well known that village government has often been shown by others to be of South Indian pre-Aryan (Dravidian or pre-Dravidian) origin. And as village government in India was seldom touched by the imperial ruler of India and has gone on in much the same way for thousands of years, I am inclined to think that we can still trace the rule of a Maata in the modern village headman "Mahto", which word should not be connected by false philology with the much later Sanskrit word "Mahat" as Prof. Bhandarkar pointed out that in Sanskrit the word for a chief is "Mahattara" and "Mahattama", the comparative and superlative forms and not simply "Mahat." It seems very probable that the non-Aryan word "Mehtar" was identified with Sanskrit "Mahattara" and by false analogy the superlative "Mahattama" also came into being. About the modern "Mahto" rule I would refer to Russell's *Tribes and Castes, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 386, and Risley's *Tribes and Castes of*

Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 43-44, and also give the following excerpt from the *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, Part I. p. 466 :—

"In Shahabad every *goala* village has a head-man called 'Mahto' for a group of villages, and in the case of towns for the whole of the town, there is a superior caste official who is called 'Barka-Mahto,' i.e. a 'Mahto' of 12 villages. When a breach of caste rule takes place the village 'Mahto' is first informed about it. In petty cases he gives judgment in consultation with the castemen of the village. In serious cases the 'Barko-Mahto' is referred to, and general panchayet of all the castemen in the villages under him is convoked. Among other sub-castes (except the Goria), the panchayet's jurisdiction is restricted to a group of villages, the head of which is called a 'Mahto.'

Russell and Risley make it clear (*vide* references *ante*) that this term is very common amongst the *goalas*. However much these may have a tendency recently to group themselves under the third Aryan caste group, the Vaishyas, the following extract from Captain Mackintosh's *Account of the Mhadgo Koles*¹⁰ would make it clear that they clutched quite a different tradition about their origin, when modern education had not yet percolated to them, on the strength of which they may be with a fair degree of probability ascribed to be remnants of a pre-Aryan Megalith-rearing race of the Deccan :—

"There is a popular tradition among the people in that part of the country, that the Goursees were the original inhabitants of the Dukhan, and that they were displaced from the hilly tracts of the country by the race of Goullies or cowherds. These Goullies, it is said, subsequently rebelled against their lawful prince, who detached an army that continued unceasing in their exertion until they exterminated the entire race of Goullies. It is a common practice with such of the inhabitants of the plains as bury their dead as well as the hill-tribes to erect *thurgahs* (tombs commonly of a single stone) near the graves of their parents. In the vicinity of some of the Koly villages and near the site of deserted ones, several of those *thurgahs* are occasionally to be seen, especially near the source of the Bhaum river. The people say they belong to the Goursees and Goullies of former times. The stones, with many figures in relief roughly carved upon and one of them holding a drum in his hand and in the act of beating tune on it, are considered to have belonged to the Goursees who are musicians by profession. The other *thurgahs* with a *saloonka* (one of the emblems of Mhadgo) and a band of women forming a circle round it with large pots on their heads, are said to be Gouilly monuments. . This may be reckoned partly confirmatory of the tradition."

I append below a list of the signs heretofore discovered by me :—

Neolithic scripts of and signs found by me.					Catalogue number of the pieces on which they occur.	Locality.
I	λ	K	κ	..	No. 3177. C. B. P. 124 ..	Chota Nagpur.
II	1	G	7	4	C. B. P. 131; Neolith No. 998 ..	Assam.
III	Λ	..	..	..	C. B. P. 131; Neolith No. 866 ..	Assam.
IV	Y	..	..	..	C. B. P. 74; Neolith No. 2626 ..	Bellary.
V	κ	..	..	..	C. B. P. 126; Neolith No. 3294 ..	Behar.

NOTE C B.—*Catalogue raisonné of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.* By J. Coggia Brown, M.Sc., F.G.S., edited by Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., M. A., Litt. D., F.S.A.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰ *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. V (1837), p. 251-252.

THE HUN PROBLEM IN INDIAN HISTORY.¹

BY PROF. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.; MADRAS.

The Huns were an Asiatic people who, according to accepted history, dominated the world during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. Gibbon says of them: "The Western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube, but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hope of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of Attila, the Huns again became the terror of the world, and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable Barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman Empire.

"In the tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. Their accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the Barbarians who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life.

"Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck: a large head, a swarthy complexion, small, deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired."²

The Huns in the East.

At the other extremity of their influence at about the same period, a more recent historian has the following:—"Reference has already been made to the Yueh-Chi as having in 163 B.C. dispossessed the Sakas from their habitat in the Tarim Basin. In 120 B.C. the Yueh-Chi drove the Sakas out of Bactria, which they occupied and which remained their centre for many generations. In 30 B.C. one of their tribes, the Kwei-Shang, subdued the others, and the nation became known to the Romans as the Kushan. Antony sent ambassadors to this people and Kushan chiefs appeared in Rome during the reign of Augustus. Their power gradually waned, and they were finally supplanted by a race known to the Chinese as the Yetha, to the classical writers as the Ephthalites or White Huns, and to the Persians as the Haythal: the new-comers, though of a similar stock, were entirely distinct from the Yueh-Chi whom they drove out. This powerful tribe crossed the Oxus about A.D. 425, and according to the Persian chroniclers the news of their invasion caused a widespread panic."³

¹ The Inaugural Lecture before the Madras Christian College Associated Societies.

² Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Methuen's Popular edition, Vol. III, pp. 416-19.

³ *History of Persia*, by Lieut.-Col. Sir P. M. Sykes, Vol. I, pp. 468-9.

These Huns seem to have made their appearance first on the eastern frontier of Persia about the year 350 in the reign of the Persian King, Shapur the Great, and, according to Persian historians, Shapur defeated them and made them enter into a treaty with him so far successfully that, when he had to go to war against Rome a few years after, he was supported by an army of these Huns; but soon after the year A.D. 425, when they crossed the Oxus, Bahram Gur defeated them completely and made them cross the Oxus back again for the time being. Though defeated for the while, the White Huns hung like a cloud on the eastern frontier of Persia and constituted the principal pre-occupation of the Persian monarchs that succeeded him. After a prolonged series of operations, Shah Firuz of Persia suffered in A.D. 483 a crushing defeat from the "Khush-Newaz", the High-minded, and he himself fell in the battle. What was worse for Persia, the White Hun monarch imposed a tribute on the Great King who succeeded Firuz, which was paid for two years. It was left to a son of this valiant Firuz, Kobad by name, to destroy the power of these Huns. After a war which lasted from A.D. 503, to 513 he defeated them, and the White Hun peril which had threatened Iran for so long had passed away.

The Huns in India.

It is these Ephthalites or the White Huns that figure prominently in the History of India of the same period. Their first appearance so far as is known to us at present was in the reign of the early Gupta Emperor, Kumâragupta, whose death took place in A.D. 455. He suffered a defeat at the hands of the Huns, serious enough to shake the foundations of the empire; but the disaster was averted by the energy of his son Skandagupta, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Barbarians and averted the danger for the time, about the year A.D. 455. The Huns appeared again barely ten years after, about A.D. 465, occupying Gandhâra, the North-Western Punjab. Five years after this they advanced further into the interior and Skandagupta's exertions to stem the tide of the invasion were not uniformly successful. Under his weaker successors, they continued their advance till they were completely defeated some years before A.D. 533, either by a combination of Narasimha Gupta Bâlâditya, the Gupta ruler, and Yaśodharman of Malva (either as a subordinate, or more likely as an independent ruler); or each of these inflicted a separate defeat upon these Huns. We have records of two Hun rulers in India, father and son, by name Toramaṇa and Mihiraguḷa. Mihiraguḷa, the Gollas of Cosmos Indikopleustes, is described by Hiuen-Tsang as "a bold intrepid man of great ability and all the neighbouring states were his vassals." He wished to study Buddhism and the Buddhists put up a talkative servant to discuss the Buddha's teachings with the king. Enraged at the insult he ordered the utter extermination of the Buddhist Church in his dominions. When he recovered from the defeat at the hands of Bâlâditya, he found that his place was not available to him. His younger brother having taken possession of the throne, he took refuge in Kashmir, and here he repaid hospitality by treachery and having murdered the king he made himself ruler. Then he renewed his project of exterminating Buddhism, and with this view he caused the demolition of 1600 topes and monasteries, and put to death nine *kôfis* of lay adherents of Buddhism. His career was cut short by his sudden death, and the air was darkened, and the earth quaked, and fierce winds rushed forth as he went down to the Hell of unceasing torment.⁴

What the Hindu and Jain sources have to say of him is no less gruesome, and he was taken away to the relief of suffering humanity.

⁴ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 288-9.

The Huns in Indian Literature—Kālidāsa.

It is the invasion of the Huns and the particular period of active migration of this nomadic people that scholars have laid hold of in connection with all references that may be found to the Huns in Indian literature. One of these latter references is contained in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa. Among the many achievements of the hero has to figure, according to accepted canons of literary criticism, a description of his conquest of the four quarters. This forms Book IV of the work. Ślokas 60—80 of this book give the details of the western conquests of Raghu and his progress northwards till he crossed the Himalayas back into the Madhyadēśa of the ancients. The geography of this progress is worth careful study. Raghu is brought in victorious career along the west coast to Trikūṭa, which is west Avanti on the farther side of the Vindhyas. Then he started for the conquest of the *Pārasīka* by the landway. He left the field of the battle with the army of cavalry of the westerners covered with the bearded heads, cut off by the crescent darts of his bowman. He magnanimously pardoned the survivors who surrendered to him with their turbans removed. The victors rid themselves of the fatigues of the battle by draughts of wine in the surrounding vineyards in which sheets of leather were spread for seats. Then he set forward northwards as if he were bent upon uprooting the northern monarchs. By rolling on the banks of the *Sindhu* (*Vaṅkṣu*) the horses of Raghu's army not only got rid of the fatigues of the journey but also shook off the pollen of the saffron flowers sticking in their manes. The display of his valour on their husbands exhibited itself by the red colour in the cheeks of the *Hūṇa Woman*.⁵ The *Kambojas* unable to resist his valour bent down before him as did their Walnut (*Akṣola*) trees broken by his elephants tied to them. They sent in their tributes in heaps of gold and herds of horses repeatedly, pride never entering the mind of Raghu all the same.

Then he ascended the *Himalayas*, the mountain-father of Gauri, the mineral dust raised by his cavalry appearing to be intended to enhance the heights of its peaks. The breeze rustling among the birch-leaves, and whistling musically among the bamboos, carried the spray droplets of *Ganges water* which refreshed him on the way.

The *Kirātas* who reached his abandoned camps learned the height of his elephants from the marks on the deodars left by the neck-ropes of these elephants.

Raghu fought a fierce battle with the *Pārvatīyas* (the seven *gaṇas* of *Utsavaśaikētas*). Having made them lose the taste for war, he got his pæan of victory sung by the *Kinnaras*.

Having raised his pile of unassailable glory on the *Himalayas* as if to put to shame the *Rāvaṇa*-shaken *Kailāsa* of *Śiva*, Raghu descended the *Himalayas*.

Criticism of the Reference.

The substance of the twenty stanzas of the book given above, gives a sufficiently correct indication of the point of view of the author though three points of view seem possible. In such connections an author may simply follow a conventional method in which states and parties are alike figments of the imagination; he may equip himself with such historical information as may be available to him and try to project the political condition of the age of his hero; or he may just project anachronistically the political condition of his own age. Which exactly is the actual point of view of the author in any particular case has to be settled upon its own merits in each case, and the decision will depend upon the actual knowledge of the age it is possible for us to bring to bear upon the question. Profoundly well-read in the *Epics* and the *Purāṇas*, as Kālidāsa apparently was, he does not appear

⁵ This is a product of Yuan-Chwang's *Kapīśa*. S. Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki*, I, 54 and notes, 190 & 191.

to follow the Paurâṇic convention in this case. It is well on the surface that he does not quite attempt the historical surroundings of the age of Raghu, as a comparison of this progress with the corresponding section of the Râmâyana or the Mahâbhârata will abundantly show. It is in all probability, the third course that he has adopted in this case, and has tried to depict the political surroundings of his own age. On this assumption it is that those scholars who have investigated the question have ascribed to Kâlidâsa the particular historical periods to which they ascribe him, rejecting as untenable the traditional age of Vikramâditya of Ujjain. It will appear in the course of our study of the history of the Huns, that this settlement so far, at any rate, as it rests upon Kâlidâsa's reference to the Hûṇas, is anything but the crucial test that it is but too readily taken to be.

The Geographical Data of Kâlidâsa.

Let us examine the test a little more closely. Kâlidâsa leads Raghu from Trikuṭa by the landway to Pârasika which must be Fars (ancient Persia) from which the name has descended to the whole country. The specific mention of the landway suggests that the usual way was the waterway. If Raghu came from Aparânta, (the Bombay Coast) he must have crossed the Vindhya near the west end through his own Anûpa, and Trikuṭa must be located in the Western parts of Central India, the roadway must then go across the margin of the desert to Sukkur, and thence by way of the Bolan Pass to the Kojak Amran mountains, winding round them to Girishk, and thence across to South Persia along the Helmand, that is, the region of Persia hallowed by the early activity of Zoroaster and his patron Darius Hystapes. Then follow some points of detail which indicate accurate knowledge of the characteristics of the Persians and the Parthians before them. They were both of them essentially horsemen, and the Pârasikas are described in the poem. When they were defeated, and they resolved to surrender, the usual custom among them was to take off their turbans, throw them round their necks and appear as supplicants. Whether the term "Apanîta Sirastrâṇa" conveys all this it would be hard to say, but it seems unmistakably to indicate this peculiarity of the Persians. Both Persians and Parthians were alike bearded men, as the poem says.

Having conquered these, Raghu starts northwards as if to uproot the kings of the northern people—among whom figure only two, the Hûṇas and Kâmbojas. As a clear indication of what this north means we are given the specific hint (in *śloka* 67) that the banks of the *Sindhu* were reached. The word *Sindhu* is more likely to be a misreading, as six manuscripts out of the nine have *Vaṅkṣu* instead of *Sindhu*. The most popular and authoritative commentator among these, Mallinâtha, adopting the reading *Sindhu*, gives the meaning a *nada* in Kashmere, meaning a westward flowing river, according to his own definition. He has been driven to this by the obvious unsuitability of the ordinary significance of the word *Sindhu*.⁶ It is very likely that the correct reading is *Vaṅkṣu*. If it is so, what is *Vaṅkṣu*? This is usually identified with the river Oxus, which is derived from the term *Vakṣu* or *Vaṅkṣu*. The Oxus is a long river the sources of which lie not far from the Pamirs, and its course then lay across the whole width of Mid-Asia from the Pamirs to the Caspian Sea. The *Vaṅkṣu* is not the Oxus, however, but is the name of one of the many tributaries which pour their tribute of water into the actually smaller Oxus to make it the great river. Among four such in the upper reaches of the Oxus, there

⁶ See Nandargikar's Edition of the *Raghuramāya*, p. 91. *Vaṅkṣu* as such was known to the Indians of Mâlva in the age of Bhoja. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 189-195.

are two, Wakshab and Akshab, between which lay Khuttal, as it is called by Arab geographers, but Haytal by the ancient Persians, from which the name Ephthalites was given to the later Huns. The Wakshab of the Arabs is apparently the Vaikṣu referred to by Kālidāsa, by far the greatest tributary of the Oxus.

Immediately to the east of this and enclosed in a huge semi-circular bend of the Oxus is the division known by the name Badakshan, 'a country in which rivers carried down gold sands.' To the east of this again and reaching almost to the very source of the Oxus lay Wakh-Khan, which brings us to the very frontiers of Kashmir, but on the farther side of the Karakoram branch of the Himalaya mountains. There is but a narrow strip of country at the foot of the Pamir between the upper course of the Indus, the sources of the Oxus and those of the Yarkhand river, which in medieval times formed the road of communication between Turkistan and Tibet. The junction of the Wakshab is reached from Balkh by a road going into the territory of Khuttal, a little to the east of the junction,⁷ and if Kālidāsa had any roadway in this region in his mind, Raghu's march must have taken the road that Alexander took, up to Balkh and then turned north-eastward from Balkh, through Badakshān and Wakh-Khan to the frontier of Kamboja, instead of the slightly north-western road which led into Sugd, the Sogdiana of the Greeks. There is then another point for remark in this connection. This itinerary for Raghu seems to mark the outer boundary in the west and north-west of India from the Achæmenian times onwards almost up to the middle of the 3rd century A.D., if not even up to the time of Yuan Chwang (Hiuen-Tsiang).

Raghu marched eastwards from the Vaikṣu apparently till he reached the frontiers of the Kambojas who submitted without a fight. After this it is that he began his ascent of the Himalayas. There is a well-known route for commerce through Ladak and eastern Kashmere into Tibet, but the region was occupied by the warlike Daradas (Dards).⁸ Raghu's route according to Kālidāsa, must have lain further east as there is no mention of these Daradas, and as *śloka* 73 states that his army was refreshed, on its laborious mountain journey, by the breezes from the Ganges. There is the further reference (in *śloka* 80) to the Kailāsa being perhaps in view. He then descended the Himalayas probably by the passes of Gangotri and Kêdarnāth into the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna. Here ends this part of his victorious progress, Kālidāsa transferring him to the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) immediately on his eastern conquests.

The real question requiring explanation.

This detailed investigation makes it clear that at the period of time referred to by Kālidāsa in this connection, the Huns were in that particular region on the northern banks of the Oxus, which became characteristically their own in the centuries of their active domination both over Asia and Europe, that is, in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. When they actually did come in there, and whether those that were in occupation of that region before them could by any means be known to the Indians of their days by the name Hun or Hūṇa are points on which light would be welcome.

The Hun in Chinese History.

The name Hūṇa can be traced back in Chinese history to the very beginnings of the history of that country. These were a people who occupied the north-western corner

⁷ Vide *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Le Strange, Chap. 'The Oxus.'

⁸ For the position of the Dards and Kambojas see Pargiter's Map *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 332.

of China proper and were known to the neighbouring Chinese under three forms of the name, written differently no doubt but pronounced exactly alike. Their earliest name seems to have been Hiün-Yu, the first part being Hun or Kun indifferently ; later they were called Hien Yün, and finally Hiung-Nu, the common sound of all these being Hun. This takes on an affix 'U' in Persian becoming Hunu, Sansk. Hūṇa. These Hiung-Nu were the leaders of the Turkish, Mongolian, and Hunnu peoples, who overran the continent of Eurasia in the centuries above referred to. They referred themselves to the dynasty of Hia, founded by the great Yu, son of the minister Kun in B.C. 2205. The seventeenth ruler of this dynasty was banished in 1766 B.C., because he was a tyrant. His son Shun-wei migrated with 500 members of the family of Hia to the northern borders of the district of China, and these, Chinese tradition referred to as the forefathers of the Hiung-Nu. Dr. F. Hirth says: " Under Huang-Ti, we find the first mention of a nation called Hun-Yu, who occupied the north of his empire and with whom he is represented to have engaged in warfare. The Chinese identified this name with that of the Hiung-Nu, their old hereditary enemy and the ancestors of Attila's Huns. Even though the details of these legendary accounts may deserve little confidence, *there must have been an old tradition that a nation called Hun-Yu, occupying the northern confines of China, were the ancestors of Hiung-Nu tribes*, well-known in historical times, a scion of whose great Khans settled in the territory belonging to the king of Sogdiana during the first century B.C., levied tribute from his neighbours, the Alans, and with his small but warlike hordes initiated that era of migrations, which led to the over-running of Europe with central Asiatic Tatars."⁹ Coming down the centuries, the kingdom of China broke up in the seventh century B.C. into seven feudal kingdoms: Tshu, Chao, Wei, Han, Yen-Chao and Ts'i, and T's'in. Of these the northern kingdoms Yen-Chao and Ts'in were neighbours of the Hiung-Nu. In the year 321 B.C., and again three years after, the first six of these kingdoms under the leadership of the Hiung-Nu attacked the Ts'in dynasty. The allies were, however, entirely conquered by the Ts'in, and Shi-Huang-Ti of the Ts'in dynasty became the first universal emperor about the year 246 B.C. This emperor made Hien Yang (the modern Si-Gan Fu) his capital. He abolished the feudal system and divided the country into provinces over which he set governors directly responsible to himself. He was also the author of roads, canals, and other useful public works, and having assured himself of order in the interior of his kingdom, he proceeded against his enemies, chief among whom were the Hiung-Nu Tatars, whose attack for years had been disconcerting to the Chinese, and the neighbouring principalities. He exterminated those of the Hiung-Nu that were in the neighbourhood of China and drove the rest of them into Mongolia. Overcoming his enemies on the other frontier as well, he extended the empire to make it of the same extent as that of modern China proper. As a protection against the repetition of attacks by the Hiung-Nu, he supplemented the efforts of the three northern states by completing the great wall of China along the northern frontier extending from the sea to the farthest western frontier of the province Kan-Suh. This great work was begun under his immediate supervision in 214 B.C. Finding schoolmen and pedants holding up to the admiration of the people, the feudal system that he overthrew, he ordered the destruction of all books having reference to the past history of his empire. But the result of this piece of vandalism was a great deal undone by his successor Hwei-Ti (194—179 B.C.), the contemporary of our Pushyamitra and Khâravêla, and of the Bactro-Indian Greek Menander, the Milinda of the Buddhists.

⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XI Ed.), Vol. 6, p. 102.

The Huns and the Yueh-Chi.

During the last years of Shi Huang-Ti, the Hiung-Nu Shan-Yu, Teu-Man by name, was driven from the throne and murdered by his son *Mao-Tun* in the year 209 B.C. Subjugating twenty-six of his neighbouring tribes, Mao-Tun extended his kingdom from the Sea of Japan to the river Volga. At the head of an army of 300,000 men he recovered from the Chinese all the northern territory inside the great wall, which they had seized from his father. The Han ruler Hwei-Ti (194—179 B.C.), when he ascended the throne, started by giving every encouragement to the literature and doing all that was possible for him to undo the destruction brought about by Shi-Huang-Ti. During his reign, the empire enjoyed internal peace, but there was only one enemy on the frontiers and that was the Hiung-Nu people. They suffered many defeats in their attacks upon his empire; and, thwarted in their attacks on China, they spent their fury upon the kingdom of the Yueh-Chi, which had grown up in the western extremity of Kan-Suh. The Yueh-Chi were all dislodged from their place and driven away to the territory beyond the Tianshan mountains between Turkistan and the Caspian Sea. The Chinese emperor attempted to form an alliance with the Yueh-Chi against the Hiung-Nu and ultimately succeeded. Changk'ien, the ambassador sent on this commission, was able to visit Bactria, which was a recent conquest of the Yueh-Chi and when there his attention was first drawn to the existence of India. It was during this visit of his that numerous elements of culture, plants and animals were imported for the first time from the west into China. Under Wu-Ti (140-86 B.C.) the power of the Hiung-Nu was broken and Eastern Turkistan became a Chinese Colony through which caravans could go forward and backward in safety, carrying merchandise and art treasures from Persia and the Roman market. About the beginning of the Christian era, the Han power was overthrown, and there was civil disorder till a prince of this dynasty was able to make his position secure from about A. D. 58. It was in the reign of his successor that Buddhism was introduced from India into China in A.D. 65 under Ming-Ti. It was about the same time that the celebrated general Pan-Chao went on an embassy to the king of Shen-Shen in Turkistan, and brought under Chinese influence the states of Shen-Shen, Khoten, Kucha, and Kashgar, all on the northern frontiers of Trans-Himalayan India. It was after this period that the northern Hiung-Nu were finally dislodged from their place. They came and settled in the neighbourhood of the Sogdians, "conquered the Alans, called prior to the Christian era Yen-Ts'ai (Massagetæ), killed their king, and captured their country whereby, under the name of Huns, they were the cause of the folk migrations, which have recently been proven by the German Sinologist, Dr. Hirth, in numerous dissertations."¹⁰ The southern Hiung-Nu, on the other hand, later acknowledge the supremacy of China after their last Shan-Yu had abdicated in favour of the Chinese emperor in A.D. 215. When the central power of China grew weak in the third century A.D. owing to its division into three independent kingdoms, often quarrelling with one another, the Hiung-Nu renewed their incursions into the empire in the beginning of the 4th century. The weakening of the Chinese empire naturally was the occasion for the Hiung-Nu, who in their now familiar name Huns, spread themselves from the frontiers of the Roman Empire to those of India.

The Hiung-Nu—Hun theory.

In regard to this Hiung-Nu being the Huns, there were three theories that held the field till within recent times. The first is the Hiung-Nu—Hun theory, the second Hiung-Nu—Turk theory, the third Hiung-Nu—Mongol. It is the first, that the Hiung-Nu were

¹⁰ *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1910, p. 354.

the Huns, that has the best authority at present, and the proof of this rests upon several facts other than geographical. In the Latin map of St. Hieronymus, preserved in the British Museum in London, there appears the name *Huniscite* in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire. This map was compiled between the years A.D. 376 and 420, when the Huns were already in Europe. The appearance of this name on this map is remarkable, though it is scored out on the map itself as it is at present, and "Seres Oppidum" inserted close to it. Scholars now hold that this correction was made by the geographer Orosius, (a pupil of St. Hieronymus) whose geography was translated into English by King Alfred. In this geography, the compound folk name Huni-Seythæ occurs. What is more remarkable is that this name occurs in the neighbourhood of *Ottorokorra* (*Uttarakuru*). It is generally believed now that this Orosius introduced the correction on the map of errors copied either from the Latin map, drawn on the Wall of Polla Hall in Rome, under the orders of the emperor Augustus in 7 B.C., or from the work *Orbis Pictus* of Agrippa, which was in general use. "*The Latin writers therefore of the Hiung-Nu age had really heard of the Hun under the Chinese Great Wall, although they did not know their history.*"¹¹

Among Strabo's notices of India, we find the statement that "The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander, (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostus, and Sigerdia, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros, in short, says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. *They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni.*"¹²

The Huns : the Fauni of Strabo.

In this extract where the boundary of Bactria in her best days is referred to as the *Seres* and *Phryni*, it is now clearly demonstrated that the second word *Phryni* is an error for Fauni, which in the sense of forest-folk, finds support in the Gothic tradition concerning the origin of the Hiung-Nu. The following extract from the Gothic historian Cassiodorus, as preserved in other works, shows clearly that the Huns were forest men born of Hun fathers and Maga mothers:—

"In those days the Hun people, who for a long time had been living enclosed in inaccessible mountain fastnesses, made a violent attack upon the people, the Goths, whom they harassed to the utmost, and finally drove out of their old habitations, which they then took possession of for themselves. This warlike people originated, according to the traditions of hoary antiquity, in the following manner:

"Filimer, King of the Goths, son of Gadaric the Great, who was the fifth in succession to hold the rule of the Getæ after their migration from the island of Scandza, and who, as we have said, entered the lands of Scythia with his tribe, got to know of the presence among his people of certain '*Maga women*', who in Gothic language are called *Alirumnæ*. Suspecting these women he expelled them from the midst of his race, and compelled them to wander in solitary exile far from his army."¹³

¹¹ For this and various other points in this matter, I am indebted to the article "*Hiung-Nu—Hun Identity*" by Kálmán Némethi in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1910.

¹² M'Crindle's *Ancient India*—Strabo, p. 100.

¹³ *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1910, pp. 360-1.

Menander and the Huns.

This idea of forest-spirits is found supported by another designation given to these people, namely, *Spiritus Immundis*, which means demons, and can be equated with the expression *Fauni Ficari* on the authority of the Church Father, St. Hieronymus. This idea of the Huns being regarded as forest-spirits is in keeping with the notion *Dæva* (Demon) of the Zend Avesta. That the *Hiung-Nu* on the Chinese borders, were the people known to the early Latin and Greek writers under the name *Fauni*, finds historical support from the dating of Strabo's reference to them. According to Strabo's geography Menander extended his borders up to the frontiers of the Chinese empire and the *Fauni* in the year 190 B.C. The period of Menander would correspond to the reign of Hwei-Ti of the Han dynasty. The *Fauni* kingdom, of which Apollodorus of Artemita gives an account in his *Parthika*, could be no other than the *Hiung-Nu* kingdom, which at the time happened to be ruled over by one of their most powerful Shan-Yuë, Mao-Tun, the Attila of the *Hiung-Nu* people. Beyond this mere synchronism, there is the startling testimony that these *Hiung-Nu* were also known to the Chinese by another name *Kuy-Fang*, where the first word means as much as a demon, and this designation for the *Hiung-Nu* occurs in the Chinese text, which says clearly *that the Yin called the people Kwei-fang whom the Han designated Hiung-Nu*. It is also noteworthy that it is the Second Dynasty that called them by this name. The second word 'fang' probably meant the district. This notion is confirmed in what the early Chinese historian See-ma-Chang has to say about it. "According to See-ma-Chang, the *Hiun-Yu* in the time of Yao-Shon were called the mountain Yong or *Hiun-Yu*; in the time of Hia, Shon-Wei; in the time of In dynasty, their land was *Kuy-fang*; in the time of the Chao they were called *Hiun-Yun*, and in the time of the Han, *Hiung-Nu*."¹⁴

It thus becomes clear that the *Hiung-Nu* of the Chinese were considered by the Chinese themselves at a particular period of their history as something analogous to demons, and this notion got abroad in the folk-name *Fauni* of Strabo's geography, and in the Gothic tradition regarding the paternal stock of the Huns. Therefore, it may be taken as satisfactorily proved that *the Hiung-Nu and the Huns were in the estimation of their neighbours the same people*.

The maternal stock of the Huns—the Massagetæ.

In regard to the maternal stock of the Huns, the *Maga* women must have belonged to the *Getæ*, who were also in the neighbourhood of China. All the contemporary historians of the Huns knew them only either as originating from the *Massagetæ* that came later to be called the Huns, according to the concurrent testimony of the Greek, Roman and Latin historians, who all state "that the Huns lived among the most dreaded of people, the *Massagetæ*." There is besides the clear statement of Ammianus Marcellinus, who "records that the Huns in every respect were similar to the *Alans*, who lived in that stretch of country from the river Don to the Indus, formerly known by the name *Massagetæ*." The Chinese called these people before they were conquered by the *Hiung-Nu*, *An-Ts'ai*, or according to the present pronunciation *Yen-Ts'ai*. Therefore then the people, called *Massagetæ* by the Latins and Greeks, were known to the Chinese as *An-Ts'ai*. The notion of *Maga women* as connected with the Huns seems to have had its

¹⁴ A. Q. R. quoted above, pp. 366-67. In this connection attention may usefully be drawn to the title *Devaputra* or *Daivaputra* on the coins of the Kushana rulers of the Punjab: Kaniska, Huvishka and Vâsudeva. The *Daivaputras* are again under reference in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Is then the question established that the Ch. *Kuy-fang* = Ind. *Daivaputra* = Cl. *Fauni* or *Spiritus Immundis*? *Ind., Ant.* XV, p. 249.

origin in the general notion that they were associated with *Witchcraft* and as such being fit mothers for the demon-breed of the Huns.

Indian evidence on the question.

But coming down to the Indian side of the evidence, we have already noticed that in the geography of Orosius, the characteristic Huni-Scythæ name occurs in the neighbourhood of Uttarakuru. The term Uttarakuru designated according to the Indian authorities a race of people on the other side of the Himalayas. The *Paurāṇic* associations of these people give them an unbelievable longevity and ascribe to them other attributes which remove them from the realm of an actual race of people. This notion of their being a legendary people gets only confirmed by the early Greek accounts of them, which describe them as they do the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. The *Mahābhārata* refers to them as quite an earthly people among whom polyandry prevailed in the days of Pându.¹⁵ But if we get back to the earlier literature of the Hindus, we seem to be on more historical ground, and the Uttarakuru would be a race of human people, who lived on the other side of the Himalayas. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁶ describes them merely as located beyond the Himalayas. Their country is described as 'the lands of the gods' no doubt, but it is at the same time stated that the disciple of Vasiṣṭha Satyahavya, by name Jānantapi Atyarāti, was anxious to conquer it. It cannot therefore be regarded as mythical. They are generally mentioned in connection with another people, the Uttara-Madras, who themselves get connected with the Kambojas, as a Kamboja Aupamanyava is described as a pupil of Madragāra.¹⁷ There is the further interesting detail in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁸ of a dispute between the Kuru-Pāṇchāla Brahmans and of the Northern Brahmans in which the latter got the better of it. These Northern Brahmans are described as having speech similar to that of the Kuru-Pāṇchālas. Their speech was regarded as celebrated for purity, and the Brahmans are described as going to the north for purposes of study. This is confirmed by the Buddhist tradition that Gandhāra was famous as a University centre to which even such an exalted personage as Prasēnajit of Kosala, the contemporary of Buddha, went for education as a prince.¹⁹ It might also be noted here that the *Mahāvamsa* refers to the region of the Uttarakuru as one to which some priests were directed to fetch a stone for working the relic chamber of the Great Stûpa.²⁰ We would not therefore perhaps be far wrong if we located this Uttarakuru somewhere in the Tarim Basin in what is known as Chinese Turkistan, so that they would be on the frontiers of China and India and in touch with the Hiung-Nu.

Hiuen-Tsiang's reference to the 'Rats' in the City west of Khotan.

That this is the identical location of the Hiung-Nu in the earlier periods of their history, as known to the Chinese, is in evidence in the account of Khotan in the Chinese Traveller Hiuen-Tsang's travels. He says there "in old days, a general of the Hiung-Nu came to ravage the borders of this country with several tens of myriads of followers." A body of rats of extraordinary size, who had their habitat not far from Khotan are, according to the story, said to have miraculously overthrown the Hiung-Nu.²¹

¹⁵ *Adiparva*, Ch. 128.

¹⁶ See Haug's Translation, VIII, 14 & 23.

¹⁷ *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, I, 84.

¹⁸ XI. 4, 1, 1 III, 2, 3, 15, Eggeling's Translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*.

¹⁹ Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 8, 28 & 203.

²⁰ Geiger's Trans., p. 203.

²¹ Beal's *Si-Yu-ki*, II, pp. 314-15.

It is also noteworthy that to reach this, the traveller had to cross the river Sita, which must be the *Paurāṇic* Sita, one of the seven holy rivers that took their rise round Mēru or Sumēru, the *Paurāṇic* centre of the earth. It is this river that again seems to be referred to by the classical writers generally by the term 'Silas.'²² It seems now clear that the land of the Uttarakuru was in the valley of the Tarim in the north-western margin of what is now known to Central Asian travellers as the Takla Makan desert on the eastern slopes of the out-spurs of the Tianshan Mountains. A mere glance at a map of Asia will show clearly that in the days of the Hiung-Nu—Hun ascendancy that must have formed the road of communication between China and India, from the middle of the first century B.C. onwards. If the Chinese knew the Hiung-Nu in this locality, it is just possible that the Indians might have heard of them in the same region, and as such it would be untenable to draw, from the occurrence of any reference to the Hūna, the inference that it is necessarily made to the Ephthalite Huns.

Conclusion.

The Huns may no longer exist, perhaps as a people, but the Hun is not yet dead, and if according to what Professor Maitland said in one of his addresses that history is lengthening both forwards and backwards, here is an illustration of the backward extension of the Hun history. In the days of his dominance, the Hun was universally regarded as the destroyer of civilization and his activities in this evil work were experienced alike all along the frontiers of civilization beginning from the walls of China along the Tarim basin down to the sources of the river Oxus, and along the river Oxus itself to the Caspian Sea, and across the southern coast of Russia through the whole length of the Roman frontier extending from the mouth of the Danube to the lower Rhine, if not to the mouths of the Rhine. It is to the good fortune of humanity that the principles of civilisation triumphed ultimately all along this frontier.

APPENDIX.

Raghuvamśa Book IV.

पारसीकांस्ततो जेयं प्रतस्ये स्थलवर्त्मना
 इन्द्रिवाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संबधी ॥ ६० ॥
 यवनीमत्स्यपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
 बालातपनिवाग्जानामकालजलशोदयः ॥ ६१ ॥
 संग्रामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाञ्चाल्यैरश्वसाधनैः ।
 शाङ्गकूजितविज्ञेयप्रतिबोधे रजस्वभूत् ॥ ६२ ॥
 मल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः इमभ्रुलैर्नरीम् ।
 तस्तार सरधान्बासैः स कौश्लपटलैरिव ॥ ६३ ॥
 अपनीतशिरस्त्राणाः शेषास्तं शरणं वयुः ।
 प्राणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥
 विनवन्ते स्म तद्योधा मधुभिर्विजयभ्रमं ।
 आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ॥ ६५ ॥
 ततः प्रतस्ये कौबेरौ भास्वानिव रघुर्विद्यम् ।
 शरैरुसैरिषोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यवन्सानिव ॥ ६६ ॥
 विनीताभ्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।²³
 वृषुवर्वाजिनः स्कन्धीममकुंकुमकेसरान् ॥ ६७ ॥

²² Referred to as 'Sailodam' in the *Mahābhārata*, II, 42.

²³ The alternative reading given is Vankṣu. Even where the reading Sindhu is adopted the comment is made referring it to that part of the course where it flows westwards

तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तुषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
 कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥ ६८ ॥
 काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।
 गङ्गालानपरिहृष्टैरक्षौटैः सार्धमानताः ॥ ६९ ॥
 तेषां सद्भ्यश्चमूयिष्ठास्तुंगा श्रविणराशयः ।
 उपदा विविधुः शश्वन्नोत्सेकाः कोसलेश्वरम् ॥ ७० ॥
 ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहान्धसाधनः ।
 वर्धवन्निव तत्कूटानुधूतैर्धातुरेषुभिः ॥ ७१ ॥
 शशंस तुल्यसत्त्वानां सैन्यघोषेऽप्यसंभ्रमम् ।
 गुहाशयानां सिद्धानां परिवृत्त्यावलोकितम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूताः कीचकध्वनिहेतवः ।
 गङ्गाशोकरिणो मार्गे मरुतरुतं सिषेविरे ॥ ७३ ॥
 विशम्भमुर्नमेरूणां छायास्वर्धास्व सैनिकाः ।
 हृषीकेशासितोत्संगा निषण्णमृगनाभिभिः ॥ ७४ ॥
 सरलासक्तमातंगमैवैवस्फुरितत्विषः ।
 आसन्नोषधयो नेतुर्नक्तमस्रैहवीपिकाः ॥ ७५ ॥
 तस्योत्सृष्टनिवासेषु कण्ठरज्जुक्षतस्वचः ।
 गजवर्ष्म किरातेभ्यः शशंसुर्वैवहारवः ॥ ७६ ॥
 तत्र जन्वं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गर्गैरभूत् ।²⁴
 नारायणक्षेपणीवाहमनिष्येषोत्पातितानलम् ॥ ७७ ॥
 शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान्स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् ।
 ज्योतिराहरणं बाहोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ॥ ७८ ॥
 परस्परेण विज्ञातस्तेषूपायनपाणिषु ।
 राज्ञा हिमवतः सारो राज्ञः सारो हिमाद्रिणा ॥ ७९ ॥
 तवाक्षोभ्यं यशोराशिं निवेदयामरुरोह सः ।
 पौलस्त्यतुलितस्याद्रेराक्षान इव हिमम् ॥ ८० ॥

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

13. The Pillory as a Punishment.

29 November 1716. Consultation at Fort St. George. Mr. Hastings reports that one Poinde Kistna [Pavinda Krishna] formerly Chief Dubash of Fort St. David has been fully convicted before the Choultry Justice for having practis'd with a Pandarum [pandaram, Hindu ascetic mendicant] to bewitch Kittee China Narrain [Kitthū Chinna Nārāyan] his Kinsman the Present Chief Dubash. Also that the said Kistna has lately taken an unwarrantable liberty to make several Scandalous and groundless reflections upon the Government. The board taking into consideration the ill effect it may have upon our Settlements if such evil practices are not severely punish'd, That this Kistna has always been a turbulent, Saucy, and abusive fellow ever since He was turn'd out of his employ, That He was the main instrument under Mr Raworth [Deputy Governor of Fort St. George] for oppressing the Merchants and inhabitants till He turn'd him off:—Agreed that the said Poinde Kistna be fin'd five hundred Pagodas to-

wards the Bridge &c. Buildings now in hand and that He be sent to Fort St. David with the Deputy Governour with orders to make him stand before the Pillory with a labell about his neck containing an Account of his crimes, that others may be deterr'd from the same vile practices, and especially such as owe all they have in the world to the Honble. Companys Service.

24 December 1716. Kitty Narrain for Poinde Kistna pays into Cash Pagodas five hundred for the fine laid upon said Kistna in Consultation the 29th ultimo And humbly petitions that the punishment of the Pillory may be remitted for his sake. Agreed that in consideration of the said Narrains good services to the Honble. Company and this, That the Deputy Governour and Council of Fort St. David be order'd to excuse Kistna the disgrace of standing before the Pillory but that He be not permitted to reside longer in that settlement where he has always caus'd great mischief and disturbance. (*Madras Public Consultations*, vol. 87).

R. C. T.

²⁴ Seven Gaas or clans of Utsava-saṅkētas are stated to have been defeated by Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata* II, XVIII, 16.

DEKKAN OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

(Continued from Vol. XLVII, p. 156.)

Religious, Social and Economic History.

[N the preceding chapter I have given the political history of the Dekkan during the Śātavāhana period. The inscriptions, which throw light on this history, throw light also on the religious, social, and economic condition of Mahārāshṭra. Let us first see what they tell us about the religious condition. Of course, Buddhism was in an exceedingly flourishing state. Almost all the early caves so far found in the Dekkan are dedicated to Buddhism, and, what is strange, were excavated during the Śātavāhana period. They were of two kinds, one called Chaitya-gṛihas or temples, and the other Layanas or residential quarters for Bhikshus or Buddhist mendicants. The first are with vaulted roofs and horse-shoe shaped windows over the entrance, and have interiors consisting of a nave and side aisles with a small stūpa at the inner circular end. They are thus remarkably similar to Christian basilicas, and were most probably their prototypes. The second class consists of a hall surrounded by a number of cells, each cell containing as a rule a stone bench for the monk to sleep upon. Each Layana cave had one or two rock-cut cisterns attached to it. Different parts of all these caves, whether Chaitya-gṛihas or Layanas, were caused to be excavated, i.e. the expense of cutting them in solid rock was borne, by all sorts and conditions of men, showing what hold Buddhism had over the popular mind. They not only incurred the cost of excavating these caves or any parts thereof but made ample provisions for their repairs and for the maintenance of the Bhikshus who resided there. For repairs villages were generally granted. For feeding the Bhikshus pieces of land and sometimes villages also were given. It was also a custom in the Dekkan at any rate to supply them with new robes (*chīvara*) and a coin to boot. Provision for these items was generally made by investing large sums of money in a neighbouring guild, the annual interest on which was used for that purpose. The Bhikshus occupied the caves during the rainy season only, the remainder of the year being spent by them on religious tours just as Jaina *sādhus* do to the present day. It appears that certain caves were reserved for certain sects of the Buddhist monks. Thus Cave No. 3 at Nāsik, as we have seen, was assigned to the Bhadrāyanīyas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's mother. The cave at Kārle belonged to the Mahāsaṃghīkas, and at least one cave at Junnar to the Dharmottarīya sect. The caves at Kārle and Junnar are situated in the passes leading from the Konkan to the Ghāṭs. It appears that the Buddhist mendicants were travelling freely from the Konkan to the Ghāṭs and from the Ghāṭs to the Konkan. Nay, they seem to have travelled by sea also. This explains why we have caves at Chiplun, Mahād and Kudā situated on the creeks.

Brahmanism also was in an equally flourishing condition. We have seen that Śātakarṇi I. and his queen performed a number of sacrifices the description of which has been partly preserved in the mutilated inscription at Nānāghāṭ.¹ They seem to have celebrated no less than twenty sacrifices. Āśvamedha was twice performed; so also Gavāmayana. Some of the other sacrifices were Agnyādheya, Rājāsūya, Āptoryāma and so forth. The *dakshinā* or sacrificial fee consisted of villages, kārshāpanas, ordinary and milch cows, elephants and horses, horse-chariots, silver pots, silver ornaments, dresses

¹ ASWI, V, 60-1.

and so on. The highest number of cows given is 11,000 and of kârshâpaṇas 24,400. This was certainly Brahmanism of a most vigorous type. The same Nânâghaṭ inscription that gives an account of these sacrifices begins with adoration to Dharma, Indra, Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, the sun and the moon, and the four guardians of the quarters—Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vâsava. The names of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva prove the early prevalence of the worship of Kṛishṇa and his family in the Dekkan. The obeisance to Indra also suggests that worship of that god survived almost to the beginning of the first century A.D. This is also corroborated by the fact that according to the practice of borrowing names of gods we find Indradeva to be the name of a private individual in a Nâsik cave inscription. We similarly meet with the name Dharmadeva, agreeing with the Nânâghaṭ inscription in showing that there was at the time a god of the name Dharma who was worshipped. Who this god exactly was is, however, not clear. Other names of lay-donors specified in cave inscriptions which bear witness to the survival of the worship of some of the Vedic gods up to this late period are, besides Indradeva referred to above, (1) Mitradeva, (2) Agnimitra and (3) Indrâgnidatta. The names Gopâla, Vishṇudatta and Vishṇupâlita furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, and confirm the inference already drawn from the Nânâghaṭ record. Worship of Śiva appears, however, to be far more prevalent in the Dekkan if we may take names as our evidence. Names such as Bhûtapâla, Mahâdevanaka, Sivadatta, Sivaghosha, Sivapâlita, Sivabhûti, Sivadâta, Bhavagopa and so forth clearly show that this god was popularly worshipped under four names, viz., Śiva, Mahâdeva, Bhava and Bhûtapâla. That his vehicle, the bull, was also adored may be seen from the names, Nandin, Rishabhāṇaka and Rishabhadatta. The names Śkandapâlita, Śivaskandila and Śivaskandagupta show that the god Skanda was worshipped both separately and conjointly with Śiva. Such names again as Nâga, Sarpa and Sarpila point to the prevalence of serpent worship.

What is perhaps the most important feature of the religious condition of this period is that we find many foreigners embracing either Buddhism or Brahmanism. I have already told you that during this period India was infested with such alien tribes as the Yavanas, Sakas, Palhavas and Âbhiras. We have incontestable epigraphic evidence to show that they not only embraced either Buddhism or Brahmanism but also adopted Hindu names. In cave inscriptions we find Yavanas frequently mentioned as making gifts in connection with Chaityagṛhas or monastic residences. Thus at Kârle we have two Yavanas, one named Sihadhaya (Simhadhvaja) and the other Dharma. At Junnar we find mention of three called Irila, Chiṭa (Chitra), and Chandra. At Nâsik the name of only one Yavana is specified, viz., Indrâgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva. It will be seen that these Yavanas had turned Buddhist lay-men and that all of them except perhaps one had assumed Hindu names. The same was the case with the Sakas. I have in one of my previous lectures spoken to you about Ushavadâta. This name is only a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskrit Rishabhadatta or Vṛishabhadatta. His wife's name, we have seen, is Saṁghamitâ, i.e., Saṁghamitrâ. Both these are indisputably Hindu names. But in an inscription at Nâsik we are distinctly told that he was a Saka. His foreign origin is also indicated by the names of his father and father-in-law. The former is called Dînika and the latter Nahapâna, both decidedly un-Indian names. Nahapâna, again, is styled a Kshatrapa, and is said to be of the Kshaharâta family. Kshaharâta is a non-Hindu name, and

Kshatrapa, we know, is the Indian abbreviated form of the old Persian title Kshatrapâvan, corresponding to the Greek Satrap. All these things unmistakably point to the alien origin of Ushavadâta, and, in particular, to his having been a Śaka, though his and his wife's names are distinctly Hindu. Now let us see what the inscriptions, above all Nâsik inscription No. 10, tell us about him. Ushavadâta is called *tri-go-śata-sahasrada* or the giver of three hundred thousand kine. He is further spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brâhmaṇs. He is also stated to have furnished eight Brâhmaṇs with the means of marriage at the holy place Prabhâsa, *i.e.* Somnâth-Paṭṭaṇ in Kâthiâwâr; in other words, he incurred the merit of accomplishing eight Brâhmaṇ marriages. And, to crown the whole, he is said to have annually fed one hundred thousand Brâhmaṇs. This reminds us, as Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar has aptly said, of the grand feast given, not many years ago, to Brâhmaṇs by the father of the present Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. These charities undoubtedly stamp Ushavadâta as a very staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. Yet in origin he was a Śaka, and, therefore, a foreigner. There are many other instances of Sakas and Ābhîras having turned either Buddhists or adopted Hindu names.²

Another feature of the period is the catholic spirit of religion. We have seen what a firm follower of Brahmanism Ushavadâta was. But he was by no means a bigot, and we find him excavating a cave for Buddhist monks at Nâsik and granting a village for the maintenance of the Bhikshus settled in the monastic establishment at Kârle. Such was also the case with the Śâtavâhana king Śâtakarṇi, his mother Gautamî, and his son Puṣumâvi. We know they were Brahmanists, and yet their charities were not confined to their faith but extended freely also to Buddhism. I have mentioned above that Gautamî caused one cave to be cut near Nâsik, and presented it to the Bhadrâyanîyas. For the maintenance of the monks and repairs to the cave, Śâtakarṇi and Puṣumâvi granted a piece of land and a village respectively. They similarly gave a village to the Buddhist establishment at Kârle. A third noteworthy feature of the religious condition of this period is that the espousal of a different religion did not entail the loss of caste. Perhaps the most typical case is that of a Brâhmaṇ called Ayitilu, whose wife Bhâyilâ makes the benefaction of a Chaitya-griha to the Buddhist community settled in the Kudâ caves.³ That her husband Ayitilu was a Buddhist is certain, because he has actually been called an *upâsaka*. And though he was thus a Buddhist, he had not lost his caste, because he still called himself a Brâhmaṇ. The truth of the matter is that Buddhism was a revolt not so much against caste distinction as against the sacrificial system and the authority of the Vedas to dictate the path of salvation. Buddhism left its followers to perform their domestic ceremonies entirely according to the Vedic ritual, just as Jainism did up till twenty-five years ago.

A glimpse into the constitution of the Hindu society in the Dekkan at this period is afforded by the status or caste names not unfrequently specified of the donors mentioned in Cave inscriptions. Those of the highest rank among these were of course the Mahārâjhis

² Above, 1911, 15 & ff.

³ Lüders' *List*, No. 1050.

(Mahârâshtrikas), Mahâbhojas and Mahâsenâpatis.⁴ They seem to have occupied the position of the feudatory chieftains. The Mahâbhojas seem to have held the present Thâna and Kolâbâ districts of the Bombay Presidency as is clearly seen from the Kudâ and Kanherî cave inscriptions, and the Mahârâthis the Poona and neighbouring districts as is attested by the Bhâjâ, Bedsa, and Kârle epigraphs. One dynastic name from among the Mahâbhojas was Mamdava.⁵ Of the Mahârâthis two families are known—one called Okhâlakîya and the other Aigiya.⁶ Next in rank come the officers such as Amâtya or Râjâmâtya, Mahâmâtras, Bhândâgârikas. The former two correspond to the modern Subahs or district collectors and the third to the treasurer. Of the same social status are Naigama, Sârthavâha and Sreshthî. Naigama apparently is an ordinary merchant, and Sârthavâha the leader of a caravan of traders. Sreshthî, of course, denotes the head of a guild or of the board of trade. The latter two, again, correspond to the aldermen, and took an important part in the administration of the town corporate. Descending lower in the social scale we have Lekhaka (scribe), Vaidya (physician), Hâlakîya (cultivator), Suvarṇakâra or Hairanyika (goldsmith), and Gândhika (druggist). To the lowest class have to be assigned Vardhaki (carpenter), Mâlâkara (gardener), Lohavâṇija (blacksmith) and Dâsaka (fisherman). One curious social feature of this period is represented by the terms Grihapati or Kuṭumbin which as a rule are found applied to the mercantile and cultivating classes.⁷ Sometimes they are used alone and without the specification of any caste name. It seems that the middle class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people, was split up into a number of *grihas*, i.e. homesteads, or *kuṭumbas* or *kulas*, i.e. families, the head of each one of which was considered to be so important a personage as to require to be designated Grihapati or Kuṭumbin. In later times, however, the first term was entirely forgotten, and the second was employed exclusively to denote the cultivators,⁸ and is no doubt traceable in the Marâṭhî word *kuḷmbi* and the Gujarâtî *kaṇbî*. One

⁴ If we separate the honorific suffix *mahâ*, *Râthi* and *Bhoja* can easily be recognised to be the same as *Râstika* and *Bhoja* of the Aśoka Rock Edicts V and XIII respectively. But what is the meaning of the term *petenika* which is associated with them both in the Aśoka inscriptions? I should like in this connection to draw the attention of the scholars to a passage from the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* (III, 76 & 300), which runs as follows: *Yassa kassachi Mahānāma kulaputtassa pañcha dhammā samvijaṇṭi, . . . yadi vā raṭṭhikassa pettanikassa yadi vā senāya senāpatikassa*, etc., etc. We have here a list of rulers from the king downwards. The ruler of the second rank is *pettanika* *Raṭṭhika*. What is worthy of note is that *Raṭṭhika* is here called *pettanika*, and it seems that even in Aśoka's Rock Edict V, *Râstikas* are meant to be styled *petenikas* and that the two terms in that Edict ought not to be separated as has been done by scholars. Now, *pettanika* of the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* passage has been explained by the commentator once as *pitarā cattam āpateyam bhuñjati* (=one who enjoys property given by father) and in another place as *bhutt-ānubhuttam bhuñjati*. It appears that these *Raṭṭhikas* (=Râshtrikas) were originally governors of Râshtras or provinces who afterwards made themselves more or less independent and became their hereditary rulers. Similar was the case with *Bhojas*, who too are called *pūṭinikas* in Rock Edict XIII. A Nâsik cave inscription (*EL.*, VIII, 94) speaks of a Mahâsenâpati and his wife Mahâsenâpatinî exactly as other cave inscriptions speak of Mahârâthi and Mahârâthini or Mahâboja and Mahâbhojî. As Senâpati is mentioned as a class of rulers in the passage of the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* quoted above, the Mahâsenâpati of the Nâsik inscription also must be taken to denote a ruler like Mahârâthi or Mahâbhoja. Senâpatis were originally generals who afterwards made themselves independent or semi-independent rulers.

⁵ Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1037, 1045, 1049, 1052, 1058 and 1111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1100 and 1112.

⁷ Thus in one inscription a Hâlakîya or cultivator is spoken of as Kuṭubika (*Kuṭumbika*) and his son Gahapati (*Grihapati*) (*Lüders' List*, No. 1121). We also hear of Gahapati-Negama (*ibid.*, Nos. 1001, 1127, and 1153), Gahapati-Seṭhî (*ibid.*, Nos. 1056, 1073, 1075) or Gahapati-Sathavaha (*ibid.*, No. 1062).

⁸ *EL.*, V, 120, 151-15; VI, 342, 83, and 355, 62; above, XX, 416, 17.

noteworthy custom of this period is for a male individual of the Kshatriya class to specify his metronymic along with his proper name. In North India the practice was to form the metronymic from the name of the country over which his mother's father ruled. Thus Ajātasatru of Rājagriha, who was a contemporary of Buddha, styles himself Vaidehīputra, i.e. son of the daughter of the Videha prince or Chief. But curiously enough, in South India the custom seems to be to adopt the metronymic not from the name of a country but from that of a Brāhmaṇ *gotra*. Accordingly we have got such metronymics as Gautamī, Vāsishṭhī, Māḍharī, Kautsī, Kaūśikī, etc., all derived from Brāhmaṇ *gotras*. It is not reasonable to argue from these that these rulers were Brāhmaṇs. It is not possible that they all could be Brāhmaṇs, because in an inscription on the Jaggayyapeṭa Stūpa in the Kistnā district we read of a prince Vīrapurushadatta who styles himself Māḍharīputra, but he belonged to the Ikshvāku family, and was, therefore, a Kshatriya and not a Brāhmaṇ. Bühler, therefore, seems to be right in supposing that these metronymics were framed from the name of the *gotra* of the spiritual preceptor of the Kshatriya family to which the mother originally belonged.

One other curious fact may also be noticed. We know how Gautamīputra Śātakarnī and Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman were related to each other. A son of the former was son-in-law of the latter. Rudradāman was a Śaka and was of foreign extraction. The matrimonial alliance between his and the Śātavāhana family is, therefore, all the more curious and reminds us of the marriage of Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya dynasty, with the daughter of the Greek king Antiochus Nicator.

I shall now touch on the economic condition of Mahārāshṭra prevalent during the Āndhrabhṛitya period. Let us first turn our attention to the currency of the province. We have already seen that at the end of Nāsik Inscription 12, Ushavadāta speaks of his having given away 70,000 kārshāpaṇas to gods and Brāhmaṇs. There we have been distinctly told that these 70,000 kārshāpaṇas were in value equivalent to 2,000 suvarṇas, thirty-five of the former class of money making one of the latter. Kārshāpaṇa was a type of coinage indigenous to India, and we had both copper and silver kārshāpaṇas. Here, of course, silver kārshāpaṇas are intended. Again, the reference to the Suvarṇa coins, as Prof. Rapson rightly says, must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushanas.⁹ We have already seen that Ushavadāta's father-in-law, Nahapāna, was a Kshatrapa not only of Kujula Kadphises but also of Wema Kadphises, who was the first Kushana sovereign to introduce gold coinage. No foreign ruler, either the Indo-Bactrian, or the Indo-Scythian, seems to have struck it before him. Wema Kadphises' gold coinage must therefore be supposed to have been current in Nahapāna's kingdom. The rate of exchange between the indigenous silver kārshāpaṇas and the new foreign gold Suvarṇas was thus 35:1. But there was also another class of silver money, I mean that introduced by Nahapāna himself and called Kuśana. In the last chapter I have mentioned that on mount Trirāśmi near Nāsik Ushavadāta excavated a cave which accommodated twenty monks, and that each was to be given a Kuśana for every one of the four months of the rainy season. Evidently, therefore, eighty Kuśanas were needed every year. These were to accrue from the annual interest on the sum of 1,000 kārshāpaṇas deposited by Ushavadāta in a neighbouring guild. And this annual interest, we have been told, amounted to 90 kārshāpaṇas. We thus see that 80 Kuśanas were equivalent to 90 kārshāpaṇas, or in other words, the rate of exchange between these two classes of coins was 9:8.

⁹ *CIC.-AMK.*, Intro. clxxxv.

A unique feature of the economic condition of this period is the institution of Śreṇi or craft-guild. At Govardhana near the Nāsik or Trirāśmi caves there were no less than four different descriptions of guilds, viz., *tilapishaka* or oil-millers' guild, *odayantrika* or guilds of artisans fabricating hydraulic engines, *kularika* or potters' (?) guild, and *kolika-nikāya* or weavers' guild of which there were two. In the town near the Junnar caves there were at least three guilds, one of *dhamñikas* or corn-dealers, the second of *vamsakaras* or bamboo-workers and the third of *kāsākāras* or braziers. There must have been many more guilds not only in Govardhana or near Junnar but also at other district towns about which no mention has been made. The Jātakas or Birth-Stories of Buddha, which portray social life of the sixth century B.C., make mention of several such guilds. The conclusion is plain that both North and South India was studded with guilds from the sixth century B.C. to the third century A.D. Now the prevalence of these craft-guilds shows that institutions of self-government were by no means uncommon in India. Secondly, in Europe a craft-guild comprised all the artisans in a single branch of industry in a particular town. This does not seem to be the case with those in India, at any rate in the Dekkan. We have seen that at Govardhana there were not one but two guilds of weavers. Thirdly, Śreṇis of India were not simply trade guilds but were also something like modern banks, because anybody could invest any sums here and receive interest on them. Fourthly, any sum deposited in such guilds was called *akshaya nivā* or perpetual endowment. We have seen that Ushavadāta made two such permanent endowments—one for providing for new robes to the monks residing in his cave and the other for making money payments to them. We have also seen that Ushavadāta was a personage of high rank. He was the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna ruling over Rājputānā, Central India, Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and the Dekkan. If he occupied such a high status, could he not have arranged for the robing and money payment of his monks from the local district treasury? Why, then, had he to make two investments in two different guilds? The reply most probably is that empires were looked upon as of short duration, but guilds as lasting institutions. An empire may be established and destroyed in no time, but a guild lived from age to age. This must have been the experience of the people, and this alone can explain why Ushavadāta deposited sums in the two guilds. Fifthly, we have seen what the rate of interest was. One guild paid at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum and the other 9 per cent. Sixthly, it is worthy of note that money was deposited in these guilds in indigenous coin, i.e. in *kārshāpaṇa*, and not in *Kuśana* or *Suvarṇa* which were both moneys introduced by foreign dynasties. Seventhly, it was not enough to deposit a sum in a guild, if it was to be a permanent endowment. The procedure did not end there, for what guarantee was there that interest on that sum would be paid by the guild from generation to generation after the death of the depositor? We know from Nāsik Inscription No. 12 that Ushavadāta after investing his sums in the two guilds of Govardhana, had his charities proclaimed in the town assembly (*nigama-sabhā*) and registered at the record office. It appears in ancient times each such town had its local self-government which was like a trade-guild looked upon as a permanent institution, and could insist upon the latter carrying out from generation to generation the original intention of a donor provided the exact nature of his benefaction was recorded in the town archives.

Again, there seems to have been frequent and pretty smooth communication between the different parts not only of the Dekkan but of India. Thus we have the benefaction of persons residing at Sopārā recorded in the caves at Kārle, of those of Kalyāṇ at Kanheri

or Junnar, of Nāsik at Bedsā, and so forth. This clearly shows that the communications were perfect all over the Dekkan. But this is not all. We have got gifts of the natives of Bharukachha or Broach mentioned in caves at Junnar, of Vaijayantî or Banavasi (?) at Kârle, of Dâttâmitrî in Lower Sind at Nāsik, and of Karahâkaḍa or Karhâḍ and Nāsik at the Bharaut Stûpa between Jubbulpore and Allâhâbad. Unless the roads were at least tolerably good and not infested by robbers and thieves, it is not possible that inhabitants of one part of the country could go to a distant one and make benefactions.

Foreign commerce and trade were flourishing, and Dekkan took no insignificant part in the commercial relations of India with the West. An account of it is contained in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, which describes the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India. Ships from the Western countries sailed down the Red Sea and followed the Arabian Coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza (Broach) and others direct to the ports of Limyrike (Malabar Coast). In these voyages, the ships made use of the monsoon, starting from Egypt in July. From Barygaza the coast immediately adjoining stretched from the north directly to the south, and the country is, therefore, called Dakhinabades (Dakshinâpatha). Among the marts in the inland part of this South Country, there were two of particular importance—Paithana, which lay south from Barygaza, a distance of twenty days, and Tagara, ten days east of Paithana, the greatest city in the country.¹⁰ Paithana is, of course, the modern Paithan, and Tagara has been identified with Ter in the Naldrug District, Nizam's Dominions.¹¹ From Paithan was carried down to Barygaza a great quantity of onyx-stone, and from Tagara ordinary cottons in abundance, many sorts of muslins, mellow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production brought into it from the east coast. The harbours along the coast south of Barygaza were Souppara (Sopârâ) and Kalliena (Kalyân near Bombay). In regard to the last port we are informed that it was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the elder Sarganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, entered its port, a guard was put on board and they were taken to Barygaza. The elder Sarganes is most likely Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and he seems to have made Kalyân a commercial centre connected with the inland emporia Paithan and Tagara. When the Śakas, however, seized the north part of the Dekkan, every endeavour was made to divert the trade through their dominions from Broach direct to Paithan and Tagara, with the result that Kalyân speedily lost all its importance and is not mentioned at all by Ptolemy who wrote only six decades after the author of the *Periplus*. As the communication from Broach to Paithan and Tagara was of recent origin, it is no wonder that the commodities were carried "along roads of extreme difficulty" as we no doubt learn from the *Periplus*. Who Sandanes was is not clear, but it is not unlikely that he was the officer of the Sopara District under Nahapana. The other sea-ports of commercial importance farther south were Semulla, Mandagora, Palaipatmoi, Melizeigara and Buzantion. Semulla has rightly been recognised to be Chaul of the Kolaba district and 23 miles south of Bombay. Mandagora is taken to be Mandangaḍ to the south of the Bâṅkoṣ Creek and Palaipatmai with Palnear Mahâḍ. Personally I think Palaipatmai corresponds to Va(Ba)lipattana mentioned as a sea-port in the Silâhâra inscriptions.¹² Melizeigara, according to some, is Jaygaḍ, and, according to others, Janjirâ. Buzantion no doubt corresponds to Vaijayantî, but with what place the latter is to be identified is far from clear. Some place it near Chiplûn, and some near Banavâsî. The last identification is less probable, because it is far too south. Banavâsî, again, is in the interior and not on the sea-coast.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰ Above, VIII, 143 & ff.

¹¹ *JRAS.*, 1901, 557 & ff.

¹² Above. IX, 38 & n., 47.

ANCIENT HINDU CORONATION AND ALLIED CEREMONIALS.

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SECTION I.

Rajyabhisheka.

THE Vedic work from which the rites of coronation derived their sanction is not the *Atharva-Veda* alone, as will be apparent from the statement of the *Nitimayūkha*.¹ which gives details of the ceremony, "according to the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharva-Veda*, as also those not dependent on its authority." The existence of the coronation can be traced much earlier than the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*. The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*² gives its details as an independent performance in three sections which are separate from those devoted to the *râjasûya*. Wilson and Goldstücker observe that "the rites of the *Abhisheka* which is not part of a *râjasûya* sacrifice, but a ceremony performed at a king's accession to the throne, are similar to, but not identical with, those of the *Punarabhisheka*; they are founded on the proceedings which took place when Indra was consecrated by the gods as their supreme ruler, and which forms the subject of the 38th chapter of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*."³ If the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* be older than the *Aitareya*, as Prof. Macdonell suggests,⁴ then the similarity between the *abhisheka* and the *punarabhisheka* cannot be taken as indicative of the derivation of the one from the other. *Abhisheka* appears therefore to have been an independent ceremony existing side by side with the *râjasûya*.

The *abhisheka* as detailed in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* begins with seven *mantras* to be uttered by the priest for performing a *homa* before the ritual of sprinkling takes place. The first *mantra* speaks of the prince's rebirth as the son of the *ritviks* (sacrificial priests), with his vigour immensely increased by his symbolic entrance into the *homa* fire and exit therefrom, and wishes him capability to keep his subjects from sinful ways. The second wishes him an extended kingdom, a stout physique for its efficient administration, and a good supply of cattle for the performance of the sacrifices. The third wishes him to be the guide of men, and wants him to solemnly say that he would protect the good and punish the wicked. The fourth and fifth invoke blessing on him for prosperity, while the sixth and seventh for the glorification of the castes by his power, the prosperity of his subjects, and the extension of Prajâpati's protection to him.

In these *mantras*, two points are note-worthy: (1) The belief of the prince's rebirth as the son of the sacrificial priests; which appears akin to the rebirth of the twice-born by the *upanayana* sacrament for their initiation into the study of the Vedas. The prince, as it were, becomes a totally different being with his faculties and physical vigour renewed and increased for the discharge of the new duties that the assumption of kingly office will devolve upon him. Such a belief perhaps made the performance of the coronation ceremony

¹ *Nitimayūkha* by Nilakanṭha Bhaṭṭa (MS. in ASB. No. II. A. 25), p. 3. The discourse on coronation in the *Bhârata-rahasya* (in Bengali) by Râmadâsa Sena cites a short passage from the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* without any reference to its location in the *Brāhmaṇa*. I could not trace it either in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, or the Bombay edition of the work. I do not understand why, unless the passage has eluded my search, it should be omitted in the editions.

² *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, II, 7, 15-17. *Rig-Veda*, X, 173-174, refer to rituals for steadying the king in his office by the propitiation of certain deities. It is not clear whether they have any connection with the coronation, if any, prevailing at that time.

³ Goldstücker's *Dictionary*, p. 277, under "*Abhisheka*."

⁴ Prof. A. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 203.

an imperative necessity to every prince; for, otherwise, in the estimation of the people, the prince will stand bare of the "kingly fitness" which he omits to formally bestow upon himself by the ceremonial, and for which no natural capabilities of the prince, however great, could perhaps be an adequate substitute. After the death of a king or after his retirement, some time must have elapsed before the coronation rituals could be performed by his successor; and hence, the question naturally suggests itself whether the latter could exercise the rights and duties of a full-fledged king immediately after the end of the previous régime without formally going through the ceremony. In the case of the initiation sacrament, the uninitiated boy had no right to the acquisition of sacred lore before he went through the necessary rite; but not so perhaps in the case of the coronation ceremony, as will appear from evidences later on. (2) The solemn assertion by the prince, which looks very much like the *coronation oath*, to protect the good and punish the wicked, that is to say, the paramount duties of the protection of life and property of his subjects and an impartial administration of justice.

After the performance of the *homa*, a tiger-skin is spread with the *mantra* "Thou art the sky, thou art the earth," and the prince is seated thereon. The priests bless him saying, "May you be unconquerable, may the various quarters protect you, may your subjects be loyal, and may the kingdom never slip away from your rule," and sprinkle him with water in which barley and *dūrvā* grass have been steeped, the ritual being accompanied with blessings.

The prince is then asked to repair to and ascend a chariot standing before the *âhavanîya* fire of the sacrificial ground where the ceremony is taking place, appropriate benedictory formulas (some of which are repetitions of those used in the sprinkling ceremony) being uttered during the time. The object of this ascension of the car appears from the last formula addressed to the chariot to be a symbolic expression of the desire that the prince might achieve success in his rule. The king next prays the royal priest to help him by a faithful discharge of his duties that serve to keep the realm free from danger, and contribute to its well-being. He then asks the charioteer to sit on the car and hold the reins. The king then recites to the effect, "May I never hear within my dominion the sound of bows of my enemies coveting my kingdom, may that harsh sound change into a sweet one by making the hostile army friendly."

The *brâhmaṇas* as well as the king's friends and relations embrace him, after which his body is smeared with unguents. At this time, the king has to look towards the sun, and the royal priest addresses him thus: "May this king be lustrous like the noon-day sun; may my blessings be likewise powerful in their effects; may you (king),—glorious sun, attain prosperity by my blessings; may my words be in a special degree discriminatory of right and wrong; may my blessings be firm in their efficacy; may the rivers (in the kingdom) be full, clouds rain in time, and crops fructify; may the king be the lord of a rich country veritably flowing with milk and honey."

After oblations to the fire intended for the *keśins*, i.e., Agni, Vāyu and Sāryya, the king is asked to sit on a throne of *udumbara* wood, when the *purohita* says, "O king, subdue your enemies completely. Now that I have finished the consecration bearing the two names of *Vaśinī*⁵ and *Ugra*⁶ pay fees to the *purohita*. May you attain long life and

⁵ Called *Vaśinī*, because the ceremony is believed to bring the subjects under the king's control.

⁶ Called *Ugra*, because it effects the subjugation of enemies.

be freed from Varuṇa's snares." Then the priest shaves the king's head with a *mantra*, which indicates that it is an imitation of what Prajâpati had done for Soma and Varuṇa. The hair is collected on a tuft of *kuśa* grass, serving thereby to preserve the king's strength.⁷ The king is then anointed with a mixture of milk and *ghî* with the same object in view with a formula which asks the Aśvins to have the king's beauty devoted entirely to the queens.

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata speak of a few coronations of princes, the former those of (1) Sugrīva,⁸ (2) Vibhīṣaṇa,⁹ (3) Rāma,¹⁰ (4) Kuśa and Lava,¹¹ (5) Aṅgada and Chandraketu,¹² (6) Śatrughṇa's sons Subāhu and Śatrughātī,¹³ and the latter those of (1) Janamejaya,¹⁴ (2) Vichitra-vīrya,¹⁵ (3) Puru,¹⁶ (4) Yudhishthira,¹⁷ (5) Śarabha, son of Śiśupāla,¹⁸ and (6) Parikshīt.¹⁹ Full ritualistic details are given nowhere in the epics. The common features of the rituals, so far as we can gather them from their fragmentary descriptions in the first named epic, are collection of waters from seas and rivers in gold pitchers, sprinkling of same on the prince seated on a throne, crowning and prince's gifts to *brāhmaṇas*, while their distinguishing features are (1) the performance of a *homa* (in Sugrīva's coronation), (2) presents offered by the subjects to the prince (e.g., in Vibhīṣaṇa's coronation), (3) presents offered by the prince (as in Rāma's coronation), (4) difference as to persons who sprinkle water, and (5) difference as to those who put the crown on his head.

The Mahābhārata furnishes some details of the ceremony of only one prince, Yudhishthira, who sat on a throne made of gold surrounded by others seated likewise. To begin with, he touched white flowers, auspicious symbols (*svastikas*), unhusked barley-corns, earth, gold, silver, and jewels. Auspicious articles, such as earth, gold, gems, and other things necessary for the coronation were brought by the subjects, who came there headed by the priest. Jars made of gold, *udumbara* wood, silver and earth, and full of water as well as flowers, fried rice, *kuśa* grass, cow's milk, *śamī*, *pippal*, and *palāśa* wood, honey, *ghî*, ladles of *udumbara* wood and conches decked with gold, were there for the ceremony. The royal priest, Dhaumya, made an altar sloping north and east and marked with the necessary signs. The prince with his consort Draupadī was then seated upon a firm and effulgent stool called *sarvatobhadra*²⁰ covered with tiger-skin, and Dhaumya poured libations of *ghî* upon fire with appropriate *mantras*. Kṛishṇa poured water from a sanctified conch upon the prince's head, as also Dhṛitarāshṭra and the subjects. The presents brought by the people were formally accepted by Yudhishthira, who in turn honoured them with presents in profusion and gave a thousand *nishkas* to the *brāhmaṇas* who uttered benedictions for his welfare.

Most of the features of the coronation as found in the epics have been reproduced in the *Agni-Purāṇa*²¹ which, as usual with the *Purāṇas*, adds to them new rituals making

⁷ Similar belief is noticed in connection with the *keśavapāṇīya* ritual of the *Rājāsūya*.

⁸ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiśkīṇāhā-kāṇḍa*, sarga 26.

⁹ *Ibid*, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, sarga 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, sarga 128, and *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, sarga 62.

¹¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, sarga 107.

¹² *Ibid*.

¹³ *Ibid*, *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, sarga 108.

¹⁴ *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-Parva*, ch. 44.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, *Ādi-Parva*, ch. 101.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, *Ādi-Parva*, ch. 85.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, *Śānti-Parva*, ch. 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, *Sabhā-Parva*, ch. 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, *Mahāprasthānika-Parva*, ch. 1.

²⁰ Cf. *Yukti-kalpa-taru*, (edited by Paṇḍit Śivarchandra Śāstrī); *Sāmānyāsanoddesa*, p. 56, ślk. 402.

²¹ *Agni-Purāṇa*, chs. 218-219.

the whole ceremony much more elaborate. The main divisions of the ceremony may be marked out into (1) *Aindri-Śānti* on a day previous to that of *abhisheka*, (2) (On the *abhisheka* day).

- (a) Performance of *Homa*.
- (b) Symbolic bathing (i.e., touching the prince's body with earth brought from various places—*mṛtilikā-snāna*).
- (c) Sprinkling of water on the prince by ministers.
- (d) Sprinkling of liquids by *Rig-Vedic* and *Sāmu-Vedic brāhmaṇas*, and the royal priest.
- (e) Sprinkling of water through a pitcher (perforated with a hundred holes) by the royal priest.
- (f) Rites by the *Yajur-Vedic* and *Atharva-Vedic brāhmaṇas*.
- (g) Seeing auspicious things.
- (h) Crowning.
- (i) Presentation of officials to the prince.
- (j) Payment of fees to *brāhmaṇas* and coronation feast.
- (k) Royal procession through the metropolis.
- (l) Return of the procession to the royal palace and gifts to the people.

If the reigning king instals his successor on the throne just before his retirement, he may have the *abhisheka* performed under his auspices on a day prescribed as appropriate for the purpose. If, however, he dies without performing this ceremony for his successor, the *Agni-Purāṇa*²² allows for the latter a provisional *abhisheka* which can be celebrated irrespective of the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the day on which it is held. The reason for such a provision is obvious: the formal vesting of regal powers in the prince in order to enable him to discharge kingly duties cannot be long postponed; for such postponement may lead to difficulties. The rituals of the ceremony are succinctly mentioned as symbolic bathing of the prince with sesamum and white mustard at which the royal priest and the astrologer officiate, the hailing of the prince with the cry of victory after which he sits on a *bhadrāsana*, proclaims safety for his subjects and issues order to his officers for releasing prisoners. The coronation whether performed under the supervision of the retiring king, or in the case of his death, after the provisional coronation, has to be held on an auspicious day which is fixed in accordance with recommendations of the texts²³ on the subject.

Details of the aforesaid main divisions are:—Re. (1). The *Agni-Purāṇa* does not furnish its rituals, which, however, are given in later works like the *Nīti-mayūkha*,²⁴ which may be summarised thus: After the formal declaration of the king's intention to perform the *Aindri-Śānti*, the officiating priests are formally entrusted with these duties:—A *vedi* (altar) is constructed and upon it a *Mahāvedi* (great altar) on which three lines are drawn on sand,

²² The *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 218, devotes ślks. 5 and 6 to this provisional *abhisheka* and the real meaning of the passage can easily elude the reader unless light be focussed on it from other works such as the *Vishṇu-dharmottara*, pt. II, ch. 18.

²³ See, for instance, *Vishṇu-dharmottara*, pt. II, ch. 18, ślks. 5-14; Goldstücker's *Dictionary* refers to *Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā* and *Muhūrta-chintāmaṇi* on this point.

²⁴ *Nīti-mayūkha* (MS. in ASB.), pp. 4-10. Minor details and *mantras* have been omitted in the above summary.

a cavity made and refilled with sand, Earth bowed to, and fire ignited. A gold, silver or copper pitcher full of water is covered with a piece of cloth and an image of Indra made of gold is placed on two eight-leaved lotuses drawn on the cloth. This is followed by offerings to Indra, five oblations to fire and the seating of the *Brahman* priest, who with the *Hotṛi* next engages in the offering of the following oblations, viz., eight to the four cardinal points, and seventeen to Agni and other deities followed by *samṛiddhi*, *sannati*, *upastṛiyya*, *svishṭīkrīt*, *Prāyścittātma*, *sanisthiti*, *samāna* and *saṁsrāva-bhāga* homas. Then follow offerings to the ten presiding deities of the ten quarters of heavens, and to demons of various descriptions. The *Pūrṇāhuti* comes next and then the throwing of the remnants of *homa*-fire into holy water. In the concluding rite of *śānti* for averting evil, the king with his consort, relatives and ministers, is sprinkled by the *hotṛi* with water from the *śānti* pitcher. Then both the king and the queen take bath in water mixed with herbs, wear white dresses and garlands, and smear their bodies with the paste of white sandal. Gifts are made to the priests, and the gold image of Indra after symbolic relinquishment is given to *Āchāryya*. The whole ceremony is then brought to a close by the feasting of *brāhmaṇas*.

The object of this ritual is no doubt the welfare of the king implying that of his relatives, officials, and subjects but the central idea in it is the coronation of Indra, the king of the gods. We have seen in connection with the *Rājasūya* that the *mantras* for the *Punarabhisheka*, are uttered in unison with those of the *Aindra-mahābhisheka*, which goes upon the supposition that the king of the gods was installed on his throne in remote antiquity with the self-same *mantras* which appear in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in connection with the *Aindra-mahābhisheka*, and which, when uttered at the *Punarabhisheka*, bring on special well-being of the subject of the *Punarabhisheka*. In the coronation ceremony with which we are now dealing, much more prominence is given to the idea by devoting a special day with its special rituals to Indra, who is worshipped to make the coronation of the mortal king as much fraught with potentialities for good as his own coronation was in the remote past.

Re. (2). On an auspicious day fixed for *abhisheka*, the king has to formally declare his intention (*saṅkalpa*) to perform the *abhisheka*.

(a) After the ignition of fire²⁵ and the offering of seventeen oblations as previously mentioned in connection with *Aindrī-Śānti*, the *purohita* has to perform *homa* with five sets of *Atharva-Vedic mantras*, viz. *śarma-varma*, *svastyayana*, *āyushya*, *abhayā*, and *aparājītā*, which are intended to secure for the king welfare for himself personally and his kingdom. On the southern side of the *homa*-fire is kept a gold pitcher (*sampātavān kalasa*) in which are deposited the residues of offerings. *Brāhmaṇas* learned in the Vedas as well as *brāhmaṇa*, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra ministers are honoured with presents and seated at the place where the ceremony is to take place. The royal priest, who has to fast on that day, puts on garland and turban and enters into the bathing-house where he has to put nine gold pitchers with waters from various places of pilgrimage as well as an earthen pitcher with water, a gold pitcher with *ghī*, a silver pitcher with milk, copper pitcher with curd, and an earthen pitcher with water in which *kuśa* grass has been soaked. A gold pitcher with a hundred perforations as also an earthen pitcher filled with water from well and the four seas are also to be there.

²⁵ Certain characteristics of the flame of this fire, such as brightness like melted gold, resemblance to *svastika* mark, &c., were regarded as portents for good or evil.

(b) The prince is then bathed symbolically with various descriptions of soil. This bathing consists in touching his head with soil from the top of a hill, ears with that from the top of an anthill, face with that from a temple of Vishnu, neck with that from a temple of Indra, chest with that from a royal palace, right arm with that dug up by an elephant by its tusks, left arm with that dug up by a bull by its horns, back with that from a lake, belly with that from a confluence of rivers, sides with that from the banks of a river, waist with that from the door of a brothel,²⁶ thighs with that from a sacrificial ground, knees with that from a cowshed, shanks with that from a horse-stable, and feet with that from the wheel of a chariot. This ceremony is concluded by the final ablution of his head with *pañchagavya* (a mixture of milk, curd, clarified butter, and cow's urine and dung).

(c) Four vessels made of gold, silver, copper and earth are filled respectively with clarified butter, milk, curd and water. The Brâhmaṇa, Kshattriya, Vaiśya and Śûdra ministers take the gold, silver, copper and earthen vessels in succession and sprinkle their contents on the prince's head from the east, south, west and north respectively.

(d) After the ministers, a Rîg-Vedic *brâhmaṇa* sprinkles honey and a Sâma-Vedic *brâhmaṇa* water (in which *kuśa* grass has been immersed) upon the prince's head. The royal priest commits the sacrificial fire to the care of the *sadasyas* (assistants) and sprinkles from the aforesaid *sampâtavân* pitcher with the *mantras*²⁷ that were uttered in connection with anointment forming part of the *abhishechaniya* of the *Râjasûya*.

(e) The prince is then taken to the base of the altar and seated upon a *bhadrâsana*. The royal priest sprinkles water on his head through a gold jar perforated with a hundred holes, uttering "yâ oshadhih, &c."²⁸ as also perfumed liquids, and water in which flowers, seeds, gems and *kuśa* grass have been dipped, with the recitation of other formulas.²⁹

(f) The Yajur and Atharva-Vedic *brâhmaṇas* touch with *Rochana* (yellow pigment) the prince's head and throat with the *mantra* "Gandhadvârâ, &c."³⁰ This rite is brought to a close by the assembled *brâhmaṇas* sprinkling on the prince's head water brought from various sacred places.³¹

(g) Auspicious things such as jar filled with water, chowry, fan, mirror, clarified butter, and jar filled with water and herbs are brought before the prince, music is played, (eulogistic songs are sung by the bards, and Vedic psalms chanted by the *brâhmaṇas*).³²

²⁶ It was perhaps believed that people before entering it parted with their religious merits at the very entrance, and hence, the sanctity of the soil from the place.

²⁷ Śloka 22 of ch. 218 of the *Agni-Purâna* speaks of these *mantras*. That they are borrowed from the *Râjasûya* ceremony is not clear from this śloka, but appears to be so from works like the *Nîtimayûkha*. Had the first verse of the couplet commenced with the words, *rajasûyâbhisheke cha* instead of with *râjastriyâbhisheke cha*, the meaning would have been clearer.

²⁸ See *Rîg-Veda*, X, 97.

²⁹ Some explanatory details have been taken from the *Nîtimayûkha*. The formulas referred to have been borrowed as follows:—

(i) "Oshadhiyah pratigribhnta pushpavatî!, &c." *Vâjasaneyi Samhitâ*, XI, 48.

(ii) "Âsuh sisâno, &c." *Rîg-Veda*, X, 103, 1.

³⁰ *Rîg-Veda*, Khila, V, 87, 9.

³¹ According to the *Nîtimayûkha* (MS. pp. 2 & 11) not only the *brâhmaṇas* but also the assembled Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śûdras and persons of mixed castes sprinkle water as above.

³² *Nîtimayûkha* (MS. pp. 2 & 11). The work puts after the above rite the sprinkling of propitiatory water (*Śântijala*) from the *Sampâtavân* pitcher by the astrologer. This rite is accompanied by the utterance of a long *mantra* "surâstvâm abhishîchantu," etc., of about 180 ślokas addressed to the gods, heavenly bodies, clouds, continents, hills and mountains, places of pilgrimage, sacred rivers, birds, horses, elephants, universal monarchs of yore, ascetics, *Vedas*, fourteen branches of learning, weapons, supernatural beings, in short, to quite a string of divine, natural, or supernatural forces with powers for good or evil, in order that they might all be propitiated to the prince about to be crowned. The location of the *mantra* in the ceremony is not manifest in the *Agni-Purâna* but has been indicated by works like the *Nîtimayûkha*.

(h) The royal priest, in the meantime, makes offerings of milk and honey to the divinities and sits on a chair covered with a tiger's skin. So seated he binds the prince's head with a fillet and puts on it the crown with the formulas " Dhruvadyaih, &c.," an English rendering of which is given below :—

" Firm is the heaven, firm is the earth, firm are these mountains, firm is this entire world, so may this king of men be firm."

" May the royal Varuṇa, the divine Brihaspati, may Indra and Agni ever give stability to thy kingdom."

" With a constant oblation we handle the constant *Soma*; therefore may Indra render thy subject people payers of (their) taxes."³³

The throne-seat,³⁴ on which the prince is next seated, is covered with the skins of five animals, bull, cat, wolf, lion and tiger. A symbolic meaning, not given in the texts, was no doubt attached to the spreading of these skins one over another. The tiger skin, as has been seen in connection with a previous ritual, indicated kingly power.

(i) The *Agni-Purāṇa* next speaks of the *Pratihâra* presenting officials to the king. It is added by the *Nītimayūkha* that distinguished townsmen, merchants and other subjects are also admitted to this honour.

(j, k & l) The king now presents the royal priest and the astrologer with cows, goats, sheep, horses, &c., and honours the other *brāhmaṇas* with similar gifts and a sumptuous feast.

After going round the sacrificial fire and saluting the Guru and one or two minor rituals, he sits on a sanctified horse but gets down the next moment to sit on the state elephant similarly sanctified and rides through the principal thoroughfares of the metropolis amid a gorgeous procession. After return to his palace, he accepts the presents made by his subjects, whom he receives with honour and entertains to a feast. Presents in return are also made by the king to his subjects.

It will not be out of place to recount succinctly the principal features of the English coronation of the past in order to show the degree of parallelism between it and that of the Hindus. The early English coronation had many features found in those of other European countries in the past, and may, for this reason, be taken for our purposes as a type of the early European coronations generally.³⁵

1. The prince attended by a large number of nobles and government officers made a stately progress to the Tower of London where he resided a day or two to dub as Knights of the Bath a number of candidates who had to perform vigil and other rites preparatory to this honour.

2. Amid a solemn and gorgeous procession in which the new Knights of the Bath, nobles, government officers, and clergymen occupied the particular positions allotted to them, the prince under various marks of honour displayed by the citizens rode to Westminster Hall on the day previous to the day of coronation.

³³ *Rig-Veda*, X, 173, 4-6 (translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson).

³⁴ The *Mānasāra*, as quoted in Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (p. 284, under *abhishaka*) names two officers *sthapati* and *sthāpaka* taking part in a function not detailed in the texts used above. The queen is also mentioned as sitting on a throne along with the king.

³⁵ For the following information on the European coronation, see *Chapters on Coronations*, author not mentioned; *Glory of Regality* by Arthur Taylor, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, under "Coronation."

3. Next morning, the nobles and others, marshalled according to their respective ranks, accompanied the prince to the adjacent Westminster Abbey, some of the regalia³⁶ being carried by certain persons having title to this honour.

4. The first rite performed within the Hall was Recognition in which the Archbishop declared to the people assembled there the prince's rightful claim to the throne and asked them, whether they were ready to give their assent thereto. In this rite were laid the traces of development of coronation from an earlier form of election.

5. Next came the First Oblation, the essence of which was the rite in which a "pall of cloth of gold, and an ingot of gold of a pound weight" received by the prince from the Lord High Chamberlain were made over to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who placed them on the altar.

6. In the Proper Service of the Day, prayers were said for blessings upon the prince.

7. At the conclusion of the sermon forming part of the previous rite, the Coronation Oath was administered by the Archbishop. The prince swore to govern the kingdom according to the established laws and usages, administer justice tempered with mercy, and uphold the religion of the land, and the rights and privileges of the members of the church.

8. The Dean of Westminster anointed with oil from the Ampulla, the palms of the prince's hands, his chest, shoulders, arms, and the crown of his head.

9. The next rite consists in investing the prince with vestments, girdle, buskins, sandals, spurs, sword, &c., which were made over to him on this occasion. Two noteworthy features of this function are that the Archbishop (a) while passing the sword to the prince requested him to protect the church, people, widows, orphans, restore things gone to decay and maintain those that were restored; and (b) while delivering to him the Orb with the Cross he uttered the formula "Receive this Orb, and remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of God, and that no one can happily reign upon earth, who hath not received his authority from heaven." At the time of Augustus, the Roman emperor, the Orb was regarded as the symbol of universal dominion. The Cross was affixed to it by Constantine the Great, signifying that universal dominion was but possible by faith.³⁷

10. The Archbishop assisted by other clergymen put the crown on the head of the prince seated on St. Edward's Chair, saying, "God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude that (thou) by (our ministry having) a right faith and manifold fruits of good works, thou mayest obtain the crown of an everlasting kingdom, by the gift of Him whose kingdom endureth for ever. Amen."

11. The Sovereign was invested with the Ring of faith, held the Sceptre of kingly power, the Rod of virtue and equity, and the Bible. He then received the Archbishop's Benediction in appropriate words.

12. The Sovereign was conducted to the throne by the Archbishop who was followed by the bishops and great officers of state. After he was seated on the throne, the Archbishop delivered an exhortation and took the Oath of Fealty. This Oath was also taken by the bishops and the premier Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Baron, each of them

³⁶ The principal Regalia are:—St. Edward's Chair, St. Edward's Crown, Crowns and Circlets, Orb with the Cross, Sceptre with the Cross, St. Edward's Staff, Ampulla (or Golden Eagle), Ivory Rod, Chalice, Paten, Swords, Rings, Spurs, Curtana (or pointless Sword of Mercy), and the Bible.

³⁷ *Chapters on Coronations*, pp. 27, 118.

representing himself and the rest of his rank. During the performance of the Homage, medals of gold and silver struck for the occasion were thrown among the people, and if there were any general pardon, it was read publicly by the Lord Chancellor.³⁵

13. In the Holy Communion, the Sovereign advanced towards the altar after the commencement of the Communion Service and made an offering of bread and wine. Then a wedge of gold, called a mark, weighing eight ounces, was received by the Archbishop from the Sovereign and laid upon the altar. This constituted the second oblation.

The Sovereign then returned to Westminster Hall attended by the clergy and others marshalled as before.

14. A noticeable feature of the Coronation Feast held in the Westminster Hall was the proclamation of a challenge to the effect that if anyone dared deny the rightful claim of the present Sovereign to the throne, he was a liar and false traitor, and the Champion was there to fight a duel with him to prove the falsity of his assertion. The Champion threw down his gauntlet, which after a short time was taken up by the Herald. Until the completion of the arrangements for the feast, the Sovereign reposed in the Court of Wards. Several tables were placed in the Hall, the royal table being set on a raised platform. Special duties in connection with this feast were allotted to special officers or noblemen: the royal table, for instance, was covered by the sergeant and gentleman of the ewery; the first course of hot meat was served up with the combined assistance of the sergeant of the silver scullery, and two gentlemen-at-arms or two Knights of the Bath, and other dishes were brought with a procession composed of several officers. A full delineation of this coronation being outside the scope of this section, details of this as well as other functions, which may have value for other purposes, have been omitted.

In the evening were held a general illumination, a display of fire-works in Hyde Park, the principal theatres being opened free to the public.

The features common to the two systems of coronation of India and Europe may now be summed up. The commonness is due in some instances to the very nature of the ceremony, and in others, to other causes.

Both the systems are endued with a religious character, difference lying only in the degree. In the one, God, His Son, and the Holy Ghost were solicited by prayers and offerings to bless the Sovereign and secure the welfare of his kingdom, while in the other, the divinities together with various natural and supernatural forces credited with powers for good or evil, were for the same purpose entreated or propitiated through a multiplicity of prayers, offerings and other religious rites.

The coronation of the Hindus, in its later form, lost all traces of its connection with the elective principle pointed out elsewhere³⁶ to have been operative in the epic period, in which it could be traced in the *recognition* forming part of the installation ceremony. In the European form of coronation, it was traceable in the formulary of election expunged in later times, as also in particular functions incorporated in the coronations of various European countries pointing to some form of election as their origin, *e.g.*, the practice of elevating a sovereign on a shield among the later Romans, and the custom of having stone circles to serve as seats for electors and a large stone in the centre for the Sovereign.⁴⁰

³⁵ The rites in which the Queen Consort took part have been omitted.

³⁶ See the *Modern Review*, 1916 (Sept.), p. 307.

⁴⁰ See *Chapters on Coronations*, chs. I & IX, p. 99.

The practice of taking an Oath to protect the people and perform other regal duties existed in the Hindu coronation, as evidenced by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, but it disappeared later on. Therefore the similarity of the European and the Indian systems in this respect is not found all along their respective lines of development.

Smearing with unguents in the Indian type may be taken to correspond with anointing in the Western, sprinkling of liquids obtaining greater prominence in the former.

Crowning, blessing for universal dominion, presentation of nobles and officials, jail delivery, stately progress through the metropolis, feast and the devotion of a day or two to a ceremony preliminary to the coronation proper, may also be regarded as points of similarity between the two types.

SECTION II.

Yauvarājyābhisheka.

It is in the epic period that we find the first mention of the ceremony for the inauguration of the crown prince. Prof. Goldstücker is doubtful as to whether this ceremony is hinted at in the passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*⁴¹ relating to the 'king-makers' (*rāja-karttārāḥ*) in the chapter on the *mahābhisheka*. These 'king-makers' refer, in the *Atharva-Veda*⁴² and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*⁴³ to "those who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king." According to Sāyana's commentary on the aforesaid passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, the king's father is one of the king-makers, and this was a ground for Prof. Goldstücker's doubt whether the ceremony in which the father took part might be that for the installation of a crown-prince.⁴⁴ A closer examination would, however, make it clear that such a doubt is baseless for the following reasons:—

(1) The *mahābhisheka* is not an independent ceremony, and the chapter devoted to it is meant to bring out that in days of yore, the *abhisheka* of Indra (called *Mahābhisheka*) took place on certain lines with certain *mantras* followed later on by several emperors of antiquity on the occasion of the celebration of the *Râjasûya*, and if these rituals and *mantras* are woven into the *Punarabhisheka* (i.e., the second *abhisheka*, the first having been performed at the time of installation to a simple kingship) of the celebrant of a *râjasûya* of later times, they will be of great efficacy.

(2) The inclusion of the king's father in the list of king-makers by Sāyana, is not borne out by the Vedic texts themselves.

(3) The presence of the father in any installation ceremony cannot of itself raise the presumption that the son performing the ceremony must needs be a crown-prince. First, the father might not at all have been a king, and possessing therefore no kingdom to which he could choose his son as successor; and secondly, he might be retiring from his regal position, making his son a full-fledged king by the ceremony.

(4) The question of installation to crown-principship cannot at all rise in view of the setting, in which the king-makers are mentioned, namely, the delineation of the rites and formulas of Indra's *mahābhisheka* intended to be woven into the *punarabhisheka* of the *râjasûya*.

⁴¹ *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 17, 5.

⁴² *Atharva-Veda*, III, 5, 7.

⁴³ *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 4, 1, 7, and XIII, 2, 2, 18. See Profs. Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, II, p. 210.

⁴⁴ See Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, under "Abhisheka", p. 282.

Hence, there are at present no evidences by which the ceremony of the installation of the crown-prince can be traced to the Vedic period.

References are found in the Epics to the *yauvarâjyâbhisheka* of Râma,⁴⁵ Aṅgada,⁴⁶ Bharata,⁴⁷ Yudhishthira,⁴⁸ Bhîshma,⁴⁹ Bhîma,⁵⁰ and Satyavâna.⁵¹

Details of the ceremony are not forthcoming from any of the works consulted by me. The Râmâyana furnishes a short account of the preparations made for Râma's *yauvarâjyâbhisheka*, but as they are not perhaps exhaustive, we cannot draw from them any correct inference as to either the things needed for the ceremony or the rituals and functions in which they were used. The short account is, however, striking in that it does not include water or soil brought from various places, forming a prominent feature of the coronation ceremony and as such receiving the first attention in the preparations for Râma's coronation.⁵²

There was no restriction as to the age at which a successor to a sovereign was installed as the crown-prince. Râma was twenty-five⁵³ years old at the time of his proposed installation to crown-princship and Bharata about forty⁵⁴ when he was so installed; both Yudhishthira and Satyavâna were young⁵⁵ when they went through the ceremony, but Bhîma was far more advanced in years when he became a crown-prince. There was, therefore, no hard and fast age-limit for this ceremony, though it seems to have been the usual practice for the king to choose his successor as soon as the latter completed the prescribed period of studies and was ready to share as crown-prince the responsibilities of a ruler.

No instances are forthcoming to show whether *yauvarâjyâbhisheka* was a bar to the subsequent celebration of the coronation ceremony when the crown-prince became the king. Yudhishthira's coronation after the recovery of his kingdom and subsequent to his *yauvarâjyâbhisheka* cannot be taken as a case in point in view of its merger in that of restoration to a lost kingdom.⁵⁶ That the recovery of a lost kingdom was an occasion for a fresh coronation stands clear from the case of Dyumutsena.⁵⁷ Prof. Goldstücker inclines to the view that the performance of the *yauvarâjyâbhisheka* "held good for the inauguration of the prince at his accession to the throne, after the father's death, since no mention is made, in the epic poems, of a repetition of the ceremony. The object of the inauguration of a prince as *yuvarâja* is to secure to him the right of succession, and, besides the advantages supposed to arise from the religious ceremony, as mentioned before, a share in the government, or perhaps all the privileges of a reigning king. For when Daśaratha intends to make his son Râma a *yuvarâja*, he addresses him with these words (in the *Ayodhya-kāṇḍa*,⁵⁸): "Râma, I am old; . . . To-day, all my subjects want thee for their king; therefore, my son, I shall inaugurate thee as junior king."⁵⁹ In the above argument, stress is laid on the words spoken by Daśaratha to the effect that the subjects wanted Râma as their king (*narâdhipa*) but the force of the very next words uttered by him, viz., "therefore, my son, I shall inaugurate thee as junior king" is ignored. What-

⁴⁵ Râmâyana, Ayodhya-kāṇḍa, ch. 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Yuddha-kāṇḍa, ch. 128, ślk. 93.

⁴⁸ Ibid., ch. 100, ślk. 43.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Vana-parva, ch. 298, ślk. 11.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Aranya-kāṇḍa, ch. 47, ślk. 10.

⁵¹ Mbh., Adi-kāṇḍa, ch. 141, ślk. 27; Vana-parva, ch. 293, ślk. 25.

⁵² Mbh., Sânti-parva, ch. 40.

⁵³ Râmâyana, Ayodhya-kāṇḍa, ch. 40.

⁵⁴ Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under "Abhisheka", p. 282.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Kishkindhâ-kāṇḍa, ch. 26, ślk. 13.

⁴⁸ Mbh. (*Mahâbhârata*), Adi-parva, ch. 139, ślk. 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Sânti-parva, ch. 41, ślk. 9.

⁵² Râmâyana, Yuddha-kāṇḍa, ch. 128, ślks. 48-57.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Bâla-kāṇḍa, ch. 18.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Vana-parva, ch. 298, ślk. 11.

ever Daśaratha might have said on the occasion, the ceremony was nothing else than *gruvârîjyâbhisheka* and should be viewed as such.

References to the inauguration of the commander-in-chief are found in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the inaugurations of Bhīshma,⁶⁰ Droṇa,⁶¹ Karna,⁶² Salya,⁶³ and Aśvatthāmā⁶⁴ as the military heads of the Kaurava army. This inauguration ceremony is modelled on that of Kārttikeya,⁶⁵ the commander-in-chief of the gods, whose inauguration again followed in some respects the still earlier *rājyâbhisheka* of Varuṇa,⁶⁶ the water-god. Details of the ceremony aggregated from the several descriptions are scanty. Those that are expressly mentioned, are oblation to the *Hom*-fire, seating of the Commander on an appropriate seat, sprinkling of water⁶⁷ on his head from a vessel, the utterance of the big formula "*surāstvām abhisīchantu,*" &c.,⁶⁸ which happens to be the same as used in the coronation ceremony just before crowning and gifts of coins, bullion, cows, cloths, &c., to Brāhmanas. It is superfluous to mention that the rituals were accompanied with music, eulogies sung by bards, and joyous and benedictory ejaculations. The inauguration of the several commanders-in-chief mentioned above was performed in the battlefield. In times of peace the same ceremony is likely to have been celebrated on the occasion of the assumption of his office by the commander-in-chief. It is probable that in the former case, the exigencies of the situation compelled a curtailment or abridgement of the rituals which could be allowed to be in their full form in times of peace.

THE LUNAR ZODIAC IN THE BRĀHMANAS.

By B. V. KAMEŚVARA AIYAR, M.A.

IN the Preface to the fourth volume of the first edition of the *Rigveda*, the late Professor Maxmüller wrote: "In conclusion, I have to say a few words on an hypothesis according to which the discovery of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* was originally made at Babylon and from thence communicated at a very early time—the date is not given—to the Indians in the South, the Chinese in the East and sundry Semitic nations in the West. Such an hypothesis seems almost beyond the reach of scientific criticism, though with the progress of the deciphering of the Babylonian inscriptions, some facts may come to light either to confirm or to refute it. At present, however, all that can be brought forward in proof of such a theory is vague and uncertain and could not stand the test of the most forbearing criticism"

This was written in 1862. Twenty years later, he again examined this theory in his lectures on "*India—What Can It Teach Us?*" (pp. 123—133, first edition) and concluded, "With due respect for the astronomical knowledge of those who hold this view, all I can say is that this is a *novel*, and nothing but a novel, without any facts to support it"

This theory of the Babylonian origin of the Indian *nakshatras* was started by Weber and supported by Whitney, and apparently ceased to be advocated after Maxmüller's vigorous refutation.¹ I was therefore surprised to find Professor A. B. Keith reviving the theory in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January 1917, pp. 135,

⁶⁰ *Mbh.*, Udyoga-parva, ch. 155, ślks. 26-32.

⁶² *Ibid*, Karna-parva, ch. 1, ślks. 11-12.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, ch. 35, ślks. 36-43.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, ch. 45, ślk. 22.

⁶⁷ In the legend, the water of the Sarasvatī was sprinkled on Kārttikeya from a golden jar.

⁶⁸ In the legend of Kārttikeya's inauguration to generalship the above formula was not recited at all; deities named in the formula personally appeared before him to take part in the sprinkling.

¹ Whitney, however, maintained his view to the last. He wrote in 1894, "Weber and I, on whatever other points we may have been discordant, agreed entirely, some thirty-five years ago, that it must have been introduced into India, probably out of Mesopotamia; nor, I believe, has either of us seen any reason for changing his conviction since." Vide *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIV, p. 365.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, Droṇa-parva, ch. 5, ślks. 39-43.

⁶³ *Ibid*, Salya-parva, ch. 1, ślks. 6-7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, ch. 45.

136). He writes "... in the absence of any evidence as to the real origin of the *nakshatras*, the priority of *Krtikās* has been insoluble. But the Babylonian hypothesis of their origin still remains the most plausible and for an ingenious argument I would refer to a comparatively recent article by Lehmann Haupt. If so, then the effort to prove the origin of the position of *Krtikās* by Indian literature must be unsuccessful."

I have not been able to get a copy of *ZDMG.* (Lxvi) containing this ingenious argument. But from the way in which Prof. Keith writes I am inclined to think that he does not attach much value to it. Now that Prof. Keith has chosen to revive a theory long given up, he should, in fairness, bring together all the fresh evidence that Babylonian researches might have brought to light since 1882 and discuss their evidentiary value and at least show that the theory is not so baseless as Maxmüller had pronounced it to be. It is an important question involving wide issues and deserves more than a digressive hit that the Professor has chosen to give it.

To a lay mind it would appear that there is nothing in common between the Indian ecliptic of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* and the Babylonian zodiac. (1) The former is lunar; the latter, by all accounts, was solar. (2) In the earliest Indian literature where it is found, that is, the *Brāhmaṇas*, there is no attempt to divide the 27 *nakshatras* into 12 sections and allot two or three to each section and there is no reference to the planets. "The Chaldeans chose three stars in each sign to be the 'Councillor gods' of the planets."² (3) The first sign (whether Aries, so far as records go, or Taurus, as later traditions indicate,) coincided with the vernal equinox. There is no evidence in Indian literature to show that the Indians began their year with the vernal equinox before the introduction of the Alexandrian School of astronomy into India³ about the fourth or the fifth century A.D. (4) There is not the slightest evidence in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature to show that the Brāhmaṇas of the *Brāhmaṇa* period were aware of the twelve signs of the Babylonian or the later Indian solar zodiac or any pictorial representations of these signs, such as the Ram, the Bull, etc., or that the words *mesha*, *vaśiṣṭha*, etc., were used technically to denote the signs of a solar zodiac. (5) In Babylonia 'we find a week of seven and another of five days' (*Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., Vol. 3, p. 167). The *Brāhmaṇas* know neither, but have instead a period of 6 days (*Ṣaḍaha*), five of which made a month. (6) In Babylonia, the 12 months were named after the 12 zodiacal signs. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the 12 months are named after the 12 *nakshatras* at or near which the moon successively became full. (7) The Brāhmaṇic asterismal system commenced with the Pleiades. There is nothing to show that the first sign in Babylonia was headed by this asterism.

Maxmüller wrote in 1882:⁴ "Now the Babylonian zodiac was solar, and, in spite of repeated researches, no trace of a lunar zodiac has been found, where so many things have been found, in the Cuneiform inscriptions. But supposing even that a lunar zodiac had been discovered in Babylon, no one acquainted with Vedic literature and with the ancient Vedic ceremonial would easily allow himself to be persuaded that the Hindus had borrowed that simple division of the sky from the Babylonians. . . . Surely it would be a senseless hypothesis to imagine that the Vedic shepherds or priests went to Babylonia in search of a knowledge which every shepherd might have acquired on the banks of the Indus. . . . And after thirty years' further Babylonian research and exploration, the

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* (edition of 1911, art: "Zodiac").

³ *Vide*, for instance, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1917, p. 499, footnote:—" . . . Only the Roman Calendar and the year of Nabonidus reckon from the spring. Dr. Fleet thought that Brāhmaṇas must have visited Rome. Perhaps so; but it is more probable, I think, that they took the spring equinox for their starting-point from the year of Nabonidus. When the Alexandrian astronomers reformed their Calendar in the reign of Diocletian, they based their reform upon the Nabonidus era; and these astronomers were the teachers of the Indians."

⁴ *India—What Can It Teach Us?* (first edition, pp. 126, etc.)

latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art: "Zodiac") could only write: "The alternative view, advocated by Weber, that the lunar zodiac was primitively Chaldæan, rests on a very shadowy foundation. Euphratean exploration has so far brought to light no traces of ecliptical partition by the moon's diurnal motion, unless, indeed, zodiacal associations be claimed for a set of twenty-eight deprecatory formulæ against evil spirits inscribed on a Ninevite tablet."

In the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, including the *Taittirīya* and other later *Samhitās*, we find only the lunar ecliptic, with the twenty-seven⁵ *nakshatras* with the *Kṛittikas* heading the list and no mention of *mesha*, *Vṛishabha*, etc., as the signs or representations of a zodiac. On the other hand, no reference has been found in Babylonian inscriptions to the division of the zodiac based on the diurnal revolution of the moon among these asterisms. There is not a single point in common between the Babylonian zodiac, so far as it is known and the Indian ecliptic, as it is found in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Brāhmaṇa* literature (*Vāj. Sam.* XXX. 10; *Taitt. Br.* III. 4-4-1) refers to observers of stars (*nakshatra-darśas*) as a profession; and yet it is assumed that the Brahmvādins must have borrowed the elementary scheme from some country which shows no traces of such a scheme.

Professor A. A. Macdonell, in his review of my dissertation on the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, which was intended for the Oriental Congress which was to have assembled at Oxford in 1915, wrote to me, "The origin of the *Nakshatras* is an unsolved mystery and so long as this is the case conjectures based on their original signification must remain without value as proof of any theory."

We find the lunar ecliptic of 27 *nakshatras* referred to in several places in the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. We find a knowledge of this lunar ecliptic in the marriage hymn of the *Rigveda* (X. 85-13) where the expressions *aghâsu* and *arjunyoh* mean "on the days when the moon is in conjunction with these asterisms." As the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art: "Zodiac", 11th edition) says of the Indian Zodiac: "We find nowhere else a well authenticated zodiacal sequence corresponding to so early a date." Why then should one seek for the origin of the *nakshatras* in any other ancient country, where no traces of the same have been found after years of research. You find it there in ancient Indian literature and you do not find the like of it in any other country at so early a period. It is again a scheme which could have been easily worked out in the land of the Indus, by a people with as much knowledge of civilised life as is exhibited in the *Rigveda*. Would it be fair or competent criticism, then, to say that the ancient Indians must have borrowed the simple scheme from some country not definitely known (from Babylonia or China), at some unknown or indeterminable period, simply because a Biot, a Weber, or a Whitney had started theories which half a century of further research has left where they stood when they were started?

Scientific criticism is concerned with evidence and so long as no evidence is forthcoming, if not to prove, at least to lend some amount of probability to the foreign origin of the *Nakshatra* ecliptic, it will not be fair to reject as valueless any legitimate inference that may be drawn from the statements about the *nakshatras* that we may find in the *Brāhmaṇas*; leaving aside the conjectures based on the etymological significance of the names of the *nakshatras*, such as those indulged in by Bentley for instance, which have of course little value as evidence.

⁵ Only 27 are given in the earlier list in *Taitt. Sam.* IV, 4, 10, 1-3 and in *Taitt. Br.* I. 5-1. *Taitt. Br.* I. 5-2 adds that in addition to the 27 *nakshatras* mentioned in the previous *anuvâka*, there is another called *abhiḥit* (a Lyra) which should be looked for in the sky between the (*uttara*) *ashâdhas* and the *śronâ* and that the Devas conquered the Asuras under this *nakshatra* and therefore expeditions should set out under it. This *nakshatra* is accordingly included in the *nakshatreshṭi* in *Taitt. Br.* III. 2-1-6, notwithstanding its remoteness from the ecliptic.

CHANDRA'S CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

By RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

IN the early part of the fourth century A.D., there was a great defeat of the people of Bengal (Vaṅga) by a king named Chandra. This event is mentioned in an inscription¹ incised in early Gupta characters on a pillar of cast iron known to historians as the "Meherauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra." There has not yet been an end of discussion as to the identity of this Chandra. The late Dr. Fleet thought that the characters of this inscription "approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad posthumous inscription of Samudragupta" and remarks² that he "should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him," i.e., Chandragupta I, the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the Gupta family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions. Dr. Hoernle³ assigns the inscription to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and Mr. Vincent Smith, in the second edition⁴ of his "Early History of India", expressed his conviction that the Chandra of the inscription was Chandragupta II, who, he thought, had to quell a rebellion of the people of Bengal when they offered him an united resistance in battle. If the inscription could be ascribed to the time of Chandragupta II and the king Chandra be identified with the latter—it may be well said with Mr. Allan⁵ that "the enemies who had united against him in the Vaṅga country were probably peoples who had taken the opportunity of his absence in the west to cast off the yoke under which his father had laid them." But Mr. Vincent Smith has since changed his opinion and has accepted the view of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, that the Chandra of the Iron Pillar Inscription was not at all a Gupta ruler and that he should be identified with Chandravarman mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta's time. This Chandravarman, it should be remembered, was one of the nine kings⁶ of Āryyāvarta who were violently extirpated, during his campaign of conquests in Northern India, by Samudragupta, who thus increased his majestic power in the North. Pandit Sāstrī while proving this identity of Chandra of the Iron Pillar inscription and Chandravarman (king of Pushkaraṇa, Pokharan or Pokurṇa of Rājaputānā) based his arguments on two inscriptions, viz., (1) the Māndasor stone-inscription⁷ of Naravarman of the Mālava era 461, and (2) the Susunia Hill inscription⁸ of Caandravarman, king of Pushkaraṇa. From the first of these inscriptions, we have the following historical information:—"This Vaishnavite inscription was incised in 461 of the era of the Mālavagaṇa, i.e., in A.D. 404, when king (*pārthiva*) Naravarman (using the title *mahārāja*), son of king Simhavarman and grandson of king Jayavarman, was ruling that part of the country, i.e. Mālava." We know from epigraphic records that in A.D. 404 Chandragupta II was on the imperial Gupta throne. Hence we may safely suppose that Mahārāja Naravarman was Chandragupta II's feudatory in the Western region, probably having his head-quarters in the town of Daśapura (modern

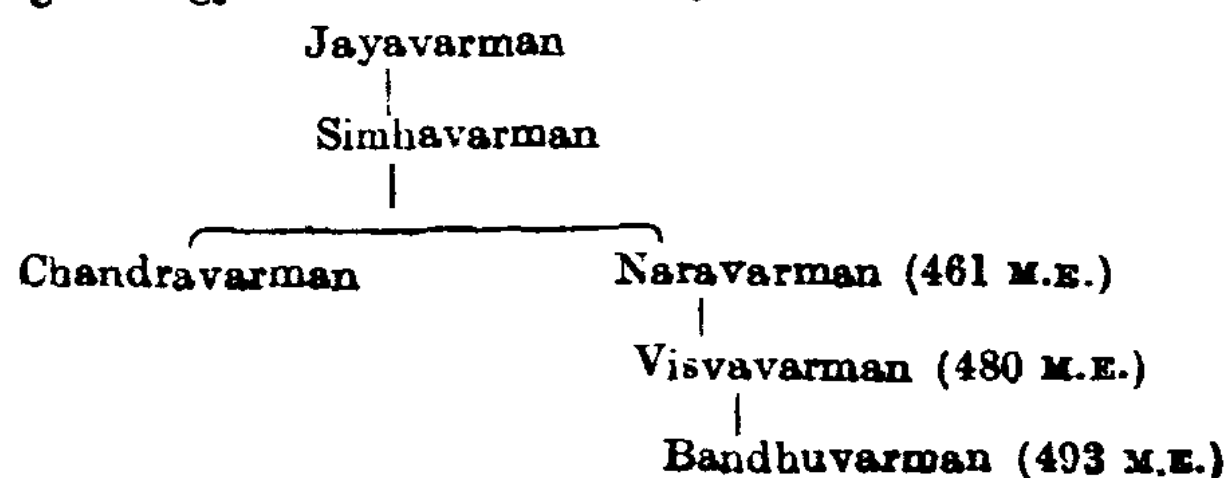
¹ Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 32.² *Ibid*, p. 140, foot-note 1.³ *Ante*, Vol. XXI, pp. 43-44.⁴ *Early History of India*, 2nd edition, p. 275.⁵ *Indian Coins—Gupta Dynasties*, Introduction, p. xxxvi.⁶ Cf. "Rudraśiva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarman-Gaṇapati-nāja-Nūjasēn = Achyuta-Nandi-Balavarman = ady-anēk-Āryyāvarta-rāja-prasabh = ōddharaṇ = ōdvṛtta-prabhūva-mahataḥ"—l. 21.—Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, No. 35, p. 315ff.⁸ *Ibid*, Vol. XIII, No. 9, p. 133; and *Proc. of the ASB.*, 1895, p. 180.

Mândasor), just as we gather from other records⁹ that his son Viśvavarman and his son Bandhuvarman were feudatories of Kumâragupta I. The second inscription which is inscribed in early Gupta characters of the Northern variety records the dedication of a wheel in honour of a god (evidently Vishnu) named Chakrasvâmin and it only states in its two lines¹⁰ of writing that this dedication is a pious deed (*kr̥itih*) of *mahârāja* Chandravarman, son of *mahârāja* Simhavarman, king of Pushkarana. The use of the subordinate title of *mahârāja* with the names of these kings shows that Pushkarana was one of the many small states that were being ruled independently before their subjugation by Samudragupta. In the first inscription we have *mahârāja* Naravarman as the son of Simhavarman and in the second *mahârāja* Chandravarman as the son of the same king. This fact led Pandit Śâstrî to suggest, rightly enough, that Naravarman and Chandravarman were brothers.¹¹ It has been said before that Naravarman was a contemporary of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, whereas Chandravarman was Samudragupta's contemporary. Hence it may be rightly supposed that Chandravarman was Naravarman's elder brother. The identity of Chandravarman of Samudragupta's inscription and Chandravarman, king of Pushkarana, of the Susunia Hill inscription, as established by Pandit Śâstrî seems to be quite right. But there is much difficulty in proving undoubtedly that this Chandravarman and the Chandra of the Iron Pillar inscription are identical. Samudragupta probably destroyed the independence only of the nine kings of Northern India amongst whom Chandravarman was one, and allowed them after their utter defeat to rule in their respective states as Gupta feudatories. Chandravarman, his father Simhavarman, and his grandfather Jayavarman may have had mastery over a greater part of Mâlava and had their capital at Pushkarana; and they had thus ruled independently before Samudragupta advanced in his campaign of conquests and reduced the power of the Varman family of Pushkarana by defeating its king Chandravarman and probably placing his younger brother Naravarman to the position of a feudatory chief ruling from Dasapura. It may also be supposed that Naravarman succeeded to the rulership after the death of his elder brother Chandravarman. We have said before that Naravarman's son, Viśvavarman and his son Bandhuvarman were feudatory kings under Kumâragupta I ruling in Mâlava from their capital Dasapura. From the Gangdhar Stone inscription (Fleet, No. 17) we find that Viśvavarman, son of Naravarman, was a very powerful ruler (*tasmin prâśāsati mahîn-nṛipati-pravîrê* ll. 17-18) in the year 480, evidently of the Mâlava era, and from the Mândasor stone inscription (Fleet, No. 18) we know that Bandhuvarman, son of the ruler (*gôptâ*) Viśvavarman was governing the city of Dasapura (*ksh̥itipati-vṛishê Bandhuvarmmani.....Dasapuram =*

⁹ Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18.

¹⁰ Cf. "(L. 1.) *Pushkaranâdhipatêr=mahârāja-Simhavarmanah putrasya* (L. 2) *mahârāja-Śrī Chandravarmanah kr̥itih*."—These lines, it should be noted, are inscribed just below the wheel on the backwall of a cave now in ruins on the hill.

¹¹ We may illustrate the genealogy of the Varman family thus:—



idam pālayati, l. 16), while Kumāragupta I was ruling the earth in 493 M.E. (*Kumāraguptā pṛthivīm pravāsati*, l. 13). Hence, Pandit Śāstri's statement¹²—“Mr. Smith is wrong, I believe, in including Māndasor in the map of Samudragupta's conquest. For Naravarman and his son Viśvavarman do not seem to have acknowledged any obligation to the Guptas”—is not vouchsafed by epigraphic evidence which seems rather to lead to a contrary conclusion.

To prove completely that the Chandravarman of Pushkarana and the Chandra of the Iron Pillar inscription are identical, one has to establish, first of all, that Chandravarman came to Bengal on a campaign of conquests. But the Susunia Hill inscription has not the slightest reference to any conquest by the king of Pushkarana (*Pushkaraṇādhipati*). It simply states, as already pointed out, that the dedication of the wheel is a pious “deed of *mahārāja* Chandravarman, son of *mahārāja* Simhavarman, king of Pushkarana.” It does not at all say “that Chandra of Pokarna did conquer that part of the country” as boldly asserted by Pandit Śāstri. Chandravarman seems to have gone there on a pilgrimage to the hill-cave to do honour to the god Chakrasvāmin, and it was probably a very famous place of pilgrimage in old days also. It may be advanced as an argument that as the wheel in the Susunia Hill cave and the flag-staff (*dvaḥja*) of the Iron Pillar are both sacred to the god Viṣṇu, it favours the identity of Chandravarman and Chandra. But we know that the Gupta rulers too were themselves devotees of Viṣṇu (*paramabhāgavata*).

Let us now consider the historical data that can be obtained from the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription:—

- (i) King Chandra destroyed his enemies in Bengal (*Vaṅgēshu*) who offered an united resistance against him.
- (ii) He, in course of war, crossed the seven mouths of the Indus (*Sindhu*) and overcame the Vāhlikas.
- (iii) The Southern Ocean was to-day (even after his death) being perfumed by the breezes of his prowess, i.e., who probably proceeded towards the South for making conquests.
- (iv) His majestic glory still lingered on earth in the shape of fame even after his death.
- (v) He enjoyed for a very long time lord-paramountcy (*aikādhirājyam*) on earth earned by the strength of his own arms (*svabhuj = ājijitam*), i.e., he was a *mahārājādhirāja*, a title which he himself earned by his own prowess.
- (vi) He was a Vaishnava and established this pillar as a flag-staff of the god Viṣṇu on the Viṣṇupada hill.

From these data we find that Chandra was a mighty monarch and had the title of *mahārājādhirāja* (stated for metrical exigencies as *aikādhirājyam prāptam*, l. 5), whereas Chandravarman is simply mentioned in the Susunia inscription with the title *mahārāja*, which, in early times especially during the Gupta period, was used by kings of smaller states and by feudatory rulers. The datum (v) above is most significant. The statement that Chandra earned supreme sovereignty in the world by means of his own arms (*svabhuj = ājijitam aikādhirājyam*) and enjoyed it for a long time (*chiram*) and that he led his arms of conquest to the distant countries of Vaṅga in the east and to the country washed by the mouths of the Indus on the west, and also towards the south, applies more

¹² *Ante*, 1913, p. 218.

to an early Gupta ruler of the fourth century than to any local king of any of the small states then ruling independently in Northern India. There is no Paurânic or epigraphic evidence to show that any other family of kings made any attempt in the fourth century A.D. to assume imperial dignity by conquering distant lands. So it is very likely that Samudragupta's father, Chandragupta I, whom we know to have been the first *mahârâjâ-dhirâja* of the Gupta line, began to establish the empire by going out for making conquests in Bengal, in part of the Panjab and also in the South, and perhaps succeeded in incorporating portions at least of these provinces into his own kingdom, which, after his death, passed into Samudragupta's hands. It is perhaps for this reason that we find in Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription no mention of Bengal being conquered by that monarch who inherited his father's self-made empire which had already comprised Bengal. Where is the evidence that Bengal had ever been in the possession of Chandravarman? Had it been so, we would have to seek for evidence to prove that Bengal was afterwards recovered from the hands of the Varman rulers of Mâlava by the Gupta rulers. But we have as yet got no such historical evidence, nor can we expect to get it in future. On the contrary, we know from the newly discovered Dâmôdarpur plates of the Gupta period that Bengal was under the direct political jurisdiction of Kumâragupta I and his successors. It seems plausible that Samudragupta ordered this posthumous inscription to be inscribed on this costly pillar of iron which his late father *mahârâjâ-dhirâja* Chandragupta I caused to be erected as a flag-staff in honour of Vishṇu; and as the ancestors of his father were local chiefs having the use of the title *mahârâja* only, Samudragupta did not perhaps ask the court-poet to refer to any genealogy in the inscription. Hence we are inclined to believe with the late Dr. Fleet that the Chandra of the Iron Pillar is the first Gupta *mahârâjâ-dhirâja* Chandragupta I, and this accounts for the striking paleographical similarity of this inscription with the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta's time.

In discussing the age of the compilation of the dynastic account in the *Purâṇas* Mr. Pargiter¹³ writes:—"The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprised within Prayâga, Sâkêta (Ayôdhya), and Magadha, that is exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta I, who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335 perhaps), before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta;" and he holds the view that as the Paurânic account does not take any notice of Samudragupta's conquests nor of the Gupta empire, the narrative was closed during the interval which elapsed between the time when Chandragupta I established his kingdom from Magadha over Tirhut, Bihar and Oudh as far as Allahabad, and the beginning of Samudragupta's reign. But it may also be presumed that this Paurânic account of the extent of the Gupta empire had been compiled before Chandragupta I defeated the people of Bengal and the Vâlîhikas, which even probably took place towards the end of the reign of Chandragupta I. Or, it may be supposed that the Magadha of the *Purâṇas* probably included the portions of Bengal conquered. Had the conquest of Bengal fallen to the lot of Samudragupta the event would have very likely found mention in his Allahabad Pillar inscription. Moreover, the discovery, in parts of Bengal, of coins of various types belonging to Samudragupta and his successors, may be cited as an evidence, though somewhat insufficient, of Gupta supremacy in Bengal during the early period of Gupta rule in India.

¹³ *Dynasties of the Kêli Age*—Introduction, p. xii, § 20.

MISCELLANEA.

TIPU SULTAN'S LETTERS AT SRINGERI.

The labours of Mr. R. Narasimhaiah, Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, have recently been rewarded with the discovery of some letters of Tipu Sultan, in the Sringeri Matha of Sri-Sankarāchārya, that shed a new light upon the character of the last Sultan of Mysore (*ante*, 1917, p. 136). Their purport, however, is apparently so incredible and contrary to all accepted views that we would certainly hesitate to accept them as genuine, had not other materials from quite an unexpected quarter been available, for their confirmation. The Svāmī of Sringeri was generally styled as the Peshwa's *guru*, religious and social questions were often referred to him for decision by the Peshwas, to them the lineal successor of Sri-Sankarāchārya was almost a semi-divinity—a Pope, an exponent of divine will. Yet these letters tell us that a Mahratta army, under the command of a Brahman general, Parsurām Bhau Patwardhan, had ruthlessly plundered the temple and village and carried their sacrilege so far as to break and defile the image of the goddess Śārādā. All these details, however, are confirmed by two letters written from the Mahratta Camp. Both of these have been published in the 9th volume of Mr. V. V. Khare's *Ahīk Lekha-Saṅgraha*, but an English translation may here be added, for those who are not acquainted with Marāṭhī. The first of these was dated the 25th of April, 1791, and was addressed to Bālā Sāheb at Miraj. Nīlkanth Āppāji, the correspondent of Bālā Sāheb, writes: "The Lamāns and the Penḍhāris went from the army of Rājāri Dādā Sāheb, plundered the temple of Srīṅgerīkar Svāmī and took elephants and other property worth about a *lac* of rupees. They brought these things, yesterday, to a place, about a *kos* from this camp, and some of our people went there and saw them. Thereupon, a letter has been addressed to Dādā Sāheb, about their confiscation." This letter, written just after the incident, omits all its horrible details: but the second correspondent, who wrote about a month later (the 14th of May), gives a more minute description. Trimbak Rāv Ballāl wrote to Bālāsāheb: "Before the army crossed the Tuṅgabhadra the Lamāns and the Penḍhāris had gone towards Śivamoghe. They plundered the Svāmī's village of Srīṅgerī. They looted the Svāmī's belongings, including his *Danḍa* and *Kamandala* and left nothing. Women were violated and some of them committed suicide. The *Devaliḡa* and other images belonging to the

Svāmī were plundered. The Lamāns took away all his elephants. The Svāmī fasted for five days and died.

"When the Elder (*वडिन* = Parsurām Bhau Patwardhan) learnt this news, he sent some horse-men, arrested the Lamāns and recovered the elephants. Besides this, not a Rupee worth of thing was found."

Whether these elephants were restored to the Svāmī, we do not know; but the Svāmī proceeded to the Peshwa's Court at Poona, with a petition for the recovery of his lost property. Mr. Khare, to whom we are indebted for the publication of the above letters, however, argues that Parsurām Bhau Patwardhan should not be blamed for the deeds of professional plunderers, over whom he could exercise but a feeble control. In fact, the Dādāsāheb, to whose army these offenders were attached, claimed sole jurisdiction over them, and the miscreants were suffered to escape unpunished. Though I am well aware of the great weight that Mr. Khare's name will always lend to the view he supports, I think we cannot so easily absolve Parsurām Bhau from the crime of sacrilege and plunder. For these Penḍhāris were not independent free-booters, but they formed an integral part of the Mahratta army. Moreover, their deeds were legalised by the tacit sanction of the State, for they were granted license in consideration of a tax called *Pāl Patṭī* or tent dues. This tax was rated at 25 per cent. of their plunder, and the State therefore directly participated in their misdeeds, by sharing with them their ill-earned income. We should also remember that Dādā Sāheb (Raghunāth Rāv Kurundwāḷkar), the officer directly responsible for protecting the offenders, was not a rival of Parsurām. On the contrary, he was a friend, to whom the command of the Patwardhan forces had been entrusted, after the withdrawal of Parsurām Bhau to his Jāgīr during the late war against Tipu. Perhaps the Penḍhāris were on this occasion allowed unbridled license, and the reason will be found in the following remark made by Mocre,—in his narrative of Captain Little's Detachment: "The mutual acts of plunder and devastations now committed by the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, proceed solely from a personal hatred and detestation between Purseram Bhow and the Sultan, and perhaps there are no two men existing who more mortally hated each other. Tippoo, it is said, either by his own hand or direction was the immediate cause of the

death of Bhow's brother. Hurry Pant's army, which left Seringapatam at the same time, . . . was not at all molested." In all probability, the Svâmi of Sringeri fell a victim to Bhanu's hatred, because he happened to be the Sultan's subject.

Another point that may surprise the reader of these letters is, that Tipu should help the Svâmi substantially in reinstalling the image. Tipu is generally represented as a bigoted follower of the prophet of Mecca, and we learn from the evidence of Husheini Aly—a contemporary and by no means a hostile historian—that Tipu was not at all favourably disposed towards the Hindus. Yet both Moore, an English writer and an enemy of Tipu, and Michaud, a French historian, testify to the happiness and contentment that ordinarily prevailed in Mysore, during Tipu's reign. According to Michaud, "the Sultan was very popular, very affable, and very well informed." Moore says: "It has fallen to our lot to tarry sometime in Tippoo's dominions and to travel through them as much as, if not more than, any officer in the field during the war, and we have reason to suppose his subjects to be as happy as those of any other sovereign; or we do not recollect to have heard any complaints

or murmurings among them, although had causes existed, no time could have been more favourable for their utterance, because the enemies of Tippoo were in power, and would have been gratified by any aspersions of his character. The inhabitants of the conquered countries submitted with apparent resignation to the direction of their conquerors, but by no means as if relieved from an oppressive yoke in their former Government. On the contrary no sooner did an opportunity offer, than they scouted their new masters, and gladly returned to their loyalty again." About the intolerant doctrines of Muhammadanism, Michaud remarks that "the sweetness of peace removed all that is fierce in the doctrine of Mahomet." This appears to be inconsistent with Husheini Aly's evidence, who says that the Sultan conferred on the Hindu population of Nargund and Kittur, the good fortune of circumcision and conversion. The apparent contradiction is not however difficult to explain: Tipu tolerated the practice of Hindu religion within his own territories, and became popular with all his subjects, but the same toleration was not extended to the population of the enemy countries by the zealous Muhammadan ruler of Mysore.

S. N. SEN.

BOOK-NOTICE.

MAHARÂNA KUMBHA, 1917, AND MAHARÂNA SÂNGÂ, 1918, BY HAR BILAS SARDA, F.R.S.L., Scottish Mission Industries Company, Ltd., Ajmer.

The publication of these two memoirs marks the beginning of a new epoch in the study of the history of Rajputana. The author himself is well known to students of Indian History as the author of *Hindu Superiority*. These two monographs are the precursors of a series, as the author himself explains in his preface to *Maharâna Kumbha*. Colonel Tod's celebrated work is now being amplified, corroborated by epigraphic and other literary evidence and checked by counter-reference to the chronicles of Musalman historians on the subject. This, in fact, is the application of modern critical methods of historical research to the history of Rajputana.

Rajputana, like Nepal, possesses the unique distinction of never having been under Muhammadan rule, and here we see the gradual transformation of the mediæval period of Indian History into the modern. Elsewhere in India, the mediæval period of Indian History closes with a snap as soon as the native sovereign is overthrown by the Muhammadans. History becomes an imperfect chronicle of the wars of Muhammadan princes and their subordinates on their neighbours or on

scattered Hindu principalities which had succeeded in maintaining a precarious existence in impregnable, out-of-the-way places. In Rajputana the situation is entirely different. Here old dynasties continued to rule and to defy the attempts of successive dynasties of Muhammadan kings to subdue the last strongholds of the infidels. Sovereigns of Northern India and their descendants sought refuge in this country when ousted from their ancestral territories by Muhammadans. In this respect the history of Rajputana is as valuable and as interesting to the student of Indian History as that of Nepal or of distant Tibet.

In the monographs under review Mr. Sarma has presented the history of the premier kingdom of Rajputana, i.e. Mewar, from A.D. 1364 to 1526. Incidentally he informs his readers of the major events of other States, such as Marwar, Sirohi, etc., as they are inseparably linked with the history of Mewar in this period.

The first monograph opens with the period of the reign of Rânâ Kshetra Sîmha, the son of the celebrated Rânâ Hammîra Deva and the great-grandfather of Maharâna Kumbha (chapter II). It gives a concise and very lucid summary of the reigns of Kshetra Sîmha, Lakhâ and Mokâl, and describes the days of Rathor influence in the court of Mewar. The next chapter deals with the short

war with the Gujarat Sultanat and the beginning of the struggle with the Sultans of Malwa. The fifth chapter is of engrossing interest as it deals with the end of Râthor influence in Mewar and with the conquest of Marwar by the Mahârânâs. The next chapter deals with the struggles of Rao Jodha, the founder of Jodhpur, for independence and the creation of the State of Jodhpur. Of much greater importance is the chapter on the long wars of Kumbha with the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat. Here, for the first time, we find the chronicles of the Muhammadan historians checked and refuted by contemporary Hindu evidence. From the raids of the treebooters of Samana on the Hindu inhabitants of Kabul and Balkh in the 10th century A.D. to the death of Aurangzeb, the chronicles of Musalman historians appear to be an unbroken list of victories for Islam. Checks and defeats have been carefully censored and erased from historical works in Persian. The estimation of the proper value of a history or chronicle written by a Musalman dealing with wars between the true believer and the infidel has been a long and difficult process. The absence of contemporary Hindu evidence and the rarity of corroborative evidence has made the process a very tedious one. But in the long run a true estimate of the value of Muhammadan historical works has been formed in Northern India. In Rajputana the process is much easier. Mr. Sarda, with the true critical spirit, declares the battle of Mandalgarh to be indecisive (p. 48), and refutes Ferishta's claim for a victory for Mahmud Shah II of Malwa by producing contemporary evidence which proves the contrary. Similarly Ferishta's claim for a victory in 1446 has been ably refuted by Mr. Sarda in a long footnote, where Muhammad Kasim's favourite lies have been very neatly exposed (p. 49). So far as my knowledge goes, this is the first time that the lies, inaccuracies, and deliberate mis-statements of this bigoted chronicler, who is relied on by the majority of European historians, are being exposed. Ferishta's claim for a victory for the Sultan of Gujarat and a war indemnity of fourteen maunds of gold received by him has been very ably dealt with on pp. 60-61. So much so that the next historian of Gujarat will be obliged to change certain well-known features of the history of that State. The eighth chapter deals with Kumbha's murder by the patricide Udâ, and contains a summary of his exploits based upon epigraphical evidence. The next chapter gives a lucid account of Rajput Architecture of the period and of monuments erected by Kumbha; the tenth and last chapter gives a summary of Kumbha's literary attainments and describes the works composed by him.

The second memoir of the series, *Mahârânâ Sângâ*, is a larger work and deals with a shorter period. The opening chapter gives a short sketch of Sângâ's character, while the following three chapters contain an excellent summary of the period intervening between the death of Mahârânâ Kumbha and the accession of Sângâ. Here the author has shown how the weak rule of Sângâ's predecessors led to the dismemberment of the vast dominions of Kumbha and how dissensions among members of the ruling clan led to the weakening of the power of the Mahârânâs of Mewar. In the end of the fifth chapter the author deals with Sângâ's first war with the powerful Muhammadan kingdom of Gujarat, and in the succeeding one his first war with the Sultans of Delhi when Ibrahim, the weak successor of Sikandar Lodi, was defeated and forced to fly. A second expedition led by the foremost Afghan leaders met with no better result and the frontiers of Mewar reached those of the Afghan Kingdom of Delhi, incidentally paving the way for the final struggle at Khanua. The seventh chapter deals with the struggle between the Hindu and Musalman vassals of the kingdom of Malwa which led to its extinction by its powerful neighbours, and Sângâ's victory over and the capture of the person of Sultan Mahmud Khilji II. The conquest of Malwa brought about a war with the Sultans of Gujarat, which is described in the eighth chapter. The struggle between Mewar and Gujarat is continued in the next two chapters, where the futile counter-expeditions from Gujarat are described.

The most important chapters of the work are those which describe the struggle of Mewar with the incoming foreigner, the Mongols or, as they are called in India, Mughals. The eleventh chapter gives a short description of the earlier adventures of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar Padshah, and the twelfth gives a succinct summary of the various stages which brought the two important figures of Indian History, Babar and Sângâ, face to face.

The author's detailed description of the events preceding the battle of Khanua and that of the battle itself shows that the Indian method of warfare (*dharmayuddha*) was not the proper method in a war with foreigners, and confirms one of the most prominent conclusions of Indian History, that the fall of Indian Empires has always been due to defection and treachery rather than to weakness and defeat. The thirteenth chapter of the work gives us the first chapter of the history of the struggle between the Śisodiya and the Chaghatai from a new standpoint, the Rajput or Indian standpoint, which has more or less been systematically ignored by European historiographers.

R. D. BANERJEE.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 56.)

2.

Gold.

PURE raw gold is called *k'ayûbât*⁴⁵. **Shoddy commercial gold** is called *môjô*. It contains 50 % of valueless alloy.

Gold, being so much more valuable a material than silver, **the alloy is reckoned in mûs only, in naming these standards,**⁴⁶ **thus :—**

<i>Kômûpè</i> ⁴⁵	=	9½ mûs out of 10 mûs of pure gold	⁴⁶ =	95%
<i>Kômû</i>	=	9 " " "	=	90%
<i>Shi'mûpè</i>	=	8½ " " "	=	85%
<i>Shi'mû</i>	=	8 " " "	=	80%
<i>Ko'ni'mûpè</i>	=	7½ " " "	=	75%
<i>Ko'ni'mû</i>	=	7 " " "	=	70%
<i>Chaukmûpè</i>	=	6½ " " "	=	65%
<i>Chaukmû</i>	=	6 ⁴⁷ " " "	=	60%
<i>Chô°</i>	=	half gold	=	50%

I have met with in the bazars another known standard, *viz.*, *kôjâtchaukmû*, or Rs. 9 mûs 6 out of Rs. 10 of pure gold (*k'ayûbât*). = 96%.⁴⁸

Prinsep adds, *Useful Tables*, p. 32, that the Burmese called gold *mohars* 8½ mûs standard, *i.e.*, *shi'mûpè*, and I may add that English jewellers' gold they insist on calling brass.⁴⁹

It will be observed that, in reckoning the touch of silver and gold respectively, the sense of the terms is reversed. **In reckoning silver touch the amount of alloy in the piece is mentioned whereas in reckoning gold the amount of gold in the piece is mentioned, Indian fashion.**

Many standards of gold between *k'ayûbât* and *môjô* (spelt properly *môgh° kro°*, but I have also seen *mô° kyô°*) are, however, known to jewellers, and I give below a representation, two-thirds full size, of a set of touch needles or standards, which I procured from a bankrupt jeweller in Mandalay in 1889, showing nine standards, *viz.*, 95%, 90%, 85%, 80%,

⁴⁵ I have a note of this term, where it is spelt *k'ayûbât*. Stevenson, *Dict.*, gives *shwêgaung* and *shwêna* as the "best kind of gold." But these terms merely mean "good gold," and "red gold." The Burmese are fond of "red gold," but gold can only be "red" when alloyed with copper. "Red gold" cannot therefore be really the "best kind of gold." According to Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 398, the Siamese recognised six gold standards as a very ancient custom. Each standard had a name, which he gives in his curious spelling. He says, upon some local information apparently, that the standards date back to A.D. 1347.

⁴⁶ See Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 31.

⁴⁷ Prinsep's "merchants' gold," which he calls *komûtabê* (p. 32).

⁴⁸ *I.e.*, of *k'ayûbât* gold. Informants, however, are often puzzling, and I have been given in the bazars *ywê° jô°* (half gold leaf) for the highest and *chô-môjô* as the lowest standard.

⁴⁹ In 1889 Sir Frank Gates sent me from Katha a specimen of gold which he was told was called *shorê chaukkê°*. Unfortunately it never reached me, but it probably represented the standard of 60%.

⁵⁰ This is probably Prinsep's "king's gold," which was *kômû-tabê-lêgwê°*, *i.e.*, 9 mûs, 1 pò, 4 ywê°, or 9½ mûs (p. 31). The "Rock-gold" of Achin in 1711 ran to 92, 93, 96, 99, and 100 touch. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 731.

⁵¹ British jewellers' gold, at 18 carats fine = the Burmese *shi mû* standard, or 80%, so the ordinary 9 carat gold would only be 40%, or 20% worse than *môjô*.

75%, 70%, 65%, 60%, and 50% respectively of pure gold, the last being called *môjô*. These are shown in the figure from left to right, the smallest pieces being of the highest and the longest of the lowest intrinsic value.⁵⁰



SCALE $\frac{2}{3}$ ACTUAL SIZE.

In reference to **touch needle for gold**, the observant Lockyer is worth quoting here. At p. 132 ff. *Trade in India*, 1711, he writes as to Canton especially :—

“Gold is a Metal of such Value, that a small Mistake in its Fineness may be two or three per Cent Loss to the Buyer. The Chinese reckon by Touches, 100 is full fine, and equal to 24 Carraets English; wherefore a Set of Touches with Silver Allay, from 50 to 100 touch, rising gradually as you are able to discern the Difference of Colours on a Touch Stone, would be a great Help; tho’ it must be a nice Judgment to distinguish a Touch (or 100th part) Sometimes they make it not above 50 or 60 Touch, and guild it four or five times over; so that relying on your smooth Stones, you are liable to be imposed on: Therefore I look on the rougher ones that are used by the Banians of Indostan, with a Ball of Black Wax, to be the best: But for want of these raise the Sides with a Graver, or cut it half through with a Chizel, and break the rest; whence you may see the Colour and Grain, and easily detect their Fraud; should you cut it quite thro’, the Chizel will so draw the Gold over the Allay, that you can learn nothing by it.” Again, after explaining that copper alloy will make gold appear to be of better quality than pure silver alloy, or mixed silver and copper alloy, Lockyer goes on to quote the advice (p. 137) of one Mr. Hynmers as to the use of touchstones:— “You only want a little Practice to confirm you in this; and if you have Touches made with the three different Allays I mention’d (Copper, Copper and Silver, and Silver) you cannot be easily deceiv’d with the Copper Allay. **Now the use of your Touch-stone:** You should during the Term of your Voyage, especially a Month or two before you arrive at China, often practice your Touches, rubbing them on your Stone one by another, till you can know the Difference, which your constantly doing will confirm you in. When your Touch-stone is fill’d, you may clear it by rubbing it with a Piece of fine Charcole and Oyl, or fine Emery Powder and Oyl, or Scuttle-fish Bone; but remember the smoother you rub the Stone the better will your Touches appear on it, and to wash off the Oyl well after cleaning: For the Touches will not take well, the Stone being Oily. And after you have at any time rubb’d your Touch, and Gold on it, lick it over with your Tongue, and it makes it appear better to know the Difference. If you continually practice and mind these Directions, it will not be

⁵⁰ The Malays used 20 to 24 needles in a set. *JASB.* May 1836, in Appx. to Moor’s *Indian Archipelago*, p. 71. See also Crawford, *Amr.* p. 434. For Indian touch-needles (*banwari*), see *Ain-Akbari*, Gladwin’s Trans., Vol. I, p. 6f.; Blochmann’s Trans., Vol. I, p. 18ff.

an easy matter to deceive you in that Commodity, or put a false Piece upon you: Tho' I must confess ther's no way so sure, certain, and so much to be confided in as an Essay by Fire, both for Gold and for Silver, &c."

From Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 398n., we get a set of six **Siamese gold standards**,⁵¹ said by him to date so far back as A.D. 1347:—

1.	Nopakun-kow-nam	.. .. .	90%
2.	Nua-peat	.. .. .	80%
3.	Nua-chet	.. .. .	70%
4.	Nua-hok	.. .. .	60%
5.	Nua-ha	.. .. .	50%
6.	Nua-see	.. .. .	40%

At least, the above is what I gather Bock's informant meant to convey, because "*nopakun-kow-nam*" would mean in Shán "nine fine in a hundred," or something like it: and *pít*, *set*, *hók*, *há* and *sí* mean eight, seven, six, five and four respectively.

By way of comparison with the above remarks on Burmese gold standards, the following information, culled from Stevens, *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade*, ed. 1766, is of much interest. At pp. 126-127 he gives a series of "Chinese characters Whereby you may form some Judgment on the Value of their Gold." From this can be extracted the following **recognised standards**, taking "sycee" as pure or 100 touch.⁵²

1.	Twanghan: in bars wrapped in stamped paper..	94½ to 95
2.	Seong Kutt or Soang Catt	90 to 92
3.	Tungzee	96
4.	Tungzee, Yeungzee or Tingwan	95
5.	Toozee or Toujee	92
6.	Cheauzee or Swajzee	92
7.	Seong Pou or Soang Pau	93½
8.	Yeukxzee, Seongyeukx or Song Yeux	94 to 95
9.	Pouzee or Seong Po	94
10.	Chuzee or Chuja: in bars	94
11.	Chauzee or Swarhzy: in shoes	93
12.	Ongee	90 to 93
13.	Toozee	92
14.	Pouzee or Seong Po: in bars	93
15.	Cutzee or Songcatt: in shoes	90
16.	Yeukzee: in shoes wrapped in paper, stamped "the double-ring chop"	95 to 96

Lockyer is equally interesting on the subject of **Chinese gold standards**, p. 132ff.:—"Gold-makers (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the Gold, that comes thro' their Hands, into **Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, 12oz. 2dwt. 4gr.** of an equal Fineness: As one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private Mark is stamped in the Sides, and a

⁵¹ In some parts of the Eastern Shan States gold in lump is the currency. Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 2. See also Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 35, for "gold in rods" in 13th century, and *Cathays*, Vol. I, p. ccix, for "gold in rods" in the 16th century.

⁵² On p. 125 he has the following remarks:—"China Weights The finest gold among them is 100 touch, called sycee, that is pure gold without any allay in it gold bought touch for touch is when ten tale weight of sycee silver is paid for one tale weight of gold the sycee gold"

Piece of printed Paper is pasted to the middle of them, by which every one's Make is known as our Cutlers, and other Mechanicks do in their Trades. Both Ends of the Shoos are alike and bigger than in the middle, and thin Brims rising above the rest, whence the upper Side somewhat resembles a Boat; From the middle, which in cooling sinks into a small Pit, arise Circles one within another, like the Rings in the Balls of a Man's Fingers.⁵³ but bigger: The smaller and closer these are the finer the Gold is. When Silver, Copper or other Metal is inclosed in casting, as sometimes you may meet with it in small Bits, the Sides will be uneven, knobby, and a rising instead of a Sinking in the Middle. . . . They are call'd after the Makers Names, or from the Places whence they come; but I think the former; for, there is a great deal made at Pekin; but none of that Name. *Chuja* and *Chuckja* are 93 Touch. *Tingza*, *Shing* and *Guanza* 94. Of these the former turn to the best Account. *Sinchupoa* and *Chuchepoa* are reckon'd 96 and 95 Touch. . . . Gold in Bars or Ingots comes chiefly from Cochinchina and Tonqueen, and differs in Fineness from 75 to 100 Touch. 'Tis of several sizes, and easier much than the Shoos to be counterfeited. . . . **Bargains for Gold are always so many Tale weight of Currant Silver, 94 Touch,** which is really 93." This last remark gives us a valuable hint that travellers and commercial writers, when talking of the "touch" of gold, may not be referring to a percentage of pure gold, but merely to a ratio between gold and some local standard of silver.

Lockyer further lets us into the secret of how the wily European merchant of the early days made a profit for himself out of the inveterate habit of the dealers of the Far East of adulterating their gold. At p. 136, he says:—"All the Eastern people allay their Gold with Silver . . . The coarsest, or Gold of the lowest Touch is most advisable: For, in a parting Essay you get all the Silver that is mix'd with it for nothing, viz, 80 Tale weight Touch 58, is 58 Tale of pure Gold, and 22 Tale of Silver Allay, which you pay not a farthing for."⁵⁴ This then was the reason why merchants of A.D. 1700 made themselves familiar with the various sorts of inferior gold, and the next quotation goes to show that the same desire existed a century later.

In that curious book, *Comparative Vocabulary of the Burma, Malayu and T'hai Languages*, 1810, p. 53, we find *môjô* (there spelt *môvkrôv*) in Burmese equals in Malay *suâsâ* and in Siamese (T'hai) *nâk*. It is translated "*suâsâ*,⁵⁵ a mixture of gold and copper," showing that this quality of gold was then best known to Europeans by its Malay name.⁵⁶

A correspondent of the *Singapore Chronicle* in 1827⁵⁷ gives an account of the Residency of the North-West Coast of Borneo, and says that "Gold is found in almost every part of the Residency," and that "The price at the principal ports may be taken at about two dollars and ninety cents per touch, or say 26 Spanish dollars of Sintang gold of nine touch," meaning by a "touch" one-tenth pure or standard in the Indian fashion. He also says that gold "takes many names, being invariably designated by the name of the place

⁵³ See figs. 7 and 8, Plate I; but the specimens there shown are *thâkwâ* silver, supposed to be a Chinese production.

⁵⁴ Compare a merchant's advice as to Siam in 1833 in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, p. 230.

⁵⁵ Crawford, *Malay Grammar*, Vol. I, p. clxxxv, gives this word as *suwasa*, and says that neither copper nor silver is found in the Malay Archipelago. In Vol. II, p. 178, he says that "*suwasa* is an alloy of gold and copper in about equal parts" and that the word is common to Malay and Javanese.

⁵⁶ In Sumatra, in A.D. 1416, the Chinese found a gold *dênâr* current of 30% alloy. *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, p. 210.

⁵⁷ In Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, 1837, p. 8.

where it is procured." Now from his statements we can make out a table of gold standards for Borneo in 1827 of a precisely similar nature to those prepared already for China and Burma thus :—

Sintang about	90	Sangao about	90
Landak	90	Muntuhari	85
Mandor	78	Sambas	90
Sapan	80	Larak	85
Siminis	80	Salakao	75

In a *Report* on Borneo⁵⁸ submitted to Sir Stamford Raffles in 1812, it is said that "The standard of Slakow gold at Pontiana is fixed at 23 Spanish dollars the *bunkal* of two dollars weight. The Songo and Laurat is 25 dollars the said *bunkal*." But the price obviously depended really on the touch.

In yet another *Report*,⁵⁹ dated c. 1836, on Johole in the Malay Peninsula, the writer gives first a most interesting, for the present purpose, account of the "*bunkal*" and then of some contemporary gold standards in those parts. He says :—"The gold dust is again carefully washed and . . . dried by means of a red-hot piece of charcoal being repeatedly passed over its surface. After the adherent finer particles of sand have been removed, it is weighed into quantities, generally of one tael each, which are carefully folded up in small pieces of cloth. These packets constitute the Bunkals of Commerce. In Sumatra, according to Marsden, the parcels or Bulses, in which the gold is packed up, are formed of the integument that covers the heart of the buffalo. The Bunkals are, as in Sumatra, frequently used as currency instead of coin."⁶⁰

After explaining that the Malayan *mutu* is the same as the Indian touch, the writer gives the following quaint, but withal useful, table of standards :—

Gold of Reccan [Arakan] ..	95	Mount Ophir ⁶¹	92½
Chimendros and Taon.. ..	95	Pahang and Jellye	92½
Tringanu	92½	Calantan	92½

From Calantan gold of 10 *mutu* [100 'touch'] is sometimes obtained.

As a curious instance of gold being used purely as a money of account I may quote from the Chinese *Tung Hsi Yang K'au*, c. 1618, in Indo-China, 2nd. Ser., Vol. I, p. 199 :—"When the men of Jambi [in Sumatra] bargain for goods, the price is agreed upon in gold, but they pay only with pepper : e.g., if something costs two taels of gold, they pay a hundred picols of pepper, or thereabout. They like to buy outside women, and girls from other countries are often brought here and sold for pepper."

3.

Lead.

Lump lead currency, well known also in Lower Burma, is called simply *k'ègè*, or lump ead. Fig. 14, Plate I, shows a piece which has been chipped off a large one, and used, I believe, for genuine currency. I procured it from an old woman in 1888 at Mandalay, who told me that she had kept it by her for forty years, since the days of Shwèbô Min. Now Shwèbô Min, the King Tharrawaddy of most European writers, reigned 1837-1846,⁶² so her

⁵⁸ Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, Appendix, p. 19.

⁵⁹ *JASB.*, May, 1836, in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, Appx., p. 70f.

⁶⁰ Compare Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I, p. 135.

⁶¹ In the Malay Peninsula. See *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁶² See *ante*, Vol. XXII, pp. 289, 291.

statement was sufficiently accurate. A large lump, partly chipped, with hammer and chisel, just as procured from a village stall in the Mandalay district, is now in the British Museum.⁶³

Yule says, *Ava*, p. 259, that in 1855, baskets of lead for exchange were prominent objects in markets.⁶⁴ And so does Malcolm, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 269, when writing of Lower Burma in 1835.

Flouest, writing of Pegu and Rangoon in 1786, says (*Toung Pao*, Vol. II, p. 41) the same thing :—"La monnoye courante dans les bazards ou marchés est du plomb coupé par morceaux de différentes grosseurs : ils ont des balances dans lesquelles ils mettent d'un côté ce qu'on achete, et de l'autre le plomb. La viande et le poisson se vendent quelquefois à poid égaux. C'est à dire que pour vingt cinq livres de viande on donne 25 livres de plomb. Les légumes et autres articles de peu de valeur se vendent à proportion. On se sert rarement de ce metal pour des fortes sommes."

The expression used by Hunter, *Pegu*, p. 86, writing in 1785, is "for the payment of smaller sums, they use money of lead, which is weighed in the same manner as the former" (*i.e.*, as silver).⁶⁵

At p. 256 of his *Embassy to Ava*, Yule further shows how some of the many variations in the statements of writers as to exchange between silver and lead have come about.⁶⁶ "Lead is brought from the country about Thein-nî, in the Shân States, some 70 or 80 miles East of Amarapoora. The mines, it is believed, are worked for the silver that is contained in the lead, which pays the expense of smelting and gives a profit. The king [Mindôn Min] last year (1854) purchased 800,000 viss of lead at five tikals for a hundred viss and sold it at twenty tikals." This means that he bought at an exchange of 2,000 to 1 and sold at an exchange of 500 to 1, making a profit of 400 per cent, *i.e.*, if he dealt fairly in the quality of the silver paid out and in, which is doubtful. Yule in calculating his profits (same page) at 120,000 tickals on the transaction seems to assume that he did. But the inference of importance for our present purpose from the above quotation is that, in a statement of the relative values between silver and lead by a traveller, a great deal would depend on whether he got his information before or after the lead referred to reached the Royal Treasury, or whether he was writing as to places in or out of the reach of the Royal Monopoly. Thus, for 1786, we get quite a different ratio between lead and silver from any of those above given, out of a statement by Flouest (*Toung Pao*, Vol. II, p. 41, n. 1), who is writing of Pegu and Rangoon, and says :—"Le plomb vaut 6 bizes [viss] ou 6 bizes et demie pour un tical," *i.e.*, the ratio is from 600 to 650 to 1.

In Stevens' *Guide to the East India Trade*, ed. 1766, we read, p. 115, of Acheen, that "their Money is in Mace and Cash; the Mace is a gold Coin, about the size of a Two-penny Piece, but thinner, weighing about nine Grains; the Cash is a small Piece of Lead, 2500 of which usually pass for a Mace." On the same page we read :—"8 Mace Acheen make 1 Pagoda Madras." So one mace must have been nearly half a tickal. This gives us a ratio roughly of 1,000 to 1 between silver and lead, or pretty nearly that of Burma. The trouble

⁶³ Or Oxford Museum, for I forget to which of the two I gave it.

⁶⁴ See also Symes, pp. 326, 469; Alexander, *Travels*, p. 21; Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III, p. 38f.

⁶⁵ As to what commercial writers of Hunter's time meant by "bullion, coin and money," we have a very instructive note in Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, ed. 1775, p. 93, where he quotes Sir James Steuart's *Principles of Money*, 1772, to the following effect :—"By bullion, we understand silver or gold, the mass or weight of which is not determined, though the fineness may be known by a particular stamp By coin we understand pieces of gold or silver of determinate weights and fineness By money we understand nothing more than the denomination which determines a proportion of value."

⁶⁶ For general remarks on exchange between silver and lead, *see ante*, Vol. XXVI, 310.

in the calculation, and no doubt also the reason for the great variation in the relative values above stated, is, as Stevens says, that "the Achineers do so adulterate the Coin."⁶⁷

In 1889 I procured some **bazar ratios between silver, copper and lead**, as current in Mandalay, and, though I do not place complete faith in them, they are interesting and instructive in the present connection. My informant called all the silver *ywetnigê*, but divided it into eight qualities from *ywetnî* to "*ywetnî-50-gê*": the lead he called simply *kyi*, and the copper *paissâmbyâ*, i.e., copper coins, pice. Of the first standard, *ywetnî*, he says that "it was current in the time of Pagàn Min, 1206," i.e., B.E.=A.D. 1844: and of the second, *ywetnî-10-gê*, that "it was current in the time of Mindôn Min, 1214," B.E., i.e., A.D. 1852. The third standard is *ywetnî-15-gê*, i.e., 85% of *ywetnî*, say, 70% of *b'ò*, and is, from his statement, the current silver of the *bázars*, which cannot, therefore, be much better than that of Pegu in Hamilton's time.⁶⁸

BAZAR STATEMENT.

Number of standard.	Silver.	Weight.	Lead in bulk :		Copper coins :		
			viss tickals.		tic.	mû	ywê
1	<i>ywetnî</i>	2½ mû	2	50	15	6	0
2	10% "	" "	2	25	7	0	4
3	15% "	" "	2	0	4	1	8
4	20% "	" "	2	0	3	1	3
5	25% "	" "	1	60	2	0	0
6	30% "	" "	1	50	1	5	0
7	40% "	" "	1	50	1	1	1
8	50% "	" "	1	50	0	8	0

RATIOS.

Standard.	Silver.	Copper.	Lead.
1	1	62. 4	1,000
2	1	28.13	900
3	1	16. 6	800
4	1	12. 5	800
5	1	8	640
6	1	6	600
7	1	4.53	600
8	1	3. 2	600 ⁶⁹

The above figures indicate considerable laxity in estimating ratios in so gross a form of currency as lead, and the following example as to how *bázár* dealers work out "change" in lead, given me by the same informant, shows it further:—

Ex:—A man goes to the *bázár* to buy oil: he has 1 *mû* weight of silver: 12 *ywês* = 1 *mû*. He buys 8 *ywês* worth of oil. The *bázár* dealer has no change in silver for the 4 *ywês* due to him. Two viss 50 tickals of lead = 1 *mât* (= 2½ *mû* = ¼ tickal). The *bázár* dealer must therefore give in exchange 31 tickals, 4 *pês* of lead, which is the equivalent of 4 *ywês* of silver.

The sum is however worked out wrongly. Thus:—

(a) 4 *ywê* = 1/3 *mû* = 1/3 × 1/10 tickal = 1-30 tickal.

(b) 1 tickal silver = 250 × 4 = 1,000 tickals lead.

(c) Therefore, 4 *ywê* silver = 1,000 by 30 tickals lead = 33 tickals, 3 *mû*, 4 *ywê* lead.

⁶⁷ Compare Lockyer's remarks, *Trade in India*, p. 39f.

⁶⁸ See ante, p. 49.

⁶⁹ These figures argue that these people do not know much about copper, which is the fact. The ancient ratio in India seems to have been 64 to 1 and it was the same in the days of Akbar. Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 533, note, and Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 407 ff.; 70 to 1, however, in Akbar's time according to Thomas, note to p. 22 of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHĀLUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA.

BY A. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR, M.A., L.T.; KUMBAKONAM.

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY : VIKRAMĀDITYA'S ANCESTRY.

The name 'Chālukya' and its variants.

The Chālukyas are variously known in inscriptions as 'Chaulukyas', 'Chaulukyas', 'Chalukyas', 'Chalukyas', 'Chalikyas', 'Chalikyas', 'Chalkyas', 'Chalkyas', and Bilhana¹ calls them in addition 'Chulukyas' or 'Chulukyas'. In Guzerāt they are more commonly known as the Solankis or 'Solakis'.

The Chālukyas and their modern representatives.

They are at present represented by the Solankis in Rajputāna, by the Chālkes and the Sālūkes, in the Marāṭhi-speaking districts and by the Chalhaks in Bihār.²

The mythical origin of the Chālukyas.

The legendary origin of the Chālukyas, according to Bilhana,³ is as follows :—Brahma was once engaged in his *Sandhya* devotions when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth and requested him to create a hero that would be a terror to the wrong-doers. He then directed his eyes to the 'chuluka', i.e., the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior whose descendants were known as the Chālukyas. A somewhat similar account is also to be found in the Handārki inscription⁴ of about the same date as that of Bilhana's work. Another version,⁵ slightly different in its details, is that the Chālukyas were the descendants of one sprung from the 'chuluka' of Drōṇa when he was once ready to curse Drupada of Pāñchāla for having insulted him. Elsewhere⁶ they are said to have sprung from the *chuluka* of the northern sage Hārītī Pāñchāsika. These accounts represent merely the tradition that was current about the origin of the Chālukyas and clearly betray by their variance an effort on the part of their authors to trace the origin to a mythical ancestor born of 'chuluka'—an origin suggested by the name itself.

Their original stock.

In *Pṛithvīrājarāsa*⁷ of Chand Bardāi we are told that the Chālukyas were the descendants of the *Agnikulas*, but as there is not a single epigraphic record⁸ in which their origin from the fire-altar is even hinted at and as the statement stands almost alone unsupported by any other literary work,⁹ it cannot be taken seriously.

¹ *Vikramāṅkadēva charita*, V, 55.² Risley's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, 175; *Ind. Ant.*, XL.³ *Vik. charita*, I, 31-56.⁴ *JRAS.*, IV, 8.⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, I, 257. Inscription of Yuvarāja II of the Haihaya or Kalachuri family.⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 74; *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 339.⁷ Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān*; Ojha's *Hist. of the Solankis*.⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, XL.

⁹ Pandit M. Raghavayyengar has included the Chālukyas among the Vēḷir kings (vide *infra* 113). In *Puranānīru*, verse 201, Irungōvēḷi is mentioned as one of the forty-nine Vēḷir kings sprung from the 'Tadavu' or 'தடவு' of the northern sage. The stanza runs as follows :—'தடவால் முனிவன் தடவினுட் டோன்றி நாற்பத் தொன்பது வழி முறை வந்த வேளிஞன் வேனே.' The learned commentator of the *Puranānīru* interprets the word 'தடவு' as *homa kuṇḍa* or fire-pot. If the above meaning be accepted the *Agnikula* theory of the origin of the Chālukyas would appear to derive some support from the *Puranānīru*. But Pandit M. Raghavayyengar has taken it to mean the sacrificial pot to suit the traditional origin of the Chālukyas (*Vēḷirvāralīru*, 12). May not the word itself be taken as the Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit ('chuluka') (hollow palm) so as to best fit in with the several ætiological stories regarding the origin of the Chālukyas? *Tolkappia sutra* 'தடவென் இளவி கோட்டமுஞ்செய்யும்' (உரிச்சொல்லியல் 23) would appear to lend support to the above interpretation put on the word.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar ¹⁰ is of opinion that the Châlukyas constitute a foreign element in the Hindu population and that they are a second Rajput tribe of Gujar origin. There is no doubt, he says, that Gujarât (a corrupt form of Gurjaratrâ but not of Gurjara-râshtra) of the Bombay Presidency known for a long time as Lâta ¹¹ bore the new name only after the Châlukyas had conquered and occupied it. But as he himself admits that there is no epigraphic evidence in support of his assertion, it is too much to infer for certain the race of a people merely from the name of the province they occupied.

Mr. M. Raghavayyengar ¹² has classed the Châlukyas under the Vêlir community which would appear to have once held large sway in the Dekkan. He has based his conclusion on certain Tamil classics ¹³ and later Chôla inscriptions. ¹⁴ He would also point in support of his statement to several towns in India beginning with Vêl or its corrupted forms, such as Bêlhuṭṭi, Bêla, Belgâum, Vêlâpur, etc.

The Châlukyas themselves, as is seen in records, both literary and inscriptional, ¹⁵ (a) claim to belong to the lunar race, *Mânavya gôtra* and call themselves the descendants of Hârîtî and the ornaments of the race of Satyâśraya. Perhaps historically it is not possible at this distance of time to state more definitely who they were and to what stock they belonged.

Their original abode and early migrations.

Nor is it possible to trace step by step, except in broad outline, when and whence they came to the Dekkan. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar ¹⁵ has shown that their original habitat in India was Ahichchatra, the capital of the old Sapâdalaksha country in the Sawalâkh (Siwâlik) mountains in the north. Bilhana ¹⁶ states that they first ruled at Ayôdhyâ and that, desirous of further conquest, they went south. The Mirâj ¹⁷ and Kauthem ¹⁸ grants and the Yâvûr ¹⁹ tablet confirm the same with some greater detail:—“One less than sixty ruled at Ayôdhyâ; after that, sixteen kings born in that lineage ruled the country that includes the region of the south”—evidently not the Dekkan but the Gâṇgetic valley south of Ayôdhyâ. Hence all that can be said with some certainty about their migrations is that they came from the north.

The early Châlukyas.

The first historically famous prince of the early Châlukyas was Satyâśraya Śrî Pulakêṣi Vallabha Mahârâja, who crossed the Narmadâ and made Vâtâpîpura (modern Bâdâmi in the Kalâṅgi district of the Nizâm's dominions) their capital. The fortunes of the family reached their zenith in the days of his grandson Pulakêṣi II (A.D. 609 to A.D. 642). He crushed the power of the Pallavas in the south and was undoubtedly the greatest king of the early Châlukyas. He performed an *aśwamedha* or horse-sacrifice and became the paramount

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, XL.

¹¹ The name ‘Lâta’ would appear to signify only the southern portion of Gujarât and it is used even after the name Gujarât came into use.

¹² *Vêlirvaralâru*, 8, 9, 14.

¹³ ‘தரகாரியும் சஞ்சீயர் வேந்தனும்
வேனிலானனும் வேனெனலாகும்’—பிற்கலந்தை
‘வேன்புலவரசர் சஞ்சீயர் வேந்தர்’
‘கேழல் வேள் புலவரசர் கொடியே’ } திவாகரம்

¹⁴ ‘வேள் குலத்தரசர்’
‘வேள் குலச்சஞ்சீயர்’ } Hultzsch, *SII.*, III, 28, 73.

¹⁵ a. Hêmachandra's *Dvyâśrayak'as*; Jinaharshana's *Vastupâlacharita*; Gadag inscription: *Ind. Ant.*, XXI; 167; Korumelli plate: *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 50-55.

¹⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, XL.

¹⁷ *Vik. charita*, I, 63, 64, 65.

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 15.

sovereign of the Dekkan as far as the Narmadâ, beyond which lay the dominions of Śilāditya or Harshavardhana of Kânya-kubja (modern Kanauj), the lord-paramount of all Northern India. It was about this time that Yuân Chwâng, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India and stayed long in Harsha's court. He too testifies to the valour of the Châlukyas and records that they alone did not submit to Śilāditya but beat back his invasion and effectually prevented him from extending his dominions to the south. It was during the same reign that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, a brother of Pulakêsi II, led an expedition to Vêngi between the Gôdâvarî and the Kṛishṇâ and became the founder of another branch of the Châlukyas, now known as the Eastern. More than a century later, the fortunes of the family were impeded in the time of Kîrtivarman II about A.D. 757, when Dantidurga of the Râshtrakûṭa race vanquished him and wrested the sovereignty from him.

The Râshtrakûṭas.

The Râshtrakûṭas continued to be the sovereign rulers of the country for nearly two centuries and a quarter from A.D. 748 to A.D. 973. All this time the Châlukyas undoubtedly held a subordinate position under them as their feudatories²⁰ and were divided into many branches.

The later Châlukyas.

During the time of Khôṭika, the thirteenth of the Râshtrakûṭas, Śrî Harsha *alias* Śîyaka, the Paramâra king of Mâlava, invaded his dominions, looted his capital Mânayakhêṭa (Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizâm's dominions) in A.D. 972²¹ and thus weakened the power of the Râshtrakûṭas. Immediately after, Khôṭika died and was succeeded by his nephew Karkara or Kakkala. It was then that the feudatory Châlukyas, headed by Tailapa, whose father seems to have remained near Mysore, seized the opportunity and restored the glory of the house by overcoming²² Kakkala and Raṇastambha²³ in battle some time after 24th June, A.D. 973.

Relation between the early and later Châlukyas.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar²⁴ is of opinion that the main branch of the early Châlukyas became extinct after Kîrtivarman II, but that several minor offshoots continued as feudatories of the Râshtrakûṭas and that one of these in the person of Tailapa restored the fortunes of the Châlukyas. He also asserts that the later Châlukyas were not a continuation of the earlier and that Tailapa belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch. His reasons are (1) "the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hâritî and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Manavya *gôtra*, while these later Châlukyas traced their pedigree to Satyâśraya only and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Mirâj grant and its copies where an effort is made to begin at the beginning"; (2) "the titles Jagadêkamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, etc., which the later Châlukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from the princes of the earlier dynasty which had none like them."

²⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 11; XL, 41. *Epi. Carn.*, XI, cl. 15. *Epi. Rep.*, 1904.

²¹ *Epi. Ind.*, I, 235. Udâpur inscription.

²² *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 167-8. *JRAS.*, IV, 12. *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 270, 271. Gadag and Kaṭige inscriptions. Inscription of Kakka at Guṇḍur.

²³ *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 15. Yêvûr tablet. Here 'Raṇastambha' must be the name of a person, son or relative of Karkara and cannot be 'a pillar of war' or the name of a place, as has been construed by Messrs. Fleet and Elliot respectively. Mr. Fleet's translation of the verse in the Kauthem grant needs modification. The correct rendering would be "Easily chopped off on the field of battle Karkara and Raṇastambha, the two sprouts of the creeper of Râshtrakûṭa Râjyalakshmi, who were as it were the two feet of Kali triumphantly roaming about in person—wicked, strong of body and the sprouts of the tree of disrespectfulness to elders." Vide *Epi. Ind.*, IV, add. p. v.

²⁴ *Early History of Dekkan*, 44, 58.

With reference to the first argument it may be observed that every one of the early Châlukya kings had the *biruda* Satyâśraya or 'refuge of truth' from Pulakêsi I down to Kîrtivarman II with the only exceptions of Kîrtivarman I and Maigaîsa.²⁵ From the Châlukyan genealogy of the Kannaḍa poet Raṇṇa²⁶ it is evident that the early Châlukyas had a progenitor in Satyâśraya who was the first to rule at Ayôdhya. The Ittagi inscription²⁷ informs us in addition that the family was therefore known as *Satyâśrayakula* and states definitely that this Satyâśraya was himself in turn descended from the sons of Hârîṭ. As regards the second argument of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar it must be pointed out that, besides some *birudas* common to the later as well as the earlier branches, such as Maḥârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśwara, Bhaṭṭâraka, Paramabhaṭṭâraka and Pithvîvallabha, we find some later kings of the early dynasty such as Vikramâditya I and Vinayâditya had even the *birudas* Rajamalla and Yuddhamalla,²⁸ thus indicating a leaning to 'malla' title, so familiar among the later Châlukyas. Albeit, one is inclined to think that to argue continuity or otherwise from *birudas*, which so much depend on the caprice and desire for novelty among individual monarchs, seems to be treading on doubtful and even dangerous grounds.²⁹ Thus it will be seen that Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reasons for the assertion that the later Châlukyas were not a continuation of the earlier are not conclusive enough and that there is nothing to discredit the continuity of the two lines mentioned in the Mirâj, Kauthem and Yêvûr records where the Châlukya genealogy is given in full.

The political outlook of the Dekkan at the close of the tenth century.

The last quarter of the tenth century witnessed a revolution in the mutual relations of powers contending for supremacy in the Dekkan. Everywhere the old combatants receded to the background and their places were slowly and steadily taken up by new ones. 'The old order changed, yielding place to the new.' In the Dekkan the Râshtrakûṭas disappeared from history. The way for their decline was paved, as was seen above, by Śrî Harsha, the Paramâra king of Mâlava, and the feudatory Châlukyas, under the leadership of Tailapa, seized the opportunity, extinguished their power and stepped in much to the chagrin of the Paramâras. In the further south the Pallavas of Kâñchî had been thrown out of their foremost place and the Chôlas were already rising rapidly on their ruins. The latter also interfered successfully in the affairs of the Eastern Châlukya dominions of Vêṅgi which was then broken by internal dissensions and a long period of anarchy and *interregnum*³⁰ and would appear to have wrested a part of their dominions from even the Gaigas of Talakâṭṭ in Mysore. This revolution contained in itself the germs of future hostility between the rising powers and it must have been clear to keen-sighted politicians that in the place of the old rivalries between the Râshtrakûṭas, Mâlavas and Pallavas in the ninth and tenth centuries, the later Châlukyas would have to contend long and hard with the Chôlas in the south and the Paramâras in the north.

Tailapa (A.D. 973-997).

Tailapa calls himself³¹ as the truly valorous king, terrifier of the Karahâṭa and Koîkaṭ kings, poison to the Râshtrakûṭas, fever to the Gûrjaras, and a consuming fire to the Mâlavas.

²⁵ Bom. Gaz., II.

²⁶ Ind. Ant., XI, 43, 44.

²⁷ Epi. Ind., XIII, No. 4, v. 21. The 'Satyâśraya' referred to here is the early ruler at Ayôdhya but not Pulakêsi II as understood by Dr. Barnett.

²⁸ Bom. Gaz., I, Part II, Ch. II, 368.

²⁹ Vide Mr. Rice's erroneous inference noticed in Part II, *infra*.

³⁰ Epi. Ind., VI, No. 38. Raṇastipûṇḍi grant of Vinayâditya.

³¹ Ind. Ant., XI 43-44.

As for his relations with the Paramâras of Mâlava it is claimed for Vâkpati Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhôja, that he defeated Tailapa six times.³² This indicates prolonged hostility between them, at the end of which it would appear that Muñja crossed the Gôdâvarî, marched aggressively against Tailapa, was taken captive and executed³³ by the latter after a vain attempt at escape sometime between A.D. 993 and 997.³⁴ That even as early as Tailapa's rule hostility between the Chôlas and the Châlukyas showed itself is hinted at in some inscriptions,³⁵ though details are not forthcoming.

It is somewhat difficult to determine exactly the extent of Tailapa's dominions. Some records³⁶ of his time mention definitely the Râṭṭas of Saundatti and the rulers of Banavâse, Sântalige and Kisukâḍ territorics as his feudatories. It is just possible that the Silâhâras of Konkanand the Yâdavas of Sêṇadêsa also accepted him as their overlord. His kingdom certainly included the whole of the southern part of the Râshtrakûta dominions and might have extended into the northern part as well. Lâṭa (southern Gujarât) was also under his control, for its lord Bârappa was sent by him against Mûlarâja, the founder of the Anahilwâd dynasty in Gujarât.³⁷ He is also spoken of as the lord of Thilinga and Karnâṭa³⁸ and his kingdom included the whole of the Karnâṭa country.

Nothing is definitely known about the capital of his vast possessions. Vâtâpîpura was made the capital of the early Châlukyas by Pulakêsi I. During the Râshtrakûta sovereignty Mânyakhêṭa (Mâlkhêḍ³⁹ in the Nizâm's dominions) became the capital in the time of Sârva or Amôgavaraha I.⁴⁰ Hence there need be no surprise if the same continued⁴¹ as capital even under Tailapa who was so much the political heir of the Râshtrakûtas, as is shown by his marriage⁴² of Jâkavvâ, the daughter of the Râshtrakûta king Brahma.

Satyâsraya (A.D. 997-1008).

Tailapa was succeeded by his son Satyâsraya who is said to have ruled over the whole of Raṭṭapâḍi.⁴³ In his time the danger from the neighbouring Chôlas became thicker, as can be inferred from the two invasions⁴⁴ of Raṭṭapâḍi seven and a half lakh country by Râjarâja the Great, in one of which he conquered Gaṅgapâḍi and Nalambapâḍi,⁴⁵ the bulk of modern Mysore.

³² *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, 169. *Epi. Ind.*, I, 223. *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 432. V.A. Smith's *Anc. Ind.*, 395. 'n'.1

³³ *JRAS.*, IV, 12. *Epi. Ind.*, II, 218. *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 168. *Bhôjacharita*.

³⁴ In *Subhâshitaratna Sandôhâ*, written in A.D. 993 by the Jaina Sâdhu Amitagati, it is stated that Muñja was the then ruler of Mâlava. Tailapa ceased to reign in A.D. 997. Hence the reverses, capture and execution of Muñja must be placed between the years A.D. 993 and A.D. 997.

³⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, V, 17. Kanarêse record of Jayasînha. *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 125.

³⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 430.

³⁷ *Râsamâla* and *Kirtikaumudî* referred to by Prof. Bhandarkar.

³⁸ Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*.

³⁹ For the identification of Mânyakhêṭa with Mâlkhêḍ, see *Epi. Ind.*, XIII, No. 15.

⁴⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 268; VI, 64; Kardâ grant. *Epi. Ind.*, X, 193; IV, 287.

⁴¹ *Epi. Ind.*, XIII, No. 15. It is also just possible that there were several minor capitals.

⁴² *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, 23.

⁴³ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 431. Khârêpâṭaṇ copperplate grant.

⁴⁴ *SI.*, II, 13.

⁴⁵ The Chôla occupation of Gaṅgapâḍi, which is borne out by a considerable number of records in the Mysore State, was no idle boast. *Epi. Rep.*, 1910, 88. It would, however, appear that the Châlukyas did not quietly acquiesce in such a conquest for any length of time.

Vikramaditya V (A.D. 1009-1014) ^{45A} and Ayyana II (A.D. 1014).

Satyâśraya, dying childless, was succeeded by his nephews Vikramâditya, Ayyana and Jayasimha. The first two seem to have ruled but for a few years and nothing historical is known of them.

Jayasimha (A.D. 1015-1042).

Jayasimha calls himself in the Balagâmve inscription of A.D. 1019 ⁴⁶ 'a lion to the elephant Râjêndrachôla' and he is said to have 'again and again immersed the Chêra and the Chôla in the ocean.' The Chôla inscriptions ⁴⁷ inform us that Râjêndrachôla, the son and successor of Râjarâja the Great, conquered from Jayasimha, Edatore, Banavâse and Kollippâk and a few other towns in Raṭṭapâḍi. 'As both Jayasimha and Râjêndrachôla boast of having conquered each other, the success was probably on both sides alternately or neither of them obtained any lasting advantage.' As for Paramâra relations it is narrated in *Bhôjacharita* ⁴⁸ that, after Bhôja had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him and he thereupon resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him and finally executed him. But Bhôja who was certainly dead in or before A.D. 1055 ⁴⁹ and who ruled over Mâlava for a long period of 55 years according to *Bhôjacharita* must have ascended over the throne only about A.D. 1000 and so could not have wreaked his vengeance on Tailapa as recorded in *Bhôjacharita*. ⁵⁰ The tradition recorded there, however, might have some kernel of truth in it. The brutal murder of the uncle Muñja by Tailapa between A.D. 995 to A.D. 997 would have sunk deep in the mind of his nephew Bhôja who was then a mere boy. As soon as he took the reins of Government in his own hands his first thought was to right the wrong inflicted and to retrieve the honour of the family. So he formed a confederacy, invaded the Châlukya dominions, vanquished the Karṇâṭas ⁵¹ and might have killed, not Tailapa, but some one of his immediate successors. Who then was the Châlukya king that became the victim of Bhôja's revenge? An inscription of A.D. 1019 of Jayasimha calls him 'the moon to the lotus king Bhôja' ⁵² (i.e., the one that humbled Bhôja as the moon causes the lotus to close its eyes) and details that Jayasimha 'searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mâlava.' The vindictive tone of the inscription leads one to infer that Bhôja must have inflicted some crushing

^{45A} For the revised chronology vide above, XLVII, 235-290 and XLVII-I 1-7.

⁴⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, V, 15. *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 125. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 18.

⁴⁷ *SII.*, I, 96, 99.

⁴⁸ Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of Dekkan*, 60. Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.

⁴⁹ *Epi. Ind.*, III, 46, 48; Māndhātā plate. Vide *infra* Part II.

⁵⁰ This is not the only historical inaccuracy in *Bhôjacharita*. The work is not a safe or trustworthy guide in historical matters as it is founded exclusively on the traditions of bards. Even the order of succession to the Mâlava kingdom has been totally mistaken by its author. Muñja was the elder brother and the predecessor of Sindhurâja on the Mâlava throne but not his younger brother and successor, vide the land grants of Muñja and Bhôja (*Ind. Ant.*, VI and XIV), Nāgpur *prâśasti* (*Epi. Ind.*, II) and Padma-gupta's *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* in honour of Sindhurâja (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI). The legend of the wicked uncle Muñja who is said to have thwarted the succession of the kingdom from the innocent nephew Bhôja must also be given up as baseless.

⁵¹ *Epi. Ind.*, I, 223, 230: Udâpur *prâśasti*. *Ind. Ant.*, XLI, 201: Bâṅswârâ plates.

⁵² *Ind. Ant.*, V, 17. The inscription reads as follows:—*a-Jayasinga-nripâjam-Bhôja-nripâm-bhôja-râjam*. The translation of Mr. Fleet in the *Bombay Gazetteer* and that of Mr. Rice in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* are incorrect. *Ambhôja* = lotus, not water-lily as Dr. Fleet takes it, and *râjam* = moon, not king as Mr. Rice does.

defeat such as the conquest of the Koṅkaṇ on Vikramāditya or Ayyaṇa, Jayasimha's predecessors. Perhaps, as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar⁵³ shrewdly guesses, Bhōja even captured and slew one of them.⁵⁴ That was probably the reason why Jayasimha tattered to pieces the confederacy of Mālava.

Sōmēswara I or Āhavamalla (A.D. 1042-1068).

Jayasimha ceased to reign about A.D. 1042 and his son Sōmēśwara who is better known as Āhavamalla⁵⁵ (the wrestler in war) succeeded him. It was during his reign that Kalyāṇ (about 100 miles west by north of Hyderābad in the Nizām's dominions) was made the capital of the Chālukya dominions, perhaps because of its central position and strategic importance. The first epigraphic mention of it is in an inscription⁵⁶ of the year A.D. 1053 wherein it is called the 'neleviḍu'⁵⁷ (= cantonment or a fixed, permanent or standing camp). As has been pointed out by Mr. Fleet⁵⁸ the town is not mentioned in any of the numerous grants of the early Chālukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas or the later Chālukyas till the time of Āhavamalla. The question naturally arises whether it owed its very existence and foundation to Āhavamalla or whether he merely developed it into a capital. Bilhana notices it in a verse⁵⁹ which lends

⁵³ *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, 61.

⁵⁴ Pandit. Ojha thinks that it was Jayasimha but not Vikramāditya V who was slain by Bhōja (*Hist. of the Śolāṅkis*). He bases his conclusion on some verses (canto I, verses 86 and 91-6) in Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, one of which (v. 86) when translated runs thus:—"Filling the whole of Swarga with the fame of his victories Jayasimha received a garland of flowers culled from the Pārijāta tree from Indra's own hands." Then follow the verses about Jayasimha's son and successor Āhavamalla, who in one of his early exploits is said to have sacked Dhārā from which Bhōja had to flee and this event is made much of by Bilhana who celebrates it in some five or six verses. Inferring from the verse translated above that Jayasimha died 'on the field of battle' Pandit Ojha construes the early exploit of Āhavamalla to have been undertaken to avenge the death of his father on the battlefield. But the verse referred to does not lend support to the Pandit's inference that Jayasimha died 'on the field of battle.' According to the Hindu mythology it is usually the Apsārās and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battle-field. Indra's garlanding Jayasimha was but an act of recognition on his part of the meritorious deeds of Jayasimha. Such a recognition is met with elsewhere in Sanskrit and Tamil literature, e.g., Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala* (VII, 2), *Purāṇanūru*, 241. Moreover it is usual with oriental poets to use such periphrastic and euphemistic expressions as 'went to the world of Indra,' 'messengers of Indra were sent to call one to the skies, etc., whenever they wish to say that a man died (Bilhana's *Vik. charita*, IV, VI; *Epi. Ind.*, II, 29; Nāgpur stone inscription, *Epi. Ind.*, II v. 32). Hence all that can be inferred from the verse is that Jayasimha died—but not necessarily on the battlefield—and was duly honoured by Indra for his valorous deeds. The sack of Dhārā by Āhavamalla was due, as in the parallel case of Āhavamalla's going against the Chōlas, to the traditional hostility between the Chālukyas and the Paramāras and Bilhana celebrates it as the greatest achievement of Āhavamalla, as Bhōja was an illustrious and powerful ruler of the north and Dhārā was an impregnable fortress. Thus Bilhana's verses on which Pandit Ojha relies do not warrant his conclusion. More over the murder of Vikramāditya V or Ayyana II as early as A.D. 1014 or thereabouts rather than of Jayasimha so late as A.D. 1042 would better accord with the impatience of Bhōja recorded in *Bhōjacharita*, considering that Bhōja should certainly have come of age in A.D. 1014 and begun to administer the affairs of the kingdom himself.

⁵⁵ Bilhana always calls him as 'Āhavamalla' and never as 'Sōmēśwara'—not because, as Dr. Bühler insinuates, that he did not like to call the father to whom Vikrama was much attached by the same name as that of Vikrama's hated brother and predecessor, but because he was pre-eminently the Āhavamalla or 'wrestler in war' of the times and is known only as such in almost all the Chōja records and most of the Chālukya inscriptions.

⁵⁶ Kambhavi inscription. *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 440. *Epi. Car.* VII, Hl. I. p. 275.

⁵⁷ For the meaning of *neleviḍu*. see Dr. Fleet's note in *JRAS.*, 1917, and *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 110.

⁵⁸ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 427, n. 3. *Ibid.*, II, 335, n. 1.

⁵⁹ *Vik. charita*, II, 1.

support either ⁶⁰ way. It is probable that it existed as an insignificant town from very remote times and that Âhavamalla beautified and enlarged it to make it the capital of his vast dominions.

Bilhaṇa ⁶¹ tells us that, as usual with the Châlukya princes, he first marched against the king of the Chôlas and defeated him; stormed Dhârâ, the capital of the Mâlava king Bhôja who was forced to abandon the same; destroyed the kingdom of Dâhalâ (Chêdi) and utterly vanquished ⁶² its ruler Karṇa; planted a triumphal column on the sea-shore; defeated the king of the Draviḍas who had run to encounter him; stormed Kâñchî, the capital of the Chôlas and drove its ruler into the jungles. The inscriptions ⁶³ generally confirm Bilhaṇa's statements and occasionally supplement them with further details. The Chôla contemporaries of Châlukki Âhavamalla were Râjâdhirâja (A.D. 1018 to 1053), Râjêndradêva (A.D. 1052 to 1063) and Virarâjêndra (A.D. 1063 to 1070, *circa*), the three illustrious successors of Râjêndrachôla, the opponent of Jayasimha. The 29th year inscription ⁶⁴ of Râjâdhirâja dated A.D. 1047 records a victorious war against Âhavamalla. The Chôlas followed up this success, set fire to Kolḷippâk (42 miles from Secunderâbad in the Nizâm's dominions) one of the capitals of Jayasimha, destroyed the gardens and the palace of the Châlukki at Kampli (a minor capital of the Châlukyas and a town in Hospet Taluk, Bellâry district), planted a pillar of victory there and vanquished the Kalyâṇs. ⁶⁵ Not content with inflicting these disasters on the frontier of the Châlukya dominions, the Chôla brothers, Râjâdhirâja, the elder and reigning sovereign, and Râjêndradêva, the younger and his associate, conjointly penetrated aggressively far into the interior of Raṭṭamaṇḍalam (Raṭṭapâḍi), seized Kalyâṇ ⁶⁶ and planted a pillar of victory at Kolhâpur (in the Nizâm's dominions). The chivalrous Âhavamalla, righteously indignant at these inroads, invited them to battle at holy Koppa on the bank of the great river—the Kṛishṇâ. ⁶⁷ There in A.D. 1053-4 ⁶⁸ was

⁶⁰ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar takes the word *पराजित* 'most excellent' attributively rather than predicatively, but the arrangement of the words in the line favours the latter construction, which enhances its elegance. The line when translated would run thus:—

'He (the king) made the city named Kalyâṇ most excellent.'

⁶¹ *Vik. charita*, I.

⁶² The word *विश्राज* means literally 'withered'. Karṇa's predecessor died in A.D. 1040, Benâres copperplate inscription of Karṇadêva is dated in A.D. 1042 (*Epi. Ind.*, II, 303). So Karṇa must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1040, more or less contemporaneous with Âhavamalla. An inscription of Karṇa's son is dated 81 years later in A.D. 1121. Kirtivarman the Chandella (A.D. 109) claims to have defeated Karṇa; Hêmachandra eulogises Bhîmadêva I of Gujarât (A.D. 1021—1063) for having defeated him. So it is probable that Karṇa reigned for a long time and waged many wars and that his power was severely felt by his neighbours. The word must therefore be taken to mean that he was 'utterly vanquished or defeated,' rather than as translated by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar that he was 'slain or deposed.'

⁶³ *JRAS.*, IV, 13. Inscription at Nâgâvi. Above, VIII, Mirâj grant. ⁶⁴ *SII.*, II, 56.

⁶⁵ *Kaṅgattu-parani*, VIII, 26:—

'கம்பிலிச் சயத்தம்ப கட்டதுக், கடியாண்டொன் கல்யாணர்
கட்டறக், கிம்புரிப்பனைக்கிரி யுகைத்தவன்.'

⁶⁶ *Vik. Solan-ulâ*, 19:—

'மும்மடி போய்க் கலியாணி செற்றத்
தனியாண்மைச் சேவகனும்.'

⁶⁷ 'Koppa on the bank of the great river' must be identified with Koppa on the Kṛishṇâ rather than with Kuppam on the Pâlâr or Kôpal on the Tungabhadra. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 297. In the Maniman-galam inscription (*SII.*, III, 63, No. 30) Vijayavâḍai (i.e., modern Bezvâḍa) is spoken of as the town next to the 'great river' thereby implying the Kṛishṇâ. That Koppa was a great pilgrim centre is also evidenced by Yêvûr inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, XII, 279)—*SII.*, III, 60-3 and *Epi. Carn.*, IX, Bn. 108.

⁶⁸ The latest verified inscription of Râjâdhirâja is in his 35th year corresponding to May 23rd A.D. 1053 (*Epi. Ind.*, VI). *Epi. Carn.*, Sk. 118, which records the death of the Chôla king on the battle-field is dated Śaka 976, Jaya, Vaiśākha = May, A.D. 1054. So Koppa must have been fought between May, A.D. 1053 and May, A.D. 1054.

fought one of the most fierce and sanguinary⁶⁹ battles that ever took place. Âhavamalla riding on a *mast* elephant pierced the head of Râjâdhirâja with the shower of his straight arrows and slew him.⁷⁰ Elated with his success Âhavamalla, not very many years later, undertook a successful expedition to the south against Râjêndradêva. If the latter is identified with 'Vijayarâjêndradêva'⁷¹ who fell asleep on the back of the elephant,⁷² he would appear to have died⁷³ in a battle probably with Âhavamalla. Thus it is clear that Âhavamalla prosecuted with great energy the war with the Chôlas bequeathed to him by his predecessors and beat back the advancing tide of the Chôlas who had the audacity to carry fire and sword into the very heart of his dominions.

(To be continued.)

NUMISMATIC NOTES.

BY K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.; BANKIPORE

THE coins which have been here described are of exceedingly rare types and were kindly placed at my disposal for the purpose of this article by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., University Professor, Calcutta.

Indo-Greek.

(1) Oval-shaped copper coin of Andragoras :

Size: .85 × .7; wt. 62 grains.

Obv: Head of Alexander the Great r. (as on the coins of Ptolemy I of Egypt).

Rev: Horseman r. with hand extended.

Between horse's feet, monogram $\Xi<$

Below, Greek legend: ANΔP (ΑΓΟΡ - -)

This is a unique coin of one of the first Indo-Greek rulers. Only two coins of an Andragoras, one gold and one silver, are known from the British Museum catalogue

⁶⁹ *Kalingattu-parani*, VIII, 27.—

‘கொப்பையிற் பொருகளத்திலே முடிசுவித்தவன்’

Vikrama Solan-ulâ, 27—

‘வெப்பத் தடுகளத்து வேழங்களாயிரமும்

கொப்பத் தொருகளிற்றூற் கொண்டோனும்,’

⁷⁰ *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 118, dated A.D. 1054. *Epi. Carn.*, VIII, Sk. 325. *SII.*, III, 39. No. 87 of 1895, *Epi. Rep.*; Tirumalavâḍi inscription. *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 43; Anṇigêre inscription.

⁷¹ The late Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya was inclined to identify the Vijayarâjêndradêva above referred to with Râjâdhirâja (A.D. 1018.-53) on the strength of an inscription in the Nâgêswara temple at Kumbla-kônâṁ (vide *Epi. Rep.*, 1908). But there are two insurmountable difficulties in the way of accepting this identification, one of which is admitted by Mr. Venkayya himself. Vijayarâjêndra is known in all inscriptions as Parakêśari but Râjâdhirâja is called Râjâkêśari. Moreover the Tippa-Samudram inscription of Vijayarâjêndradêva (534 of 1906, *Epi. Rep.*) is dated Śaka 981 Hêmaḷamba corresponding to A.D. 1057-8. We know that Râjâdhirâja died at Koppa battle in A.D. 1053-4. So it is more probable that the Vijayarâjêndra referred to is identical with Râjêndradeva (A.D. 1052—1062) who, in conjunction with his elder brother Râjâdhirâja, captured Kalyân and Kolhâpur and anointed himself as Vijayarâjêndradêva after the death of Râjâdhirâja at Koppa.

⁷² *SII.*, III, 191. No. 5 of 1899; *Epi. Rep.*, Alāṅguḍi inscription—

‘தலியாணபுரமுந் கொல்லாபுரமுந் கொண்டருளி

யானே மேற் துஞ்சி யருளிய பெருமாள் விஜயராஜேந்திரதேவன்.’

⁷³ That ‘Tuñjiya’ or ‘fell asleep’ is euphemistic for ‘died’ is clear from the note of Mr. V. Kana-kasubha Pillai appended to *Mahômahôpâdhyâya Swaminatha Ayyar's* excellent edition of *Purāṇanûru*.

Now on the authority of Justin, it is known that there were two kings of that name (1) a Persian noble appointed as Satrap of Parthia by Alexander the Great and (2) a Satrap of Parthia overthrown eighty years later by the first Arsaces. Prof. Gardner thought it probable that the two coins in the British Museum belonged to the second of these rulers. The present coin, in my opinion, may safely be assigned to the first, as the occurrence of Alexander the Great's head on the obverse suggests that Andragoras must have at first held the dominions in his charge, as Governor, for the great Macedonian conqueror; exactly in the same way as Ptolemy, holding Egypt in Alexander's name, struck money with the same device as on this coin. The shape of the coin is rather unusual, and perhaps furnishes another proof of its great antiquity.

This coin was originally collected in the Punjab, and is now in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Western Kshatrapa.

(2) Rectangular copper coin of Jayadâman:

Size: .5 x .4.

Obv: Humped bull to r. facing combined trident and battleaxe, within circular border of dots; Greek (?) legend above: $\Sigma\Gamma\Theta\Lambda$ (perhaps a corruption of $\Sigma\Omega\text{H}\rho\text{O}\Sigma$).

Below: $\Gamma\alpha\Lambda\alpha$.

Rev: *Chaitya* of 10 arches; to l. crescent; to r. disc of the sun; border of dots, Brahmi legend, *raja kshatrapa (sa Svâmi Jayadâmasa)*.

This coin, together with Nos. 4 and 5, was found by Mr. Bhandarkar at Hâthab, the ancient Ashtavapra, in the Bhavnagar State, Kathiawar. The type is different from the one described by Prof. Rapson (*A. & W. K. Cat. coins* No. 265 to 268). The legend on the obverse is different, though equally unintelligible. The obverse die in the present coin has been impressed parallel to the sides, while in the other coins, it was impressed diagonally. The *chaitya* of 10 arches on the reverse is not known from any other Kshatrapa coins, and must have been imitated from Ândhra coinage.

(3) Rectangular copper coin of Rudradâman I:

Size: .5 x .45.

Obv: Elephant standing l. within circular dotted border, only partially preserved.

Rev: *Chaitya* of 3 arches, with crescent above; to l. disc of the sun, to r. crescent; Brâhmî legend around.

ma[ha]kshatrapasa svâ . . .

This coin, lately acquired for the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot, can be attributed almost with certainty to Rudradâman I as it was only this Kshatrapa that called himself 'Mahakshatrapa' and 'Svâmi' on his coins. Together with the next two coins, it brings to light, for the first time, the copper currency of the mighty Satrap Rudradâman I. It is just probable that the copper coinage of this Satrap was issued only in small quantities in the earlier part of his reign and was soon discontinued altogether.

(4) Rectangular copper coin of Rudradâman I:

Size: .5 x .45; wt. 20 grs.

Obv: Elephant standing.

Rev: *Chaitya* of three arches with crescent above; rayed sun to r, and crescent to l., wavy line below.

Brâhmî legend within dotted border.

Râjâo Mahakshatrapasa [S]v(ami) [Rudradâma]sa.

This coin is somewhat similar to coin (3) but is much lighter, has on the reverse the positions of the sun and moon reversed, and shows later forms of some letters in the Brâhmî legend, e.g. *sa*. The form of the sun is also distinctly 'rayed' here, while in coin (3) it is a simple disc. This shows that coin (3) was issued at an earlier date.

(5) Square copper coin of Rudradâman I :

Size: .5; wt. 29 grs.

Obv: Humped bull facing, within circular border of dates; Brâhmî legend :

Sv(â)m(i) Rudradâmasya.

Rev: Traces of *Chaitya* of three arches, with 'rayed sun' to l. and wavy line below, as usual. Illegible legend; $1\lambda \cup \delta \Delta$

The legend on the reverse might possibly be Brâhmî, but nothing can be definitely said about it. Two coins of the 'facing bull' type, but containing no legend, were rightly conjectured by Prof. Rapson to belong to the period Saka 70 to Saka 125. (*A. & W. K. Cat.*, Pl. XII; coins 326-7.) They appear to be heavier and more regular in shape than the present coin, and must be slightly later in date (*circa* 70 to 90 Saka).

There are certain features common to all these coins of Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman. They are all rectangular, almost square in shape, with the devices diagonally impressed upon them. They all give the title *Svâmi*, which is not found on the silver coins of Rudradâman. They all come from Kathiawar. The decayed condition of the specimens makes it difficult to determine their metrology.

Muhammadan (Gujarat Sultans).

(6) Circular silver coin of Muzaffar II, Sultan of Gujarat (A.D. 1511-1525).

Size: .75; wt. 109 grains. Mint: Mustafâbâd; date [932 A.H.] = [A.D. 1525-6].

Obv: within peaked square:

السلطان
مُظَفَّر شَاه
خَادِ الْاَلَم مَلِكُهُ

Outside square, near circular border

Below: شَهِر
Right: اعْظَم
Above: مُصْطَفِي
Left: بَاد

Rev: within circular border

الموید بقائید الرحمن شمس
الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر
[٩] ٣ [٢]

(7) Same as (6), but date (926 A.H.) = (A.D. 1519-20) which is reversed through mistake.

The coins (6) and (7) belong to a treasure trove found in the Jambughoda State, Rewakantha Agency, Bombay Presidency, which was sent to Mr. Bhandarkar for examination. They represent a hitherto unpublished type, and clearly show that the Mustafâbâd or Girnar mint did not cease after the reign of Mahmud Begara, but continued at least till the end of the reign of his son and successor, Muzuffar II. There are four more undated coins of this type in the above-mentioned hoard, and I have since seen one more in the possession of the late Mr. Framji J. Thanewala, of Bombay.

IS KALKIRÂJA AN HISTORICAL PERSONAGE ?

BY PROF. H. B. BHIDE, M.A., LL.B.; BHAVNAGAR.

JAIN authors have referred to a Kalkirâja who according to some of them flourished about 1000 years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahāvîra, and during whose reign Jain saints suffered persecution at his hands. Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Pathak have called in aid this tradition while formulating their respective theories which are now known to the readers of this *Journal*. Their theories are quite different and I am not directly concerned with them at present. My immediate purpose is to show that the Jain tradition is not trustworthy from the point of view of history and that consequently their theories are weakened in so far as they are based upon it.

I first deal with Mr. Jayaswal's argument. He relies mainly upon Jinasena, the author of the *Hari-vamśa*. He says that Jinasena's date for Kalkirâja is presumably correct as he was removed from Kalkirâja by less than 300 years. Now if Jinasena's statements are to be taken as correct, we shall find on scrutinising them that they do not substantiate the conclusion at which Mr. Jayaswal arrives. The chronology as given by Jinasena is this :

Pâlaka	..	..	..	..	..	60	years.
Vijaya Kings	..	..	..	..	..	155	„
The Purûdhas	..	..	..	..	..	40	„
Pushpamitra	..	..	..	..	..	30	„
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	..	..	..	..	..	60	„
Râsabha Kings	..	..	..	..	..	100	„
Naravâhana	..	..	..	..	..	42	„
The Bâṇa Kings	..	..	..	..	..	240	„
The Gupta Kings	..	..	..	..	..	231	„
Kalkirâja	..	..	..	..	..	42	„
Total	..	..	..	..	..	1000	years.

This shows that the 42 years of the reign of Kalkirâja were the concluding years of the 1000-year period which elapsed after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahāvîra ; that is, we must suppose Kalkirâja to have died in A.D. 473 or A.D. 455 according as we assign the date 527 B.C. or 545 B.C. to Mahāvîra's *Nirvâṇa*. In either case the date is too early for Yaśodharman of Mâlava with whom Mr. Jayaswal wants Kalkirâja to be identified. If we are to rely on Jinasena, we cannot then assert that Kalkirâja began to reign in A.D. 473 as Mr. Jayaswal seems to do. As a fact, however, I hope to show that the Jain traditions regarding Kalkirâja are conflicting and therefore possess no historical importance.

Mr. Pathak attempts to determine the initial date of the Gupta era with the help of Jain authors only. He proposes to identify Mihirakula with Kalkirâja, mentioned by Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra, and then to prove that the Gupta era commenced in the year 242 of the Śaka era. I have no quarrel with him as regards the conclusion which can be proved on other grounds ; I only wish to point out that the authorities he has put forward are not only in themselves insufficient to prove his case, but are of an extremely doubtful character. I should like to bring to the notice of scholars, (1) that some of Mr. Pathak's arguments are vitiated by serious flaws in

reasoning; (2) that the three Jain authors from whose works he quotes give us conflicting and therefore untrustworthy accounts; and (3) that there are certain other Jain writers who give for Kalkirāja a date which is removed by centuries from the one given by Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra.

Before considering the question of the starting point of the Gupta era, Mr. Pathak incidentally tries to justify the identification of the Mālava era with the Vikrama era. The identification may or may not be right; but Mr. Pathak's mode of its justification is wrong. He says that according to Jinasena Kalkirāja was born in 394 of Śaka era expired. (As I have shown above, Jinasena does not say so; but for the sake of argument I allow the statement.) The year 394 of the Śaka era roughly corresponds to the year 529 of the Vikrama era. The date of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman is 529 of the Mālava era. Hence Mr. Pathak concludes 'that the Mālava era is the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.' This is strange reasoning. There is no earthly connection between the birth of Kalkirāja and the inscription of Bandhuvarman. Mere identity of two dates will not mean that they are to be referred to one and the same era. One illustration will make my point clear. The Indian Mutiny occurred in A.D. 1857, which date corresponds to 1914 of the Vikrama era. The present great European war broke out in A.D. 1914. Now suppose a historian 2000 years hence comes across two statements, one to the effect that the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1914 of the Vikrama era, and the other to the effect that a great European war commenced in A.D. 1914, will he be justified in saying that the Vikrama era is the same as the Christian era? Similarly in the present instance we find Kalkirāja said to have been born in 529 of the Vikrama era and a temple repaired in 529 of the Mālava era; surely this is no ground for saying that the two eras are identical.

A similar line of questionable reasoning is adopted in proving that the Śaka year 394 expired was the Gupta year 153 expired. Mr. Pathak found in the Khoh grant of Parivrajaka Mahārāja Hastin that the Gupta year 156 expired¹ was the Mahā-Vaiśākha year of the Jovian cycle. Calculating backwards we get the Gupta year 153 to be the Mahā-Māgha year of the same cycle. Now according to Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (as he says) Kalkirāja was born in Śaka 394 expired; and Guṇabhadra further adds that it was the Mahā-Māgha year. Combining these two results Mr. Pathak says that the Śaka year 394 corresponds to the Gupta year 153. This is not quite logical. Two years cannot be supposed to be identical merely because they happen to be the Mahā-Māgha years. The Gupta year 165 was also the Mahā-Māgha year; so also the Gupta year 141. If the grant of Hastin had been dated 12 years later or earlier the same result would have followed. The grant has nothing to do with the birth of Kalkirāja. The grant might well have been made three years after one Mahā-Māgha year, while the birth of Kalkirāja might have occurred in quite another Mahā-Māgha year, removed perhaps by several decades or centuries from the first. When we thus see the unsoundness of the argument, there exists then no room for his conclusion that the Gupta era commenced in Śaka 241 expired.

Now let us turn to the Jain authors on whom Mr. Pathak relies for his theory. The authors are three—Jinasena, author of the *Hari-vamśa*, Guṇabhadra of the *Uttara-purāṇa*, and Nemichandra of the *Trilokāśāra*. Of these Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra say

¹ Whether the year is to be taken as expired or current is immaterial here. For the present we may assume with Mr. Pathak that it is expired.

that Kalkirâja was born 1000 years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahāvīra. What Jinasena has to say on the point is not quite clear from quotations as adduced by Mr. Pathak. Verse 552 quoted by him says that the Śaka king there will arise (presumably, will commence to reign) when 605 years and 5 months expire after *Vira-Nirvâṇa*. Verses 487 and 488 quoted by him give us 231 years as the period of the Gupta kings, and 42 years of Kalkirâja. Mr. Pathak quotes no other verse from Jinasena. There seems to be no clear connection between v. 552 and vv. 487 and 488. As they stand here they do not explain whether the 42 years of the reign of Kalkirâja are to be taken as the ending years of the 1000-year period or whether they are to be excluded from it and we are to suppose that Kalkirâja was born after the expiry of that period. Jinasena's verses are given mutilated and without context. Mr. Pathak combines the mutilated statement of Jinasena with that of Guṇabhadra and concludes 'that according to Jinasena and Guṇabhadra Kalkirâja was born when 394 years and 7 months had passed away from the birth of the Śaka king.' There are two mistakes in this assertion. First Jinasena does not say, as I have shown above, that Kalkirâja was born when 1000 years passed after *Vira-Nirvâṇa*; according to him Kalkirâja's years complete that traditional period among the Jains. Mr. Pathak may have overlooked the four verses just preceding v. 487 and consequently fallen into the error. Otherwise he would not have said that Jinasena's date for Kalkirâja agrees with that of Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra. According to Jinasena Kalkirâja died in 1000 of the *Vira-Nirvâṇa* era while according to the other two authors, Kalkirâja was born in 1001 of the same era. This means a difference of 70 years in dates—if we suppose that according to all the three writers Kalkirâja lived for 70 years. Secondly, *शकराजस्तदाभवत्* does not mean 'The Śaka king was born' but 'the Śaka king began to reign.' It is not known that the Śaka era was inaugurated in celebration of the birth of a Śaka king. But this is a minor point.

It will thus be seen that of the three authorities of Mr. Pathak, one who is the oldest of the three contradicts the other two. Therefore, their statements are deprived of much of their value and must be utilised with caution.

The three authors referred to by Mr. Pathak belong to the Digambara sect of the Jains. There are certain other Digambara writers who have a slightly different account to give of Kalkirâja. Guṇabhadra says that Kalkirâja was the son of Śīsupāla and Prithvī-sundari; but *Trilokya-prajñapti*, a Digambara work written about A.D. 1200, says that he was the son of Indra.*

The *Trilokya-prajñapti* notes two somewhat varying chronologies covering the 1000-year period after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahāvīra. There is a slight difference between the two; but the important point to be noted is that neither of them states that Kalkirâja was born in 1001 after *Nirvâṇa*. I may quote the verses here :—

निष्वाणगदे वीरे अऊर इगीसहि वासविच्छेदे ।
जादो च सगनरिंदो रज्जं वस्सस्स दुसय वादाला ॥
होणिसदा पणरण्या गुत्ताणं अऊमुहस्स वादालं ।
वस्स होदि सहस्सं केई एवं पऊरान्ति ॥

* For what follows from here I am indebted to the several articles which appeared in the December number of the *Jaina-Hitarshi* (1917) on this question.

तत्तो कक्की जादो इहसुदो तस्स अऊमुहो नामो ।
सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणिय-इगवीस रज्जत्तो ॥
छाया :— ततः कल्किजात इन्द्रसुतस्तस्य चतुर्मुखो नाम ।
सप्ततिवर्षाणि आहुर्विगुणित-एकविंशतिः राज्यतः ॥

- छाया :— निर्वाणगते वीरे चतुःशत-एकषष्टिवर्षविच्छेदे ।
जातः शकनरेन्दो राज्यं वर्षस्य (वर्षाणां ?) द्विशतचत्वारिंशत् ॥
द्वे शते पञ्च पञ्चाशत् गुप्तानां चतुर्मुखस्य द्विचत्वारिंशत् ।
वर्षं भवति सहस्रं कैचिदेवं प्ररूपयन्ति ॥
जं काले वीर जिणो निस्सेयससंपदं समावण्णा ।
तत्काले अभिसित्तो पालयणामो भवन्तिसुदो ॥
पालकरज्जं सट्ठि इगिसय पणरण्ण विजयवंसभवा ।
चालं मुरुदयवंसा तीसं वंसा सु पुस्समित्तमि ॥
वसुमित्तभम्मिमित्ता सट्ठी गंधव्वया वि सयमेक्कं ।
णरवाहणो य चालं तत्तो भच्छट्ठणा जाता ॥
भच्छट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णि सयाइं हवन्ति वासाला ।
तत्तो गुत्ताताणं रज्जं दोण्णियसयाभि इगितीसा ॥
तत्तो कक्की etc. (noted above).
- छाया :— यत्काले वीरजिनो निःश्रेयससम्पदं समापन्नः ।
तत्कालेऽभिषिक्तः पालकनामा अवन्तीसुतः ।
पालक राज्यं षष्टिमैकशतं पञ्चाशत् विजयसम्भवाः ।
चत्वारिंशत् मुरुदय (?) वंद्याः त्रिंशत् वंद्याः सुपुष्पाभिन्ने ॥
वसुमित्र-अभिभिन्ने षष्टिः गन्धर्वका अपि शतमेकम् ।
नरवाहनश्च चत्वारिंशत् ततो भृत्यान्ध्राः (?) जाताः ॥
भृत्यान्ध्राणां (?) कालो द्वे शते भवति चत्वारिंशत् ।
ततो गुप्तास्तेषां राज्ये द्वे शते अभि एकत्रिंशत् ॥
ततःकल्किर्जातः etc.

It is also very interesting to note the various dates of the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra recorded as traditionally current in this work. According to one account, the *Nirvāṇa* occurred 461 years before the Śaka era; a second account places it 605 years before the same era; a third has 9,785 years and 5 months while the fourth has 14,793 years. Is it that even at the time when the work was written the date of the *Nirvāṇa* was unsettled?

I may be allowed to quote one more verse as it is likely to throw some light on the present question :—

- एवं वस्ससहस्से पुडकक्की हवेइ इक्केक्को ।
पञ्चसयवच्छरेसुं एक्केक्को तहय उपकक्की ॥
- छाया :— एवं वर्षसहस्रे पृथक् कल्किर्भवति एकैकः ।
पञ्चशतवत्सरेषु एकैकस्तथाच उपकल्किः ॥

This means that every 1000 years a new Kalki arises and every 500 years a new Upakalki. This should lead us to suspect the authenticity of Kalkirāja as referred to by the Digambara writers. Without condemning wholesale Jinasena's chronology, we still can say that his statement about Kalkirāja merely echoes this tradition, and that therefore it is not based on historical facts. He might have inserted it in accordance with the tradition current in his time. If such be the case, we shall have to discard the tradition as historically valueless.

The same conclusion is arrived at if we refer to the Svetāmbara writers who have also preserved the Kalki tradition. According to Muni Jinavijayaji the oldest Svetāmbara work which refers to Kalkirāja is the *Mahāvīracharīyam* written in 1141³ (Vikrama era) by Nemi-

³ अणहिलवाडपुरम्मी सिरिकन्नराहिवम्मि विजयन्ते ।
सोहट्टि कारिआए वसहीए सं ठिएण्णं च ॥
वाससयाणं एगारसण्ड विक्कमनिवस्स विगयाणं ।
भगयालीसे संवच्छरम्मि एवं निबद्धं ति ॥

chandra, a disciple of Ambadeva. The date of Kalkirâja is given in the following lines :—

छहिं वासाण सएहिं पञ्चहिं वासेहिं पञ्चमासेहिं ।

मम निष्वाणगयस्यउ उप्पज्जिस्सइ सगो सया ॥ 2169 ॥

तेरसवाससहिणहिं नवुत्तेहिं सगाऊ कुसुमपुरे ।

होही कक्की पन्ते (v. l. अन्ते) कुलम्मि केउ व्व दुव्वप्पा ॥ 2170 ॥

‘There will arise the Saka king 605 years and 5 months after my *Nirvâna*. After the expiry of 1309 years of the Saka era there will arise at Kusumapura the wicked-souled Kalki in the Prant-race (?)’. This means that the date of Kalkirâja is 1915 years after the *Nirvâna* of Mahâvîra. Thus there is a difference of more than 900 years between the dates given by the Digambara and Svetâmbara traditions. Nemichandra further says that Kalki will be king at the age of 18 and will reign for 68 years. Thus his death will occur in 2000 of the Vira era—a difference of exactly 1000 years from the date given by Jinasena!⁴ Again according to Guṇabhadra, Kalki was reigning at Indrapura while according to Nemichandra his capital is Kusumapura. According to the Digambara tradition, Kalki died at the age of 70; according to the Svetâmbara tradition, at the age of 86. According to the former the name of Kalki’s son and successor is Ajitañjaya, while according to the latter it is Datta.⁵ These differences in details should make us cautious in accepting the truth of the traditions. Hemachandra’s *Mahâviracharita* gives us an exactly similar account. The whole of this account is given further on in Appendix.

Another Svetâmbara writer called Jinaprabha Sûri has written a work entitled *Vividha-Tirthakalpa* (about A.D. 1444). His account of Kalkiraja runs on similar lines. He gives the additional information that the year of Kalkiraja’s birth would be 1442 Vikrama era. (We may note that the corresponding year of the *Nirvâna* era is 1912 and not 1914.) The names of Kalkirâja’s parents are given as Jasadevi (Yaśodevî) and Magahasena (Magadhasena). Jinaprabha mentions three successors of Kalkiraja—his son Datta who would rule for 72 years; Datta’s son Jitaśatru and the latter’s son Meghaghosha.

We thus observe a great divergence between the Digambara and the Svetâmbara traditions, about Kalkirâja. The latter put him down 1000 years later than the former. What is this discrepancy due to? There is one obvious explanation. It appears that the Digambara tradition is older; but when the Svetâmbara writers saw that there was no such king as Kalkirâja at the period given by the Digambara tradition they, reluctant to discard the tradition altogether, brought down the date by a thousand years, the reign of Kalkirâja was made to end in 2000 of the *Nirvâna* era instead of in 1000 as the older tradition recorded. That this is the most probable explanation is capable of some proof. When even the Svetâmbara tradition did not come true, another attempt was made to bring still lower the date of Kalkirâja. Muni Jinavijayaji states that he has seen a work in which the date of Kalkirâja’s birth is brought down so low as 1914 of the Vikrama era instead of 1914 of the *Nirvâna* era! This gives us A.D. 1857! A future historian may find in still another work the date given as 2914 of the Vikrama era.

⁴ अट्टारस य कुमारे वासाह तत्तिव च डामरिओ ।

अवसेसं पुण कक्की गवा होई अइपयण्ढे ॥ 2173 ॥

काही छारुकरुड. छासीवासाणि आउयं भोत्तुं ।

नए उववज्जिस्सइ भणन्तइ वेवणापउरे ॥ 2207 ॥

⁵ तस्स य दत्तं पुत्तं इस संताविऊण जिणधम्मं ।

वंदिस्सु समणसंघं निवए अणम्मि संपत्तो ॥ 2208 ॥

This is sufficient to prove the utter worthlessness of the Jain tradition about Kalkirāja. It contains no grain of truth. We shall not, therefore, be wrong in concluding that there is absolutely no evidence for identifying this Kalkirāja either with Mihirākula or Yaśodharman.

APPENDIX.

Hemachandra's account of Kalkirāja.

Nemichandra and Hemachandra give the same account of Kalkirāja ; the former in Prakrit and the latter in Sanskrit. We give Hemachandra's Sanskrit version. It is given in *Sarga XIII* of his *Mahāvīracharita*. When the first Gaṇadhara Gautama asks Mahāvīra as to what will happen in future Mahāvīra says :—

मन्त्रिर्वाणगतेष्वङ्गदस्तेष्वेकोनविंशतौ ।
 चतुर्दशाब्द्यां च म्लेच्छकुले चैत्राष्टमीदिने ॥ ७८ ॥
 विष्टौ भावी नृपः कल्की स रुद्रोऽथ चतुर्मुखः ।
 नामत्रयेण विख्यातः पाटलीपुत्रपत्तने ॥ ७९ ॥
 तदा च मथुरापुर्यामकस्माद्ग्रामकृष्णयोः ।
 निपातिस्यत्वायतनं वाताहतजरद्भुवत् ॥ ८० ॥
 क्रोधमानमायालोभाः सदा काष्ठे घृणा इव ।
 नैसर्गिका भविष्यन्ति तस्मिन्कूरतरशये ॥ ८१ ॥
 चौरराजविरोधो राड्भयं गन्धरसक्षयः ।
 दुर्मिक्षमीत्यवृष्टी च भविष्यन्ति तदा खलु ॥ ८२ ॥
 कुमारोऽष्टादशाब्द्यानि तावन्त्येव च डामरी ।
 (डामरी=Cholera)
 ततः परं प्रचण्डात्मा राज्ञा कल्की भविष्यति ॥ ८३ ॥
 नगरे पर्वटस्तत्र पञ्चस्तूपान्तिरीक्ष्य सः ।
 परिप्रक्ष्यति पार्श्वस्थान्केनैते कारिता इति ॥ ८४ ॥
 कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽप्येवं पुरासीद्विष्वाविश्रुतः ।
 नन्दो नाम क्षितिपतिर्धनैर्धनइसन्निभः ॥ ८५ ॥
 हिरण्यमस्ति स्तूपेषु तेनेह निहितं बहु ।
 नाशानुं तत्क्षमः कोऽपि बभूव पृथिवीपतिः ॥ ८६ ॥
 कल्किराजस्वराकर्ण्य भूरिलोभी निसर्गतः ।
 खनयिष्यति तान्स्तूपान् हिरण्यं च गृहीष्यति ॥ ८७ ॥
 सर्वतोऽपि पुरं तच्च सोऽर्थार्थी खनयिष्यति ।
 भस्मिलंश्च महिपालांस्तृणवद्भणयिष्यति ॥ ८८ ॥
 कल्किना खान्यमानायास्तदा च स्वपुरावनेः ।
 नाम्ना लवणरेवी गौरुत्यास्यति शिलामयी ॥ ८९ ॥
 चतुष्पथेऽवस्थिता सा भिक्षार्थमटतो मुनीन् ।
 तत्प्रातिहार्याच्छृङ्गायभागेनाघदयिष्यति ॥ ९० ॥
 स्थविगश्च वदिष्यन्ति भार्दानं सूचयत्वसौ ।
 जलोपसर्गमत्यन्तं तत्क्वाऽपि ब्रजतान्यतः ॥ ९१ ॥
 श्रुत्वा तत्केऽपि यास्यन्ति विहारेण महर्षयः ।
 अन्ये तु भक्तवत्त्रादिलुब्धा वक्ष्यन्त्यहः खलु ॥ ९२ ॥
 कालात्कर्मवशाद्भावे दुर्मं वा यदि वाऽद्युभम् ।
 कस्तन्निषेधयितुमलंभूष्णार्जिष्णुरपि स्वयम् ॥ ९३ ॥
 ततः पाखण्डिनः सर्वान्कल्की याचिष्यते करम् ।
 तं च तस्मै प्रदास्यति ते सारम्भपरिग्रहा ॥ ९४ ॥
 अन्यैः पाखण्डिभिस्तः करो ययं न दत्त किम् ।

इति ब्रुवाणो लुब्धात्मा स साधूनापि रोक्ष्यते ॥ ९५ ॥
 साधवस्तं वदिष्यन्ति राजन्वयमकिञ्चनाः ।
 भिक्षाभुजो धर्मलाभं विना किं दृश्यते तव ॥ ९६ ॥
 पुराणेषुक्तमस्त्येवं ब्रह्मनिष्ठोस्तपोधनान् ।
 रक्षस्तत्पुण्यपञ्चाशभाग्भवेद्वनीपतिः ॥ ९७ ॥
 अस्माहुष्कर्मणस्तस्माद्द्विरमावनिशासन ।
 व्यवसायोऽशुभायायं पुरे राष्ट्रे च सर्वथा ॥ ९८ ॥
 एवं मुनिवचः श्रुत्वा कल्की कोपिष्यति ध्रुवम् ।
 उद्धृष्टः करालास्यः कृतान्त इव भीषणः ॥ ९९ ॥
 किमरे मनुकामोऽसि मर्त्याधम मुनीनपि ।
 याचसेऽर्थं वक्ष्यतीति ततस्तं पुरदेशता ॥ १०० ॥
 देवता वचसा तेन सिंहनादेन सन्तिवत् ।
 भीतः कल्की नतिपूर्वं तान्साधून्क्षेमोविष्यति ॥ १०१ ॥
 भविष्यन्ति च भूयांसस्तदोद्याता भयङ्कराः ॥
 अन्वहं कल्किराजस्य नगरक्षयसूचकाः ॥ १०२ ॥
 अहोरात्रान्सप्तदश वर्षिष्यत्यय वारिदः ।
 गङ्गाप्रवाहभोटृत्य तत्पुरं घ्रायविष्यति ॥ १०३ ॥
 तत्राचार्यः प्रातिपदः कोऽपि सङ्गजनोऽपि च ।
 पूर्वोक्तः कोऽपि कल्की च स्यात्प्रान्ति स्थलमूर्धनि ॥ १०४ ॥
 गङ्गाप्रवाहपयसा पारितोऽपि प्रसारिणा ।
 वास्यन्ति निधनं सद्यो बहवः पुरवासिनः ॥ १०५ ॥
 जलोपसर्गे विरते नन्द्रव्येण तेन तु ।
 कल्किराजः पुनरपि करिष्यति नवं पुरम् ॥ १०६ ॥
 भविष्यन्त्यायतनानि विहरिष्यन्ति साधवः ।
 वर्षिष्यति च कालेऽब्दः सस्वनिष्पत्तिकारणम् ॥ १०७ ॥
 द्रुमेण कुम्भलामेऽपि सखं न क्रेष्यते जनः ।
 पश्चाद्वदन्तीमेवं च सुमिहं भावि कल्किनि ॥ १०८ ॥
 भासन्नभृत्यभूयोऽपि कल्की पाण्डित्योऽखिलान् ॥
 त्याज्यविष्यति लिङ्गानि न्युपद्रोष्यति चोद्यकेः ॥ १०९ ॥
 ससङ्गं च प्रातिपदं न्वस्य गोवाटके वरा ।
 याचिष्यते स भिक्षायाः षष्ठं भागं दुराशयः ॥ ११० ॥
 सङ्गः सकाराधनाय कायोत्सर्गं करिष्यति ॥
 शासनदेव्यो वक्ष्यन्ति कल्किन्क्षेमाय न ह्यदः ॥ १११ ॥
 सङ्गस्य कायोत्सर्गानुभावेन चलितासनः ।
 वृद्धद्विजवपुर्भूत्वा सङ्गस्तत्रागमिष्यति ॥ ११२ ॥
 महासिंहासनासीनं कल्किनं पर्वदि स्थितम् ।
 सङ्गो वक्ष्यति किं न्वेते निरुद्धाः साधवस्त्वया ॥ ११३ ॥
 कल्की भाषिष्यते सङ्गं मत्पुरे निवसन्त्यमी ॥
 न मे करं तु दृष्टन्नि भिक्षापञ्चाशमप्यहो ॥ ११४ ॥
 पाण्डित्यः करदाः सर्वे ममाभूवजमी न तु ।

दुर्गवीव बलाहोग्धुं निरुद्धास्तेन वादके ॥ ११५ ॥
 तं जल्पिष्यति शक्रोऽपि नैतेषामस्ति किञ्चन ।
 भिक्षांशमपि दास्यन्ति न कस्यापि कदाप्यमी ॥ ११६ ॥
 भिक्षुभ्यो ब्राह्मणस्त्वं भिक्षांशं लज्जसे न किम् ।
 तन्मुञ्चामूनन्वया ते भाव्यनर्थो महान्सलु ॥ ११७ ॥
 कुप्यन्निति गिरा कल्की वदिष्यत्यरे भद्राः ।
 कण्ठे धृत्वा द्विजमुपसारयत द्रुतम् ॥ ११८ ॥
 इत्युक्ते कल्किनं कल्कपर्वतं पाकशासनः ।
 चपेटाताडनात्सद्यो भस्मराशीकरिष्यति ॥ ११९ ॥
 षडशीतिं वत्सराणांमातुः सम्पूर्वं कल्किराट् ।
 नारको नरकावन्धां दुरन्तायां भविष्यति ॥ १२० ॥
 अनुशिष्यार्हतं धर्मे वृत्तारण्यं कल्किनः सुतम् ।
 राज्ञे निवेद्य वन्दित्वा सङ्गं शक्रो गमिष्यति ॥ १२१ ॥
 पितुः पापफलं धीरं शक्रशिखां च संस्मरन् ।
 वृत्तः कारिष्यति महीमर्हच्चैत्यविभूषिताम् ॥ १२२ ॥
 पञ्चमारकपर्वन्तं यावदेवमतः परम् ।
 प्रवृत्तिर्जिनधर्मस्य भविष्यति निरन्तरा ॥ १२३ ॥

I may as well point out here that Hemachandra furnishes a good instance of the practice often resorted to by ancient writers of explaining current events as prophesied by some great man. Hemachandra was the religious teacher of Kumârapâla, the king of Gujarat, under whom Jainism seems to have made great progress. In his *Mahâviracharita* Hemachandra makes the Tirthankara Mahâvira utter a prophesy to that effect. Nemi-chandra's *Mahâviracharita* which precedes Hemachandra's by many years has, of course, nothing to say about Kumârapâla and Hemachandra. His eulogy of Kumârapâla and his deeds takes 60 verses. I give below a few of them ; they are in *Sarga XIII* :—

स्वाम्याव्यति स्म सौराष्ट्रादगुर्जरसीमानि ।
 क्रमेण नगरं भावि नाम्नापहिलपाटनम् ॥ ३० ॥
 भार्यभूमेः क्षिरीरत्नं कल्पापानां निकेतनम् ।
 एकावपन्नार्हद्धर्मे तद्धि तीर्थे भविष्यति ॥ ३८ ॥
 भस्मनिर्वाणतो वर्षशतान्वभव षोडश ।
 नवषट्तिश्च दास्यन्ति यदा तत्र पुरे तदा ॥ ४५ ॥
 कुमारपालो भूपालश्चौलुककुलचन्द्रमाः ।
 भविष्यति महाबाहुः प्रचण्डाखण्डशासनः ॥ ४६ ॥
 पराक्रमेण धर्मेण दानेन दययाज्ञया ।
 भन्वैश्च पुरुषगुणैः सीऽद्वितीयो भविष्यति ॥ ५१ ॥
 भन्वश वज्रशालायां मुनिचन्द्रकुलोद्भवम् ।
 आचार्ये हेमचन्द्रं स द्रक्ष्यति सितिनावकः ॥ ५३ ॥
 स भुत्वा तन्मुखात्प्रीत्या विशुद्धां धर्मदेशनाम् ।
 अपुत्रतानि सम्बन्धपूर्वकाणि प्रपस्त्वते ॥ ५७ ॥
 स प्राज्ञबोधो भावि ॥ आचकाचारपारगः ।
 आस्थानेऽपि स्थितौ धर्मगोष्ठ्या त्वं रमिष्यति ॥ ५८ ॥

THE JOGIMARĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW; BANKIPORE.

MUCH confusion prevails about the real sense of this inscription. The late Dr. Bloch who published it in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, for 1903-4,¹ thought that it refers to a *Devadāsī* who attracted lovers. Lüders interpreted it as a record of love between 'the man of Benares' (*Balanaśeye*) and the alleged *Devadāsī* [*Tam Kamayitha Balanaśeye* = the man of Benares loved her.²]

These interpretations make the grammatical mistake of leaving *Śutanukā nama Devadaśi* hanging in the air—without a predicate. The previous readings also are defective. Neither Bloch nor Lüders reads the *ti* at the end of the second line. Probably they mistook it as being part of the first line and read it as *kyi* (*devadaśikiyi*). The meaning of the expression *lupa-dakhe* (= *rûpadaksha*) has been missed. It is a technical, constitutional term which means a city-magistrate or some minister. In this definite meaning it occurs in the *Milinda-Pañho*³ where it gives a beautiful description of an ideal capital, the capital of Dharmma, based on the model, no doubt, of the Hindu capitals of its time.

The text of the inscription is an official order or decree by the officer *Rûpadaksha* in favour of the ascetic woman, and not the love-making, *Śutanukā*. It relates to her worship of Varuṇa instead of to 'the man of Benares.' The word *Balunaśeye* has been misread by Lüders as *Balanaśeye*. I give below my reading based on an excellent photograph prepared by Messrs. Jhonston and Hoffman of Calcutta, which is reproduced here for reference.

Transcript.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Śutanuka [1*] × | 2. deva-daśiy [e] | 3. Śutanuka nama deva-daśi |
| 4. tamkamayi=tha ⁴ Balunaśeye \| ti \| | 5. Deva-dina nama \| lupa-dakhe \| |  |

Translation.

"In favour of Sutanukā, the *devadarśinī*.

"(Order) 'Sutanukā', by name, *devadarśinī*, of austere life, (is) now⁵ in the service of Varuṇa".

"Devadina (=Devadatta.)

by name.

Rûpadaksha."

Devadaśi may be either *devadarśi* or *deva-dâśi*. In either case, the main interpretation is not affected. That it is in the feminine gender is evident from the case-ending in the super-scription. I prefer the former restoration in view of a datum of the *Jâtaka*, (Vol. VI, p. 586). It mentions the *Vârūṇī* women who used to prophesy under the professed influence (*âveśa*) of god Varuṇa.⁶ The restoration *Devadarsī* (the seeress of Varuṇa) would probably be nearer the original sense. The objection to *Devadâśi* is that the word is a very late expression. The meaning of *tamkamayi* (of austere life) is given in accordance with the *Dhâtupâṭha*: *Taki kīchchhra-jivane*.

It is important to note that the worship of Varuṇa had not gone out of use in the period denoted by the script of the inscription. It cannot be placed later than *cir.* 300 B.C. The forms of letters, *e.g.* of *ya* and *ma*, are invariably of the older type, while Aśoka's inscriptions have both earlier and later forms. This shows that the inscription is older in age than records of Aśoka.

The existence of the grammarian's Mâgadhî in that early period, is attested by this inscription.

The officer Rûpadaksha was an officer in a capital according to the *Milinda-Pañho*. This indicates that the site of the inscription must have been near some ancient capital. It might have been the Chedi capital.

¹ Page 128.

² *List of Brâhmī Inscriptions*, No. 921. See also *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 41.

³ Bk. V, 23 (344).

* Probably two letters—nama

⁴ or, *tha*

⁵ or, *here*.

⁶ See also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 235-6.

MISCELLANEA.

PRATIHÂRAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Pratihâras were a clan of people that formed part of the tribe of Gujars or Gurjaras, a non-Aryan people that came to India from the north-west and settled there in about the 5th century A.D. Their name Pratihâra is also written as Pratihâra, Parihâra, Paḍihâra, Padiyâr, and Paḍiâr; and they have been, hitherto, met with in Northern India only, where, in the 8th century and later, there were Pratihâra kings that were ruling at Mahodaya (Kannauj) and in Bundelkhand. It is therefore somewhat interesting to find from inscriptional and literary sources that there were two Pratihâras who lived in Southern India in the 10th century A.D.

* * * * *

1° In a pillar inscription at Kaḍûr (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI. Kd. 1), there is mentioned a Paḍiara-Dorapayya who had Pâmbabbe, the elder sister of the Western Ganga king Bûtuga II as his senior queen (*piriy-arasi*). He is, later, called Dhôra in a stanza which follows and is identified by Mr. Rice (*ibid.*, Introd. p. 9) with the Dhôrappa who is mentioned in the Saṅgamner plates of the year Śaka 922 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol II, p. 215) and whom Kielhorn proposed to identify with the Râshtrakûṭa prince Nirupama, son of Amôghavarsha III.

This identification seems to me to be wrong; for, Paḍiara, the word used in the inscription, is, as I have said above, but another form of Pratihâra and shows unmistakably that this Dhôra belonged to the Pratihâra family or clan.

This Pratihâra Dhôra must have been a chief of some importance, for, Pâmbabbe, the Ganga princess, was given to him in marriage and was called his senior queen. He had three sons of her, all of the Jain faith, and living, apparently, in the Gaṅgavâḍi province; and he seems to have died in A.D. 942, predeceasing his wife by thirty years.

2° There is a commentary, known as the *Laghuvṛtti*, on Udbhata's *Kāvya-lankâra-saṅgraha*, which, we learn from the colophon and from the opening stanzas, was written by Pratihârêndurâja or (as he is elsewhere styled) Pratihârêndurâja. The concluding stanza, however, of the commentary gives the name of the author as Indurâja; and it informs us in addition, that he was a Kaṅkaṇa, i.e., an inhabitant of the Koṅkaṇa country (on the west coast of India). Here also, the prefix *Pratihâra* attached to the name of Indurâja indicates clearly to us that he belonged to the Pratihâra clan.

We do not know when the Pratihâras came and settled in the Koṅkaṇ; nor do we know in what way they were related to the Pratihâras of Mahodaya and of Bundelkhand. But, as Indurâja's *Laghuvṛtti* is believed (see the *prastāvanā* of the edition) to have been composed at some time in the tenth century A.D., we can easily infer there-

from that the Pratihâras must have come to, and settled in, the Koṅkaṇ before that time.

Regarding the Pratihâra Dhôra, nothing is known of him except what has been given above. It is, however, not unlikely that he may have been in some way related to the Pratihâras of Koṅkaṇ.

* * * * *

In dealing with the above inscription, Mr. Rice has fallen into some mistakes from his not having correctly read it. In p. 9 of his Introduction (*op. cit.*), he makes out that Dorapayya, the husband of Pâmbabbe, was also known as Immaḍi-Dhôra; and in the Translation, p. 1, he further makes out that this Dorapayya was a "sheath-bearer" and that "her (*scil.* Pâmbabbe's) king was giving her priceless treasures." These mistakes are due to the fact that he read line 1 of the stanza given in the inscription as *parase mahâ-prasâdadol orevakan Immaḍi-Dhôran oldu tann*, instead of reading correctly as *parase mahâ-prasâdadolu Rêvaka-nimmaḍi Dhôranoldu tann*.

The correct translation of the stanza, therefore, is:

"While Rêvaka-nimmaḍi held her in great favour and while Dhôra, her lord, was giving her priceless things with affection . . ."

Rêvaka-nimmaḍi, mentioned herein, was the daughter of the Râshtrakûṭa Amôghavarsha-Baddega III and was given in marriage by him to the Ganga Bûtuga II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 351). She is also mentioned in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Nr. 35.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

SURVIVAL OF THE TERM KARÔRÎ.

Akbar in 1575-6 divided a large part of his empire into purely artificial areas, each yielding a 'crore' or ten millions of *tankas* or *dâms*, equivalent to a quarter of million of rupees. The officer appointed to make the collections in such an area was called a Karôrî, or sometimes an Âmil. After a short time the new artificial areas fell into disuse and arrangements were again based upon the traditional pargana areas. The designation Âmil for a revenue collector was familiar almost up to our own times, but the term Karôrî was supposed to have been disused very soon after its introduction.

I have been surprised to find that it was in use in Bengal as late as A.D. 1770. Mr. C. Stuart, Supervisor of Birbhûm, etc., in a letter dated June 8, 1770, from Burdwan, reports 'the result of his enquiry into the conduct of the *krori*, who has been confined by his agent, etc.'

(*Press List; Bengal Secretariat*, 1769-74; section ii, vol. ii, p. 20; Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press Dept., 1918).

VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHÂLUKYA VIKRAMADITYA.

By A. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR, M.A.; KUMBAKONAM.

(Continued from p. 120.)

PART II.—BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF VIKRAMADITYA : HIS TRAINING UNDER, AND EXPLOITS DURING, THE LIFE-TIME OF HIS FATHER.

Birth of Vikramaditya and his brothers.

Bilhana⁷⁴ tells us that amidst all his victories and prosperity Âhavamalla was tormented by a profound sorrow as he had not the good fortune to be blessed with a son. The Lakshmi of the Châlukya dominions which had come to him in unbroken succession from his ancestors was often fluttering, like the bird on the top of the mast of a ship in the mid-ocean, for want of one under whom she could take shelter after him. He at last resolved to lay aside all regal pomp, made over the kingdom to the care of his ministers and, accompanied by his wife, retired to a temple of Siva to do severe penance and obtain a son through the favour of his *kuladēvatā*. The royal pair at once exchanged the pomp and plenty for a life of stern simplicity, privation and austerity. Pleased with their penance, their guardian-deity made his appearance and predicted "O King! this your wife shall give birth to three sons. The first and the last will be born to thee by virtue of the merit acquired by thy works, but the second will come to thee by my favour alone and he shall surpass in valour and virtues all the princes of ancient times." In due course the queen bore him a beautiful son who was named Sômêśvara. A second time she became pregnant and then she had wonderful cravings which presaged the future greatness of the child she was carrying, and in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of planets the wished-for son was born. Flowers fell from the sky and the gods rejoiced and he was named Vikramāditya. Not long after, the third son was born and he was called Jayasimha.

Bühler⁷⁵ has observed that "the king's performing penance for the sake of a son is in harmony with the Hindu customs and in itself not in the least incredible." Are we then to accept as a historical truth what Bilhana wishes us to infer that the three sons were born to Âhavamalla long after his accession in A.D. 1042? No. A slight reflection and close scrutiny of the inscriptions make this impossible. We learn from these⁷⁶ that as early as A.D. 1053 Sômêśvara, the eldest son, was in charge of Beluvola and Puligêre districts and only two years later in A.D. 1055 the second son Vikramāditya was governing Gaigapâḍi, Banavâse, Sântalige and Nolambapâḍi. They would not have been entrusted by their father with these important viceroalties, some of them on the Chôḷa frontier, unless they had already come of age to administer them efficiently. Knowing as we do that Âhavamalla came to the throne about A.D. 1042, we first begin to suspect from the above facts the authenticity of the penance story brought forward by Bilhana and our suspicions are confirmed and doubts set at rest by the Chôḷa records. In the 29th year inscription⁷⁷ of Râjâdhirâja of A.D. 1047, Vikki, who is certainly identical with Vikramāditya,⁷⁸ the second son of Âhavamalla,

⁷⁴ *Vik. Charita*, II, 25—91.

⁷⁵ Bühler's edition of *Vik. Charita*. Introduction, 29; n. 1.

⁷⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 440, Mulgund Inscription. *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 203. *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 11, 83, 152.

⁷⁷ *SII.*, III, No. 28; p. 56— 'திண்டிவல் விருதர் விக்கி'

⁷⁸ Vikki is but a shortened form of 'Vikkalan', so common in later Chôḷa records, and both are Prakritised forms of 'Vikramāditya'. Cf. Kakka, Kakkalan, Karkara.

is mentioned as a warrior of great courage. Therefore Vikramāditya must have been of fighting age in A.D. 1047 and even a warrior distinguished enough to have been specially mentioned of by the Chôla enemies. He must then have been at least 16 years of age and therefore born at the latest in A.D. 1031. Be it remembered that Vikramāditya was but the second son and had an elder brother in Sômêśvara who must have been born a year or two earlier still in A.D. 1030 or 1029. Therefore it is certain that Sômêśvara and Vikramāditya, the first two sons of Âhavamalla, must have been born at least a dozen years prior to Âhavamalla's accession in A.D. 1042. The third son Jayasimha, otherwise known as Śiṅgaṇa and Śiṅgi in the Chôla and Châlukya records respectively, is first made mention of only in the 2nd year inscription⁷⁹ of Virarâjendra of A.D. 1063-4 and so it may be that he was born a few years after Âhavamalla's accession to the throne. What, then, was the motive of Bilhaṇa in bringing forward a penance story that is historically untenable? There can be no other explanation but this, viz., that occasionally as in this instance, the poet in him prevailed over the historian and he was carried away with a desire, so natural among bards, especially oriental, to cast a halo of divinity around his patron and hero so much gifted with head and heart.

Closely connected with the birth of the brothers there is another question, viz., whether they were uterine brothers or not. Rice⁸⁰ infers from their *Gaṅga birudas* that Sômêśvara and Vikramāditya were the sons of a Gaṅga princess and Jayasimha of a Pallava one, and calls them always half-brothers. But this inference is neither necessary nor correct. The attribution of special *birudas* in each case can be explained as belonging to the ancient rulers of the provinces which they happened to be in charge of. Such investitures were not uncommon even among their Chôla contemporaries.⁸¹ Moreover, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṇkadêvacharita*⁸² [O King *this* your wife (mark the singular)] is decisive on the point and warrants us to infer that all the three were the sons of the same mother. Fleet has placed before us an inscription,⁸³ which while confirming the fact that the three were uterine brothers, gives us in addition the name of the common mother as Bâchaladêvî, who would appear to be Âhavamalla's first wife. To what family did Bâchaladêvî belong? Was she a Gaṅga or Pallava princess? In Dêûr inscription⁸⁴ Jayasimha is given not only Pallava *birudas* but is described as *Mahâ-Pallav-ânvaṇu*, i.e., belonging to the great Pallava lineage, and this would suggest that Bâchaladêvî came of Pallava stock.

Vikramāditya's magnanimous refusal of the Yuvarâja-ship and the appointment of Sômêśvara as heir-apparent.

When Vikramāditya had come of age and become well-versed in all sciences, especially in military and administrative state-craft, Âhavamalla thought of making one of his sons *yuvarâja* and thereby designating his successor as was the custom among Hindu *râjas*—partly to be relieved of the burden of bearing the toil and turmoil of the kingdom all alone in old age and partly to initiate the would-be successor in all the mysteries of state-craft, so as to enable him to maintain the prestige and continue the traditions of the family. Bilhaṇa⁸⁵

⁷⁹ 111A of 1896, *Epi. Rep.* SII., III, No. 20. Karuvûr inscription.

⁸⁰ *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 136, Dg. 133, Cl. 12.

⁸¹ SII., III, part I. See also Prof. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's *Ancient India*, 114.

⁸² *Vik. Charita*, II, 51.

⁸³ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 438, n. 1. *Ind. Ant.*, II, 297. Gadag inscription.

⁸⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, IV, 440, n. 5. *Carnata. Dâsa Inscriptions*, I, 173.

⁸⁵ *Vik. Charita*, III, 26-59.

tells us that his eyes turned naturally to the more talented and therefore better-fitted, both by his physique and daring, but unfortunately the younger and hence less entitled of his two sons, and that he thought of making him *yuvardja* in preference to his elder brother Sômêśvara. Âhavamalla soon found himself on the horns of a dilemma and unable to come to a decision, became somewhat troubled in mind. His own inclination and considerations of fitness and state-welfare would point to Vikramāditya, but custom and justice were on the side of Sômêśvara. In a most vivid and charming dialogue, Bilhana informs us that Vikramāditya, as soon as he came to know the perplexed state of his father's mind vacillating between right and inclination, respectfully but firmly declined the offer, alleging that the dignity of *yuvardja* belonged more naturally to the elder and that the appointment of the younger as such would not only be a deviation from the time-honoured custom but a blot on himself and the noble father and a stain on the fair name of the Châlukya family. He steadfastly persisted in this magnanimous refusal even when his father represented to him that both Siva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him destined for the succession, but consoled him with the assurance that he would serve him as well as Sômêśvara and toil for the kingdom under both without the high-sounding title of *yuvardja*. Finding Vikramāditya not moved by all his exhortations Âhavamalla reluctantly raised Sômêśvara to the dignity of *yuvardja*.

Bühler⁸⁶ has remarked—"This part of the narrative of Vikrama's life which strongly puts forward his fitness for the throne and his generosity to the less able Sômêśvara looks as if it had been touched up in order to whitewash Vikrama's character and to blacken that of his brother." But even the most impartial historian must admit that there is much substratum of truth in the picture drawn us by Bilhana, as will amply be evident from their later career as rulers. Even the slight touching-up that one might come across was due more to the poetic temperament of Bilhana rather than to any wanton perversion of historic truth. The question more relevant to our purpose, and really more difficult of decision than this, would be whether Âhavamalla ever really and actually proposed the name of Vikramāditya for *yuvardja*-ship or whether it was merely a poetic fancy of Bilhana to give himself an opportunity to depict Vikramāditya and explain his later accession to the throne. There is nothing inherently impossible, for reasons suggested in what has been narrated above, in such a proposal having ever emanated from the father. Far-sighted as he was, Âhavamalla might naturally have preferred the consolidation and expansion of his state—a state for which he had worked so laboriously and so long—under his more talented son to its probable wreckage under another who, though more entitled to, was far less deserving of, the honour. After some vacillation the statesman in him might have prevailed and he might have made up his mind to brush aside a custom which stood in the way of his arrangements pregnant with such great consequences. If it can be allowed that the offer was actually made by Âhavamalla, we may be fairly certain that Vikramāditya declined it magnanimously, as Bilhana has it, for Sômêśvara continued as *yuvardja* during all his father's life-time⁸⁷ and on the demise of the latter at once succeeded to the throne peaceably without any obstruction on the part of Vikramāditya who, as we shall see later on,⁸⁸ not at all ambitious of the throne, was then far away from the capital, looking after Vêngî affairs. As

⁸⁶ Bühler's edition of *Vik. Charita*, Introduction, 31, n. 1.

⁸⁷ *SII.*, III, 201, No. 83. Tindivanam inscription.

⁸⁸ *Vide infra*, p. 145.

instances⁸⁹ of touching affection between brothers, even royal, in the Hindu household are not altogether wanting, the above may not appear so unlikely as it may seem at first sight.

Vikramāditya's exploits under Āhavamalla.

Though Sômeśvara was designated *yuvarāja* the real burden of the state rested on Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight all his battles. Vikramāditya set out on a series of military exploits. In a brief compass, Bilhana⁹⁰ gives us a rhapsodic but none the less succinct and more or less historical account of all his doings during the life-time of his father. He is said to have repeatedly defeated the Chôlas; penetrated into the south as far as the ocean; entered the Malaya hills abounding in sandal-wood trees; reinstated the king of Mâlava who sought his protection; carried his arms as far north as Gauda (Bengal), Kâmarûpa (Assam); passed through the Eastern Ghats; came to Kâñchî and plundered the same; destroyed the Malaya forests; defeated the lord of Kêraḷa; took the city of Gaṅgaikunḍa, the capital of the Chôlas; plundered Kâñchî once again; thence directed his arms to Vêṅgî and Chakrakôṭa; and while returning to the banks of the Kṛishṇâ, heard the sad news of the death of his father at Tūṅgabhadrâ.

It is not impossible, though Bühler⁹¹ gives it up as hopeless, in the face of the now available Chôla records which throw light on this portion of history, to determine somewhat the chronological order of these wars embracing a period of nearly a quarter of a century. The most convenient method would be to discuss them *seriatim*.

Vikramāditya's first descent on the south.

Vikramāditya's first intervention in Chôla and Malaya affairs was in A.D. 1047 *circa*,⁹² when Vikki is mentioned as a warrior of great courage.

Who was the king of Mâlava that sought the protection of the Châlukya sovereign and when and under what circumstances did he do it? In the Mândhâtâ plate⁹³ of A.D. 1055-6 Jayasimha is mentioned as the ruler of Dhârâ, meditating on the illustrious

⁸⁹ Apart from the exemplary Bharata of the *Râmâyana*, mention may be made of the Chêra prince Iṣākô-adiṅgal who, to avoid the chagrin of his elder brother and the stain of usurpation, is said to have instantly renounced the pleasures of the mundane world and become a *sanyâsin* (to attain the immortal throne of the gods), when a tactless but unerring astrologer predicted in the open court that he was destined for the succession after the impending death of his father in preference to his elder brother Chêran Sheṅkuṭṭuvan. The original is worth quoting:—

“குணவாயிற் கோட்டத்தச் சதுறந்திருந்த
குடக் கோச் சேரல் இனங்கோ வடிக்கட்டு”

பதிகம் 1-2 வரி

“வஞ்சி பூதூர் மணிமண்டபத்திடை
நுந்தை தாணிழ் விருந்தோய்! நின்னை
அரசு வீற்றிருக்குந் திருப்பொறி யுண்டென்று
உரை செய்தவன் மேலுருத்து நோக்கிக்
கொண்கவிழ் நறுந்தாரக் கொடித் தேர்த்தானைச்
செங்குட் டெவன்றன் செல்லல் நீங்கப்
பகல் செய்வாயிற் படியோர் தம்முன்
அகலிடப் பாரம் அகல நீக்கிச்
சிறுதை செல்லாச் சேணெடுந் தூரத்து
அந்தமி லின்பத் தரசான் வெந்து’ என
என்றிற முரைத்த இமையோ ரினங்கொடி.”

—*Shilappadikāram*, 20. வரத்தருகாதை 174-84.

For other examples see also Todd's *Rājasthān*.

⁹⁰ *Vik. Charita*, III and IV.

⁹¹ Bühler's edition of *Vik. Charita*, Introduction, 31, n. 2.

⁹² *SII.*, III, No. 28, p. 56.

⁹³ *Epi. Ind.*, III, 46 8.

feet of Bhôjadêva⁹⁴ and this furnishes us, says Prof. Kielhorn, 'a sure and fairly definite limit beyond which the reign of Bhôjadêva could not have extended.'⁹⁵ Bhôja must therefore have died in A.D. 1055 at the latest and it is probable that he died only shortly before. The death of Bhôja without issue after a long and illustrious reign of about 50 years (A.D. 1005 to 1055)⁹⁶ involved Mâlava in difficulties and furnished a golden opportunity to his neighbour and hereditary enemy Karna of Chêdi—one of the greatest warriors of the age—who had formed a confederacy with Bhîmadêva I of Gujarât with a view to attack Mâlava from two sides and sacked Dhârâ soon after Bhôja's death.⁹⁷ Even the Karnâtas would appear to have joined this confederacy for some time.⁹⁸ The country was thus invested by enemies on all sides and Jayasimha, Bhôja's relative, unable to maintain himself against this powerful combination, requested Âhavamalla not only to secede from the confederacy but also to assist him. Keen diplomat as he was, Âhavamalla began to reconsider his decision and thought that a weak Mâlava would swell the strength of Chêdi and Gujarât and might prove a source of anxiety to the Châlukya frontier on the north, but a strong and friendly one would not only be a check on the southern aggressions of these neighbours but might go a long way towards healing the old hostile memories of the Paramâra and the Châlukya which would be of no small value, especially against the troublous Chôlas in the south. He therefore changed sides and at once marched against Chêdi in person to draw off Karna from Mâlava and defeated him in battle. At the same time Âhavamalla directed his son Vikramâditya, who was then in the southern end of his dominions, to go to Mâlava and settle its internal affairs. Accordingly the son proceeded to Mâlava, successfully interfered in its chaotic domestic affairs, befriended Udayâditya, another relative of Bhôja, who in the meanwhile was defending himself as best he could against Karna and succeeded in reinstating Jayasimha on the throne of Dhârâ.⁹⁹ Not long after Jayasimha died and he was succeeded by Udayâditya. This conjoint and timely help of both the father and the son for forlorn Jayasimha and their timely intervention in the affairs of Mâlava

⁹⁴ It seems customary among the Paramâras to meditate on the feet of their illustrious predecessors on the throne.

⁹⁵ The discovery of the Mandhâtâ plate settles beyond doubt the duration of Bhôja's rule over Mâlava. In the face of this record Bühler (*Vik. Charita*, Introduction, 23, n. 1) must give up his contention that 'it is not impossible that Bhôja was alive in A.D. 1063-5' and that 'Bhôja of Dhârâ was a contemporary of Bilhana whom he did not visit though he might have done so.' *Vik. Charita*, XIII, 96, on which Bühler relies for his conclusion does not bear him out. Even according to his own translation it runs thus: "*Dhârâ is said to have cried to Bilhana in pitiful tones—'Bhôja is not king; he forsooth is none of the vulgar princes; woe is to me! why did'st thou not come into his presence?' (while he was alive?)*" Bühler misinterprets the above stanza to mean that Bhôja was merely out in camp without minding the significance of the italicised expressions (which are our own) which would be too strong language to refer to the temporary absence of the king and which certainly suggest the death of the king as a woe which had befallen Dhârâ. *Râjataranginî* (VII, 935-7) states that Bilhana left Kashmir during the reign (probably nominal) of Kalasa (A.D. 1062-80). He next stayed for some years in the court of Karna of Dâhalâ and then only came to Dhârâ. So it must have been at least a decade after Bhôja's death when he could have visited Dhârâ. Moreover Bilhana, who according to Kalhana's *Râjataranginî*, felt even the splendour of a poet-laureate in Karnâta a deception (VII, 935-7), would not have gone to the Dekkan if such a liberal patron of letters as Bhôja were out in camp, without waiting for him, which was not unusual with oriental poets.

⁹⁶ Lassen places Bhôja's reign between A.D. 997-1053 which is very near the truth.

⁹⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, I. Udêpur *prasasti*. Mêrutunga's *Prabandhachintâmani*.

⁹⁸ *Epi. Ind.*, II, 292. Nagpur stone inscription, v. 32. *Ibid.* II, 308; Benares copperplate.

⁹⁹ Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, III.

was a great stroke of diplomacy and conciliation and it speaks volumes for their statecraft and enlightened generosity that, in glaring contrast to Karna's cupidity, neither the father nor the son tried to utilise the opportunity to rend or to annex the inimical kingdom for himself.

Invasion of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa.

The invasion of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa might have taken place on Vikramāditya's return journey from Mālava. Their conquest is not probable, but it is just possible that he made a cavalry raid on them.

Vikramāditya's second descent on the south. Kūḍalaṅgamam.

As has already been pointed out,¹⁰⁰ even the well-contested day of Koppa (A.D. 1053-4) did not pronounce finally between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas. Evidently the Chōla aggression began to ebb slowly ever since the death of Rājādhirāja at Koppa and Rājendra his associate does not seem to have done anything during his independent reign of about 10 years till A.D. 1062. Rājendradēva was succeeded by his son Rājamahendra, of whom nothing more is known than that he administered justice three or four times better than even the proverbial Manu,¹ and that he made a free-gift of a *sarpa-śayana* (serpent-bed) to the god in the temple at Śrīraṅgam.² After him the Chōla dominions passed away to his uncle Vīrarājendra, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1062-3, according to Prof. Kielhorn's astronomical calculations.³ Vīrarājendra was far more active and energetic than his immediate predecessor and wanted, if possible, to avenge the death of Rājādhirāja. To keep back the tide of Chōla aggression, Āhavamalla had already appointed⁴ his most talented son Vikramāditya to be the governor of Banavāse, Gaṅgapāḍi, Sāntalige, and Nalambapāḍi—all on the Chōla frontier—from A.D. 1055 to 1062. An inscription⁵ of Vīrarājendra as early as the second year of his reign (A.D. 1063-4) records that he drove from the battlefield at Gaṅgapāḍi into the Tuṅgabhadra the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands wielded cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under a banner that inspired strength. This was the first encounter of Vīrarājendradēva with the Chalukki Āhavamalla. In his second exploit he defeated the army which Vikramāditya had despatched into Vēṅgināḍu in the same year and cut off the head of Vikramāditya's *daṇḍanāyaka* (general) Chāvuṇḍarāya. Meanwhile when the eyes of both Vikramāditya and Vīrarājendra were thus momentarily cast on Vēṅgi, the never-ending struggle between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas on the Tuṅgabhadra assumed greater proportions. A fierce battle at Kūḍalaṅgamam⁶ at the junction of the Kṛishṇā and the Pañchagaṅgā⁷

¹⁰⁰ Vide Part I.

¹ “பனுவலுக்கு முதலாய வேத நான்கிற்
பண்டுரைத்த நெறிபுதுக்கிப் பழையர் தங்கண்
மனுவலுக்கு மும்மடி நான்மடியாஞ் சோழன்
மதிக்குடைக் கீழறந்தளிப்ப வளர்த்த வாறும்.”—*Kalīṅgattupparaṇi*, VIII, 28.

² “பாடரவத் தென்னரங்க மேயாற்குப் பன்மணியா
லாடரவப் பாய லமைத் தோளுந்.”

—*Vikramacōḷan-ulā*, 21.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, IX, 207. A.D. 1063-4 may possibly be his first year; see *Epi. Rep.*, 1904, p. 11.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 203. *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 83, 152, 11.

⁵ *Epi. Rep.*, 1896, 113A. *SII.*, III, No. 20; Karuvūr inscription.

⁶ *SII.*, III, No. 20; Karuvūr inscription.

⁷ See *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 293, for this identification.

was fought in the second year of Virarajendra (A.D. 1063-4) wherein Ahavamalla is said to have retreated with his great army along with his two sons Vikkalan and Singanan. The Chola claims this to be his third successful encounter with Ahavamalla, but if we exclude the minor attacks at Gangapadi and Vengi this was his first and the only really great exploit against the Chalukyas and deservedly do the *Kalingattupparani* ⁸ and *Vikramacōlan-ulā* ⁹ refer to him as the renowned victor at Kūḷalsāṅgamam. Thus the death of Rājādhirāja at Koppa in A.D. 1053-4 was thus avenged in a way at Kūḷalsāṅgamam in A.D. 1063, nearly a decade later.

Virarajendra followed up his victory at Kūḷal and claims to have defeated before his fifth year (A.D. 1066-7), on the banks of the winding river—probably the Tuṅgabhadra,—some chiefs, among whom figure the Gaṅgas and the Nolambas, who were undoubtedly the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. The fifth year inscription of Virarajendra at Maṇimaṅgalam ⁹ informs us that Ahavamalla, desirous of wiping out the disgraceful defeat at Kūḷal, preferring death to a life of dishonour, at once wrote an autograph letter to the Chola king challenging him to meet him once more on an appointed day at the same Kūḷal, saying that he that evaded the appointment through fear was no king but a liar. Virarajendra duly proceeded to Karandai (Injal-Karañji ¹⁰ near Kūḷal) and though he waited there for more than a month after the appointed day, Ahavamalla did not turn up. Virarajendra too readily assumed that his absence was due to cowardice and called him a liar as he did not keep his appointment and made much of the good situation in which he found himself. He claims to have planted a pillar of victory on the Tuṅgabhadra; not content with this he made an image of the Vallabha king (Ahavamalla), tied round its neck the royal necklace, wrote unmistakably on a board how the person signified by the image had escaped the trunk of an elephant (by his cowardly evasion of the appointment as the Chola fancied), suspended the board as well as a closed quiver of arrows to the flowery (because arrow-stricken) chest of the image and thus ridiculed the Chalukki Ahavamalla. ¹¹ The latter's failure to appear at Kūḷal on the appointed day was not at all due to cowardice as the Chola king fondly imagined, but was the result of circumstances far beyond his control. He was suddenly seized with

⁸ “குந்தளரைக் கூடற் சங்கமத்து வென்ற
கோனபயன்.”

—*Kalingattupparani*, VIII, 29.

“கூடலா

⁹ சங்கமத்துக் கொள்ளுந் தனிப்பரணிக் கெண்ணிறந்த
துங்க மதயானை துணித்தோளும்.”

—*Vikramacōlan-ulā*, 22.

⁹ *SII.*, III, 68, No. 30.—One of the longest but at the same time the most interesting and instructive inscriptions.

¹⁰ Regarding the identification of Karandai with Injal-Karañji, see *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 298.

¹¹ The original of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription relating to the text reads as follows :—

பழியொடு வாழ்வதிற் சாவது சாவன்தென்
தேவமுற்றின சிந்தை யனுகி முன்னம்
புதல்வருந்தானும் முதுகிட்டெடைந்த
கூடலங்கனமெனக் குறித்த கூடலில்
வாராதஞ்சினர் மன்னவரல்லர்
போர்ப்பெரும் பழிப் புரட்டராவர்

a strong fever which owing to unbearable pain culminated in his tragic death the very next year¹² (A.D. 1068). Under these circumstances was it not an unmerited slur on the fair name of Âhavamalla, the wrestler in war, that he should thus have been ridiculed and too readily assumed to be a liar and a coward by the Chôla on the eve of a truly great career?

Let us, then, examine why Vikramâditya went to Vêngî and Chakrakôṭa as Bilhana has it. Here again the inscriptions confirming Bilhana's statement give us fuller details. It was pointed out already¹³ how Virarâjendra in his second year (A.D. 1063-4) defeated the army which Vikramâditya had despatched into Vênginâḍu and cut off the head of his general Châvunḍarâya. What was the cause of the despatch of armies by Vikramâditya and the defeat of the same by Virarâjendra? A brief survey of the affairs at Vêngî is but necessary before we can shrewdly hit at the right reasons that led to their intervention. It was noticed already¹⁴ how the long period of anarchy and *interregnum* at Vêngî had been broken by the

சிந்தையுமுகமுந் திருப்புயமிரண்டும்
எந்தெழிலு வகையோ டிருமடங்கு பொலியப்
போந்தப் போர்க்களம் புகுந்து
காந்தையில் வல்லவர் கோனை வரவுகாணாது
சொல்லிய நாளின்மேலு மோர்திங்கள் பார்த்திருந்த
பின்னைப் பொய்த்தவன் கால்கெடவோடி மேல்
கடலொளித்தலும்
.
துங்கபத்திரைக்கரை ஜயபத்திரித் துண்
நாநிலம் பரசநாட்டி, மேநாள்வந்த
புரட்டனை வல்லவனாக்கிச் சுந்தரகண்டிகை கட்டி
புரசையானே புழைக்கையிற் பிழைத்திவ் வுலகமறிய வோடிய
பரிசொரு பலகையிற் பழுதற வெழுதிய பின்னைசார்த்தின
வுறையஞ்சனாக்கி பதம் பெற்ற பூத்தின மார்வோடும் பூட்டி

Dr. Hultzsch understands the expression 'மேநாள்வந்த புரட்டன்' as 'the liar who came on a subsequent day.' But 'மேநாள்' here cannot mean the subsequent day but only the *previous* day. That this is the correct meaning is very well emphasized in *Puranânûru*, 279 and *Kambavâmayana*. Note also the use of the word 'முன்னம்' in the same inscription. The term 'புரட்டன்' can only apply to Âhavamalla who failed to keep his appointment at Kûḍal, as is evident from another reference to him as 'பொய்த்தவன்' in the same inscription. Dr. Hultzsch has, owing to the wrong understanding of the single phrase 'மேநாள்', totally mistaken the drift of the inscription. He mistakes the expression 'மேநாள் வந்த புரட்டன்' to refer to Vikramâditya. Vikramâditya cannot by mere stretch of imagination be stigmatised as a liar simply because he was the son of Âhavamalla, who did not keep his appointment. Thus the reference can only be to Âhavamalla who fought on a previous or former occasion though, in vain at Kûḍal, but who, in spite of his autograph letter, failed to meet Virarâjendra on the second occasion there and was therefore called the liar. The details of the latter part of the inscription are *nothing but a piece of mockery or farce* (not uncommon in ancient and even in modern times) and do not allude to any historical events with reference to Vikramâditya, as Dr. Hultzsch has supposed, such as that he came on a subsequent day, negotiated with Virarâjendra to make him Vallabha or Châjukya king in spite of his elder brother, and was recognised by him as such. *Vide infra* Part III. In the light of the above criticism the inscription stands in need of revised editing.

¹² *Epi. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 136. *Vide infra*, p. 145. ¹³ *Vide supra*, p. 138. ¹⁴ *Vide supra*, Part I.

intervention of the illustrious Râjarâja I (the Great) who succeeded in making it a vassal of the Chôla kingdom and compelled Vimalâditya, the first vassal king to marry Kundavvai, his daughter. Vimalâditya was succeeded by his son Râjarâja of the Eastern Châlukya family who ruled for 40 or 41 years¹⁵ from A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1060 or 1061. The latter married Ammaigadêvi, the daughter of the Chôla king Râjêndrachôla I or Gaugai-konḍachôla. He died leaving behind him a brother Vijayâditya and an only son Râjêndrachôla II.¹⁶ The latter in turn married Madhurântakâ, the daughter of Râjêndradêva. Thus for

¹⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 33, V. 21; Pithâpuram inscription of Mallapadêva gives him 40 years, *Epi. Ind.*, V. 10, V. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 35. Copperplate grants of Râjarâja give him 41 years.

¹⁶ *SII*, I, 59, No. 30. Chellûr grant.

“கங்கைகொண்ட சோழன்றேவி
குலமகடன் குலமகன்”

—*Kalīṅgattupparaṇi*, X, 5.

“இருள் முழுது மகற்றும் விது குலத்தோன் தேவி
யிகல் விளங்கு தபன குலத் திராசராச
னருடிருவின் திரு வயிற்றில் வந்து தோன்றி”

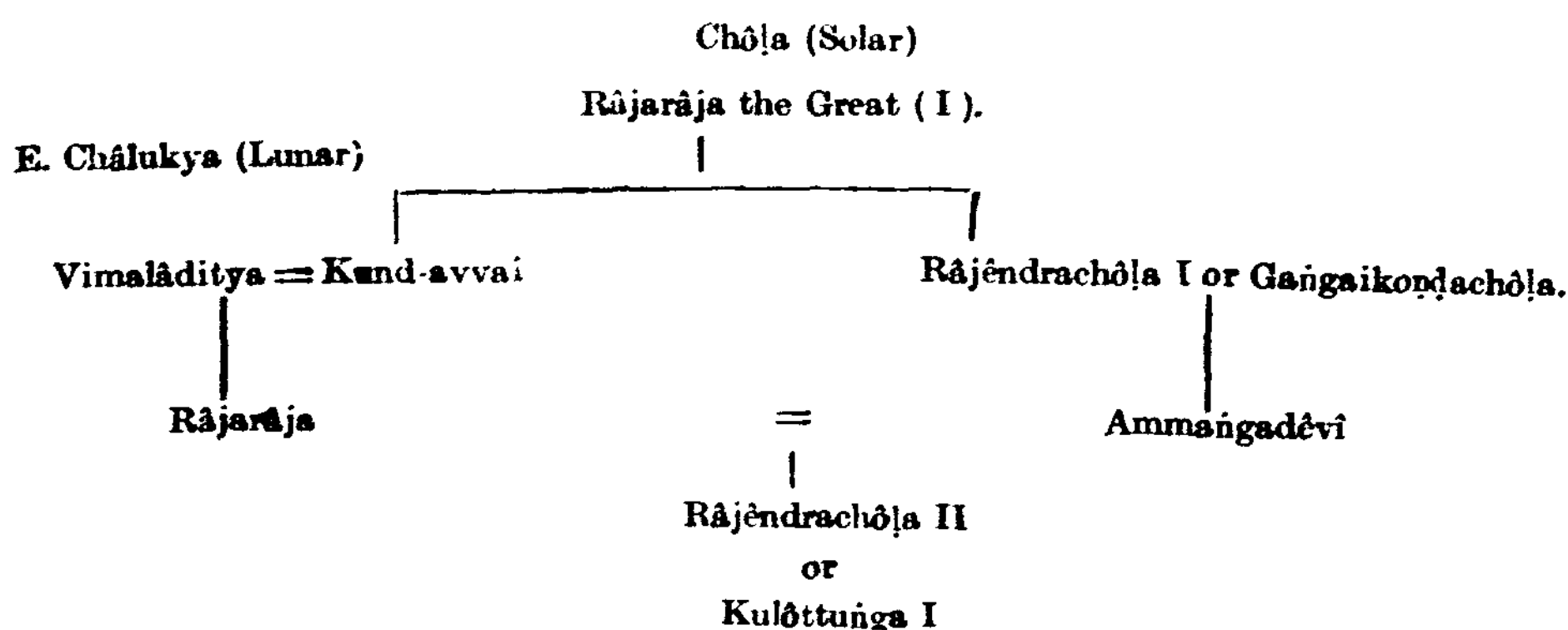
—*Kalīṅgattupparaṇi*, X, 3.

Scholars have experienced great difficulty in rightly understanding the meaning of the latter stanza and it has remained almost a puzzle till now. Some have naturally understood the phrase ‘தபன குலத்து ராசராசன்’ to refer to Chôla Râjarâja the Great (I) of the solar race. But this interpretation contradicts the accepted genealogy of Kulôttuṅga I or Râjêndrachôla II as given in inscriptions (*vide* genealogical table below). So they consider the mention of Râjarâja to be a mistake for Râjêndrachôla I or Gangaikondachôla due to the ignorance of Jayaṅkondân the author of *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi*. But it is wrong to associate such palpable ignorance with a great contemporary from whose admirable and orderly account of the Chôla kings with their characteristic features, the later Chôla genealogy itself can be reconstructed, in the absence of inscriptions even (*vide* Kanakasabhai Pillai's Commentary on *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* in *Ind. Ant.*, XIX). Moreover the above gratuitous assumption of ignorance would conflict with the author's own specific statement in canto X, 5, in which Kulôttuṅga is rightly represented to be ‘கங்கைகொண்ட சோழன்றேவி குலமகடன் குலமகன்’. To avoid this difficulty Rao Bahadur Venkayya has attempted though in vain, to come to the rescue of the author and has understood Râjarâja to mean the Eastern Châlukya king. His translation of the verse would run as follows :—‘Vishnu appeared again in the royal womb of the queen of him of the race of the moon which dispels all darkness—Râjarâja's gracious Lakshmi who was of the rival race of the sun.’ He would point out that both the queen and Lakshmi refer to the same Ammaigadêvi whose husband was the Eastern Châlukya Râjarâja. (*Vide Epi. Rep.*, 1901.) But this translation is ingenious and cannot be accepted by Tamil scholars as it runs counter to Tamil diction and grammar. ‘அருள் திரு’ here can only mean ‘daughter born’ but not ‘gracious Lakshmi’ and the phrase ‘தபனகுலத்து’ must qualify ‘Râjarâja’ but not ‘திரு’ as Mr. Venkayya would have us construe. Moreover the 2 or 3 lines would then refer to the same fact twice over which is considered a defect with great poets (கூறியது கூறல் குற்றம்) such as Jayaṅkondâne, who is famed as the greatest expert in the composition of *Paraṇi*, a special kind of Tamil classic. To avoid both the above difficulties—the Scylla and the Charybdis—the word Râjarâja is not to be understood here as a proper noun referring either to the Chôla or Châlukya king. It is to be taken as a common noun meaning ‘king of kings’ similar to (மன்னர் மன்னவன் *Kalīṅgattupparaṇi* X, 25), a designation as much applicable to Râjêndrachôla I or Gaugai-konḍachôla. This is also in consonance with the author's quality of not using proper names but specifying kings only by their deeds. The above interpretation would avoid all the difficulties caused above and would save the author from the charge of ignorance. The correct translation of the verse would then be ‘Vishnu appeared again in the royal womb of the queen of him of the lunar race, the daughter of the king of kings of the solar race.’

three successive generations ¹⁷ there was a series of important political intermarriages between the Chôlas and the Eastern Châlukyas of Vêṅgi and the latter were more and more leaning towards the Chôlas. The adoption of their maternal grandfather's name by Râjarâja and Râjêndra is itself an indication of this. Râjêndrachôla II had become by extraction both on the father and mother's side a Chôla at heart. Consequently the influence of the Western Châlukyas over their brethren in the east was waning day by day. Vikramâditya probably wanted to regain the ancient Châlukya influence at Vêṅgi and to supplant the growing ascendancy of the Chôla there and it was probably with a view to accomplish this object that, soon after the death of Râjarâja in A.D. 1061-2, he sent Châvuṇḍarâya to Vêṅgi with a small army. To counteract it and to see that the vassal kingdom of Vêṅgi did not slip out of his hands Virarâjêndra should have sent an army of his own which defeated him and prevented him from gaining a hold there. Neither Vikramâditya nor Virarâjêndra was now directly interested in Vêṅgi, but each saw in it a lever of influence for the furtherance of his own interests and so keenly desired to exercise his influence on the 'buffer' state. With a friendly Vêṅgi each could hope to terminate the border struggle on the Tuṅgabhadra in his own favour.

Immediately after the disastrous Kûḍal day (A.D. 1063-4) Vikramâditya seems to have directed his march to the north towards Vêṅgi and Chakrakôṭa, ¹⁸ as Bilhana has it, perhaps to undo the victory of the Chôlas on the Tuṅgabhadra by creating for himself an effective sphere of influence there. This time he did not content himself with despatching his deputies thither as he did on the previous occasion but went in person. There though Râjêndrachôla II was duly anointed to the Vêṅgi throne ¹⁹ on the death of his father Râjarâja in A.D. 1061-2, yet his ambition was not and could not be confined and cribbed within the narrow limits of Vêṅgi. So, desirous of a tour of conquest or of the Chôla kingdom he bestowed his patrimony Vêṅgi on his uncle Vijayâditya in the very year of his accession to the Vêṅgi throne (i.e., A.D. 1063) ²⁰ and appointed Vijayâditya his deputy and viceroy.

¹⁷ A short genealogical table will make this clear.



¹⁸ Chakrakôṭṭam has been correctly identified by Rao Bahadur Hira Lal with Chakrakôṭya in the modern Bastar State—*Epi. Ind.*, IX, 178. *Epi. Rep.*, 1909.

¹⁹ *SH.*, I, 59. Chellûr grant of Virachôḍa—'At first occupied the throne of Vêṅgi, the cause of the rising of splendour.' *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 227. No. 4, v. 27; No. 33, v. 18 & 22—'Râjêndrachôla ruled over Ândhravishaya (the Telugu Country) together with the five Draviḍas.' Inscription at Tiruvottiyûr. *SII.*, III.—He ruled over 'the region of the rising Sun.' This refers to Vêṅgi and not Burmah as Prof. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar takes it; vide *South Indian Association Journal*, Vol. I, 64.

²⁰ *Epi. Ind.*, V, 78. *SII.*, I, 60. Chellûr grant. Introduction.

Disappointed in his expectations of Âhavamalla at Kûdal on the appointed day, Vîrarâjendra declared "certain it is that we shall not return without regaining the country of Vêngî which had fallen into our possession on a former occasion. Defend it if you are a Vallabha" ²¹ (strong king). This statement coupled with its tone of determination indicates plainly that Vikramâditya who had been tarrying in the north ever since the Kûdal day from A.D. 1063-7 had nearly succeeded in establishing his influence in Vêngî and that it was with a view to check this ere it was firmly rooted that Vîrarâjendra not content with mere vassalage or alliance, now resolved to conquer and annex Vêngî to the Chôla crown. The same inscription continues—"he defeated the great army which was sent to resist him at Vijayavâdai near the bank of the great river (modern Bezwâda on the Kṛishṇâ); his elephants drank the waters of the Gôdâvarî; he crossed over to Kaliṅgam; dispatched his armies as far as the further end of Chakrakôṭṭam, reconquered Vêngî and bestowed it on Vijayâditya who took refuge under his feet, triumphantly returned to Gaṅgâpurî (=Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôlapuram ²² in the Trichinopoly district), the then capital of the Chôlas, with the goddess of victory who had meanwhile become resplendent."²³ The army that Vîrarâjendra defeated at Vijayavâdai could have been no other than the advance-guard of Chalukki Vikramâditya which was sent to resist the march of Vîrarâjendra. From the statement that *Vîrarâjendra bestowed Vêngî on Vijayâditya who had bowed before his feet* it has been suggested by Dr. Hultsch ²⁴ and emphatically affirmed by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar ²⁵ that Vîrarâjendra supported the uncle Vijayâditya against his nephew Râjêndrachôla II whose cause, it is alleged, was taken up by Vikramâditya and that it was the disputed succession between the uncle and the nephew for the throne of Vêngî after the death of Eastern Châlukya Râjarâja in A.D. 1062 that furnished the immediate opportunity for the intervention of both Vikramâditya and Vîrarâjendra in Vêngî. This inference, plausible at first sight, cannot stand the test of sound historic criticism. The specific statement in the Chellûr grant ²⁶ that Râjêndrachôla was duly anointed to the Vêngî throne on the death of his father Râjarâja in A.D. 1063 and that, desirous of the Chôla kingdom or a tour of conquest, he bestowed Vêngî on his uncle Vijayâditya, the fact that Vijayâditya continued to be in possession of Vêngî till his death in A.D. 1077, undisturbed by Râjêndrachôla II (Kulôttuṅga I) even after he became Chôla emperor and that after his death Râjêndrachôla II *peaceably* appointed his sons as viceroys of Vêngî, the high terms ²⁷ in which Vijayâditya is referred to in the Chellûr grant of Vîrachôla, the omission of the name of Vijayâditya—a deputy rather than an indepen-

²¹ *SII.*, III, 68, No. 30. Maṇimaṅgalam inscription.

²² The original runs as follows:—

“விசைகொடு மீண்டுவிட்டருளி இகலிடைப்பூண்ட ஜயத்திருவோடு கங்காபுரி புருந்தருளி”.

Dr. Hultsch has wrongly translated it thus: "Returned *speedily* to Gaṅgâpurî with the Goddess of Victory who *showed hostility in the interval*" and has added in a footnote: "This is an admission of the fact that the Chôlas experienced reverses." But the translation would not suit the context. 'இகல்' here means 'splendour'; not 'hostility'.

²³ *Vide Kalîṅgattupparaṇi*, XIII, 92; also *Dandîyalankâram*.

²⁴ *SII.*, III, 128. 'It looks as if the rightful heir Râjêndrachôla II *alias* Kulôttuṅga I had been ousted by Vijayâditya with the assistance of Vîrarâjendra.' The italics is ours.

²⁵ Paper on the Chôlas. *South Indian Association Journal*, I, 56.—'The Vêṅḡ country passes into the possession of Vijayâditya, an uncle of Kulôttuṅga I, through the good offices of Vîrarâjendra. This disputed succession *ought* to have brought Vikramâditya on the scene.' The italics is again ours.

²⁶ *SII.*, I, 59.

²⁷ *SII.*, I, 60.—'Having ruled over the country for 15 years this godlike prince who resembled the lion in power has gone to heaven.'

dent ruler—from all Eastern Châlukya genealogies, the notice of Râjiga (a shortened form of Râjêndrachôla in Bilhana's *Vikramânkadêvacharita* ²⁸ as the 'lord of Vêngî' just before his accession to the Chôla throne and more than all the enigma ²⁹ of Râjêndrachôla II's position if the disputed succession were allowed, all these taken together go to discredit entirely the story of the disputed succession and prove that the uncle and the nephew were on the best terms possible without any ill-will between them. If Virarâjendra really conquered Vêngî as the inscription affirms, then it passes one's understanding why he should have contented himself merely with the *status quo* of an allegiance and why he should not have annexed in accordance with his former resolve—a country so valuable from a diplomatic standpoint and anticipated the work of Râjêndrachôla II or Kulôttunga I by a few years by bringing the two crowns, Vêngî and Chôla under one rule, embracing the whole eastern seaboard. Matters do not seem to have been so *entirely* favourable to Virarâjendra as the inscription boasts and the alleged conquest and bestowal of Vêngî on Vijayâditya must betaken *cum grano salis*. ³⁰ Our suspicions are only increased by the Gaṅga grant published by Fleet wherein Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara (A.D. 1068 ½ 1076), the son-in-law ³¹ of Râjêndrachôla II, is said to have come to the relief of the said Vijayâditya "the waning lord of Vêngî when beginning to grow old, he left Vêngî, as if he were a sun leaving the western sky and was *about to sink in the great ocean of the Chôḍas*." ³² This Chôla danger could not have been from Râjêndrachôla II (Kulôttunga), as Dr. Hultsch ³³ takes it, but could have been only from Virarâjendra. Virarâjendra, far from being a protector of Vijayâditya, as would appear from the Maṇimaigalam inscription, must have been the very person that threatened his kingdom with annexation for his desertion of the Chôla allegiance and change of sides. The truth was when Vijayâditya, the deputy of Vêngî, was hard pressed by Virarâjendra with annexation about A.D. 1067 and could not defend himself singly, Vikramâditya, who for years was working in the north against his enemy Virarâjendra and who was perhaps the root cause of Vijayâditya's desertion, came to his rescue, went to Chakrakôṭṭa and Kaliṅganagara and easily formed a triple alliance with the kings of those countries who saw a menace to their own state in the annihilation or annexation of Vêngî by Virarâjendra. Virarâjendra tried though

²⁸ VI, 26.

²⁹ Râjêndrachôla II could not have remained in Vêngî if Vijayâditya his enemy had been reinstated on its throne, nor could he have remained in the Chôla dominions for Virarâjendra, the ally of Vijayâditya, would keep him out. Where, then, was Râjendra II down to his accession to the Chôla throne? *Vide* my forthcoming article on "The Life and Times of Kulôttunga" wherein this question will be more fully threshed out.

³⁰ *Vide* part III, *infra*.

³¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, No. 178. Vizag. copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅgadêva—'Râjarâja's *agramahishi* was Râjasundarî, the daughter of Râjêndrachôla.' *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, No. 179; Vizag. copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅgadêva—"Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara wedded Râjasundarî, the daughter of the Chôḍa king."

³² *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, Nos. 178 and 179.—The Vijayâditya here referred to cannot be, as suggested by the late Mr. Bhaṭṭanâtha Svâmin (*Ind. Ant.*, XLI, 217), the half-brother of Vikramâditya who was *young*, but can only be the uncle of Râjêndrachôla II, who was *old*. Vanapati's inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, IV. 314, 315) and Anantavarman's grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII), which apparently contradict each other need not necessarily refer to the same fact as has been assumed.

³³ *SII.*, III. Dr. Hultsch's opinion is from the standpoint of the disputed succession between Vijayâditya the uncle and Râjêndrachôla II (Kulôttunga) the nephew which was proved to be non-existent. *Vide supra*. So it is untenable. *Vide also Ind. Ant.*, XLI, 218.

in vain to break up this combination and that was the reason why he had to send his armies to the Gôdâvarî, Kaliṅgam and even as far as the further end of Chakrakôṭṭam as the inscription has it. The triple alliance was eminently successful in its main object of frustrating the absorption of Vēṅgî in the Chôḷa empire though Vijayāditya had to return to the *status quo* and acknowledge Chôḷa sovereignty over him as of old. Thus Vikramāditya averted an impending catastrophe in the north and maintained the balance of power by eminently transforming the situation in Vēṅgî, Kaliṅganagara and Chakrakôṭṭa by means of timely alliances with their rulers. While he was thus returning from his arduous exploits in the north he heard that his father, who had been suddenly seized with a strong fever, finding the pain unbearable and the end inevitable, had gone to the Tuṅgabhadra and after performing the rites of the supreme *yôga* at Kuruvartti, had drowned himself amidst the din of waves and musical instruments on the 29th or 30th March, A.D. 1068.³⁴

Résumé of Vikramāditya's work under Āhavamalla.

Thus for nearly a quarter of a century, Vikramāditya, the worthy son of a noble father associated himself with the latter in almost all his great undertakings and shared all his burdens. In his two descents on the south, in his successful intervention in the internal affairs of Mālava and in his diplomatic transformation of the situation in Vēṅgî and the north eminently favorable to the Chālukya interests, he gave tokens of rare strategic capacity, originality of conception, boldness of resolution and rapidity of action which would have won immortal historic fame for any general. Nay, more, in these brilliant campaigns were laid the foundations of Vikramāditya's future greatness as an administrator, for, talented beyond measure as he was by nature, he had the good fortune to be thus trained under and associated with Āhavamalla, who was without doubt one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of the times.

MISCELLANEA.

RĀSHṬRIYA.

According to Rudradāman's inscription on the great edict rock at Girnār in Kāthiāvāḍa, a lake called Sudarśana near the edict rock was originally made by Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who is described as a *rāshṭriya* of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 13, the word '*rāshṭriya*' was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, took the term to mean a provincial governor. Neither the *Arthashastra* nor the edicts of Piyadasi mention any class of officials called *rāshṭriyas*. The '*Kumāras*' are mentioned as the provincial governors in Aśoka's edicts. We have, however, excellent testimony to the employment of *rāshṭrapāla* to designate certain officers

whose salary was equal to that of a *Kumāra* (Kauṭilya's *Arthashastra* Book V, chap. III).

If, as is probable, *rāshṭrapāla* and *rāshṭriya* are synonymous terms, it is reasonable to suggest that the Maurya governors were divided into two classes:

1. The princely viceroys who were called *Kumāras*.
2. Viceroys not belonging to the royal family who were called *rāshṭrapālas* or *rāshṭriyas*.

TUSHĀSPHA, THE YAVANARĀJA.

The Sudarśana lake originally made by Pushyagupta was afterwards adorned with conduits for Aśoka Maurya by the Yavanarāja Tushāspaha. Dr. Vincent Smith says that the form of the name shows that the Yavanarāja must have been a

³⁴ *Vik. Anarita*, IV, 44—68; *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 136. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls this mode of death a *jaḥsamādhi*.

Persian (*Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 133n.). According to this interpretation the Yavana Dhammadeva, the Śāka Ushavadāta and the Kushān Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Iranic ones. There is, then, no good ground for thinking that Tushāspa was not a Greek but a Persian.

Tushāspa is called 'Yavanarāja' and not 'rāshṭriya'. This probably indicates that he was not a salaried official, but a vassal king under the Mauryas. We learn from several edicts of Aśoka (Rock edicts V and XIII) that there was actually

a Yona or Yavana principality subject to the suzerainty of the Maurya Emperor. The exact situation of this principality has not yet been determined. But it is constantly associated with Kamboja and Gandhāra in inscriptions as well as in literature, and the *Mahāvamsa* (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 229, Turnour's translation, p. 110) says that it contained the city of Alasanda or Alexandria. Both these requirements, viz., association with Kamboja and Gandhāra, and the possession of the city of Alexandria, are satisfied by the country of Poclais or Pushkalavati (the modern Chārsada on the Suwat River) "in which is Bucephalus Alexandria" (Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 41, 183-4).

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

BHĀSHĀVRITTI: published by BIMALACHARAN MAITRA, B.L., Asst. Secretary, The Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal. 1918. Pg. ii + 21 + 614 + ii. Price Rs. 6

The *Bhāshāvritti* is a commentary on Pāṇini's grammatical aphorisms excepting those that are exclusively Vedic. The book has been edited for the first time by Professor Srishchandra Chakravartti, B.A., of the Rajshahi College. We cull out a few observations about the author Purushottamadeva from the Introduction. According to Srishchandra Chakravartti who wrote a commentary on the *Bhāshāvritti* about A.D. 1650, Purushottama "prepared the *Bhāshāvritti* at the bidding of the king Lakshman Sen" of Bengal. Thus the *Bhāshāvritti* seems to have been written in the 12th century of the Christian era. "Purushottamadeva was most likely a Bengali In his exposition of the *pratyāhāra sūtras*, he says—अश् हश् वश् जश् झश् पुनर्बश्. Now वश् and बश् are different in meaning and sound It is only with the Bengalis that व and ब are identical in form and pronunciation. Unless Purushottama was a Bengali why should he remark पुनर्बश्?" Again such passages in the *Bhāshāvritti* as पद्मावती नद्यां मनुष्य (६।३।११०) and लेखको नास्तिदोषकः (२।२।२४) may support this hypothesis of his being a Bengali, for पद्मावती is apparently the east stream Padma (written in Bengali *Padmā*) on which the Sara bridge stands, and "लेखको नास्तिदोषकः" was a very familiar apology with the

old Bengali copyists of MSS." His example वरेन्द्रीमगधम् may also be cited in support.

The *Bhāshāvritti* explains the aphorisms of Pāṇini in their original natural order, like the *Kāṭikā*. It does not tear away the aphorisms from their context, like the later works, *Prakriyākaumudī*, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, *Madhyakaumudī* and *Laghu Kaumudī*. So it is easily understandable. It is short. It is a work of undoubted authority, as is evidenced by the fact that it was quoted by Śrīpatidatta, Saranadeva (these two in their turn are quoted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita), Bhaṭṭoji and Gopinātha. The book has been carefully edited and excellently printed. References to other *sūtras* of Pāṇini occurring in the gloss on any particular *sūtra* have been inserted, which will greatly simplify the work of the reader. The editor's notes are accurate and well-chosen. They show a minute and extensive acquaintance with the literature on the subject. Is it too much to expect that such a book would find a place in the curriculum of the Indian Universities?

It has been said that the text has been carefully edited. I give only two examples below. The aphorism ग्लजिस्यथ क्खुः (3-2-139) appears as ग्लजिस्यथ ग्खुः (i.e., ग् instead of क्) in most printed books, e.g. in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* with *Tattvabodhinī*, Bombay, 1915; in Bhānuji's and Kshirasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakośa*; in the commentary of Mallinātha on *Bhaṭṭi*, I, 25, II, 32, 47, Bombay Sanskrit Series; in Principal S. Ray's, J. N. Kaviratna's and Durgaprasad Sivadatta's editions of *Śitupālavadha*; in Professor Devendrakumar Banerji's and M. R.

Kale's editions of *Bhaṭṭi*. The correct form क्स् appears in the *Mahābhāṣya*, Benares edition and Kielhorn's edition; in the *Kāśikā*, Benares edition; in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of the Tattvaviveka Press of Bombay, 1893; in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Taranath Tarkavachaspati of Calcutta 1863, and in the *Pāṇini* of Professor Devendrakumar Banerji of Dacca.

It is interesting to enquire how so many learned editors could commit the same error. The suffix is स्नु (*enu*). The इन् is ग् according to Kātyāyana who wrote a *vārttika* in verse on this matter, and also according to Patañjali who explained that *vārttika* in his *Mahābhāṣya*. Jayāditya, the author of one part of the *Kāśikā*, held the same view. According to *Vāmana* (joint author of the *Kāśikā*), however, the इन् seems to be क्. Now the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and such other books say "गिद्व न तु किन्" = "the *pratyaya* has ग् as इन् and not क्" [as might be supposed from the fact that क् occurs in the aphorism]. Unless क् occurred in the aphorism this remark would be meaningless. A reference to these commentators and especially to Kaiyaṣa will make this apparent. I am glad that Professor Chakravartti has printed the aphorism correctly both in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and the *Nyāsa* as ग्लाविस्यथ क् स्नुः.

Take another example: पट्याघार्हणोत् पत्तिष्ठ-न्नुच् (III, 3. 111). The two Bombay editions of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* already referred to print it with णो instead of णौ (thrice in each book). The explanatory word अर्हण in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* might have led to this error. The present edition of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of the late Taranath Tarkavachaspati, as well as the *Pāṇini* of Professor Devendrakumar Banerji print it correctly.

The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* is so called because it confines itself to those aphorisms that are required in the *Bhāṣā*, i.e., the so-called classical, as opposed to Vedic, Sanskrit. It excludes the Vedic *sūtras* as well as VIII, 3. 82-86 on *pluta-svara*; these latter are hardly required for the *bhāṣā*, and a Buddhist commentator might reasonably exclude them. Some aphorisms that are explained by Bhaṭṭoji as exclusively applicable to Vedic Sanskrit are, however, included in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, with a view to justify the use of Vedic formations in non-Vedic literature. Take, for example, the aphorism बुद्व (III, 2. 138) according to which भविष्णु is formed. Purushottama, following apparently

the *Kātantra*, makes it a general *sūtra*, which would justify such passages as विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे, किङ्कराः प्रभविष्णुषु (*Kumāra*, VI, 62); दत् प्रभविष्णवे रोचते (*Śikuntala*, 2); जगत् प्रभोर प्रभविष्णु वैष्णवं (*Śiśupālavadha*, 1, 54). Bhaṭṭoji could not help placing this *sūtra* in the chapter on general *krit* affixes, though he took care to remark छन्दसीत्येव and condemned *Māgha* with the observation निरुद्धाः कवयः, which he borrowed from Haradatta. Mallinātha avoided the difficulty by reading अप्रसहिष्णु for अप्रभविष्णु. Amarasimha allows such usage, for he gives भूष्णु भविष्णु and भविता as synonyms.

Some other Vedic words found in non-Vedic literature are सगम्ब, अम्ब, अमीत्र, अमित्र, भमित्र, दूस्त्र, नभस्त्र, सहस्त्र, तपस्त्र which are all found in the *Amarakośa*. For accounting for these and others like these (e.g. अरिष्टतापि), Purushottama has explained nine (or rather eleven) Vedic *sūtras* occurring at the end of chapter 4, Book IV in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. He concludes this section with the remark: "These words are Vedic, still they are sometimes used in non-Vedic language. Such use is in every way correct, for Bhāguri has included them in his *Trikāṇḍa* (lexicon) or because these are underivable names (अव्युत्पन्नसंज्ञाशब्दाद् वा)." This fiction of regarding a historically derivative name as underivable would seem strange to a modern philologist; but it follows as an inevitable consequence of regarding the grammatical writings of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali as *Smṛiti* works composed by all-knowing, infallible seers (*rishis*). The later compilers and annotators of Pāṇini regard his system as a *Smṛiti* which has repealed earlier grammatical works, such as those of Chakravartman, Gālava, Kāśakṛtsna, etc. According to them, everything in Sanskrit must be justified by this threefold grammar of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Archaic forms (i.e. strictly Vedic forms) found in non-Vedic Sanskrit are undoubtedly due to the influence of Vedic studies. One who in everyday life uses the prayer विद्वन्मन्त्रं वज्रामहे might certainly write विद्वन्मन्त्रं संवमिनं दृश्यं without any explicit consciousness that he was using a Vedic, and therefore, in ordinary Sanskrit, an incorrect form. Purushottama has justified this by the rule इकां वज्रमिच्छन्वधानं व्यादि-गालव्योरिति वक्तव्यम् (6.1.77). This would also justify the form भूवाद्वः which occurs in *Pāṇini* I, 3. 1. But it is said that this is not in the

trimani grammar: hence such explanations are wrong. We need not multiply examples. It is almost a commonplace of the Pāṇinian system that everything must be forced into it or condemned. Now such forms of सम्भवे, अस्व, and अस्तिनाति are, according to the Pāṇinian system, not allowable in non-Vedic literature. Still they do occur in non-Vedic literature. What are we to do? The Pāṇinian, if he is not prepared to condemn them together, has to give some such reply:—"They are underivable, meaningless or proper names अद्वयनाम संज्ञाशब्दः." This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the hypothesis of the Pāṇinian system of grammar being a *Smṛiti* work of all-comprehensive scope. No modern philologist would reject the derivation of the un-Vedic word सम्भवे from स(मान) + गर्भ + य because Pāṇin does not record its use in non-Vedic literature.

The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* rightly explains many Vedic *sūtras*, as shown above. There are some cases, however, in which it has maintained as Vedic forms and aphorisms which Bhattoji does not deem as confined solely to the *Vedas*. Thus ईदृशे च सम्भवे (I, 1. 19) is applicable to *chhandas* only according to our author, though Bhattoji makes it general. Similarly, the word सङ्ग, which occurs in the *Amarakośa*, and which Bhattoji and Haradatta permit in classical Sanskrit, is said to be *chhandasa* in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

The text of Pāṇini as presented in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* agrees with what is found in the *Kāśikā*; thus (i) some *vārttikas* have been given as Pāṇin's *sūtras*, (ii) some *sūtras* have been

lengthened out, including in them matter supplied by the *vārttika*, or the *Bhāṣya*, and (iii) some *sūtras* have been split up into two. As examples of (i) we may mention *sūtras* IV, 1. 166; IV, 1. 167; IV, 3. 132; IV, 3. 133; V, 1. 36; VI, 1. 62; VI 1. 100; VI 3. 6. These are not Pāṇini's, according to Kaiyaṣa or Haradatta or Nāgesa. The two *gaṇa sūtras* एति संज्ञायामगात् and नमन्वाद्वा, (under सुषामादिषुच VI, 3. 98) are generally shown as independent *sūtras* of Pāṇini (VI, 3. 99-100) in the printed text of the *Kāśikā* and the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. The editor of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* has also printed them as independent *sūtras*. This seems to be due to an oversight on the part of the editors (and not of the authors of these works). For the authors of *Kāśikā*, *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* all mention that सुषामादि is an आकृत गण after नमन्वाद्वा, which shows that they regard these two as *gaṇa sūtras*. (ii) As examples of Pāṇini's *sūtras* lengthened out, we may mention I, 3. 29; III, 1. 95; III, 1. 118; III, 1. 126; IV, 2. 2; IV, 2. 21; IV, 2. 43; IV, 4. 17; V, 4. 5; VI, 1. 137; VI, 3. 40; VI, 3. 83; VIII, 1. 74; VIII, 1. 73 (1st word of next *sūtra* included). (iii) As examples of single *sūtras* of Pāṇini, which have been broken up into two, we may mention I, 1. 17-18; I, 4. 58-59; II, 1. 11-12; IV, 3. 117-118; VI, 1. 32-33.

The bisection of these *sūtras* was recommended by Patañjali and accepted by the *Kāśikā*. For this, at any rate, we cannot blame the heretical authors of the *Kāśikā* solely. Bhattoji also accepted this bisection.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

14. Dealings with Native Officials.

1 November 1716. Consultation at Fort St. George. The President acquaints the Board that Yesterday a Mussoola [*masāla*, boat] laden with Salt Petre for the Dartmouth was by violence of wind and Current drove down to Leeward of St. Thoma [San Thomé] and forc'd a Shoar. That Aga Mogheen [Aghā Muhiu'ddīn] Phousdar [*faujdār*, military governor] of that place seiz'd on the boat and Her loading, and upon sending to demand them in a civil manner return'd answer that He could not deliver them up before He receiv'd orders for [from] the Nabob, which being such a peice of insolence as cannot be suffer'd exposing our selves and the Honble. Companys Estate to frequent

insults of the like nature, this morning the Chief Dubash [*dobāshi*, interpreter] was order'd with the Pedda Naique [chief of the police] and two hundred Peons to go to St. Thoma and make a demand once more of the Salt Petre and the Mussoola in form. At the same time Lieut. Fullerton with forty good soldiers were lodg'd in Trevlicane [Triplicane] ready to assist them in case of a refusal to bring away the boat, and her Lading by force. The Board agrees to, and approve of what has been done in this affair well foreseeing that if we should set down tamely under such usage from so considerable a person as the Phousdar of St. Thoma. We shall feel the effects thereof both in our trade and transactions with the Country Government. (*Madras Public Consultations*, vol. 87.)

R. C. T.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 111.)

4.

SPELTER AND TIN.

Closely connected with the lump-lead currency there was in use, in Pegu at any rate, a similar currency in the alloys which may usefully be given the generic term of **spelter**. They have gone under many names and expressions among the old travellers and writers, and have been used as currency, side by side with tin and lead themselves, in many parts of the East and Far East. Spelter is properly zinc, but it has often been used loosely to express alloys⁷⁰ of lead and tin, lead and copper, lead and brass, copper and zinc and so on, almost precisely in the same way as have its philologically most interesting, though mongrel Europeo-Oriental equivalents, **tutnag**, **ganza**, and **calin** in all their kaleidoscopic forms. English trade equivalents have been white copper, white lead, Queen's-metal and bell-metal.⁷¹

Oddly enough, the first of all the accounts I have seen, outside the Portuguese accounts of the currencies of these parts, itself full of Portuguese expressions, is the only one that calls these mixed metals by their proper name of **pewter**. In the English Translation of the *Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East India Company*, 1703, we read in the diary of the First Voyage, 1595-7, p. 246, of Malacca, "Achem," etc., that "The little Bahar contains also 200 Cates, but each of these Cates contains but 22 Tayels, or 32 ounces and an eighth part, for the Tayel of the little Bahar weighs an Ounce and an half good weight. They weigh with that weight Quick-silver, Copper, Tin, **Pewter**, Lead, Ivory and so on." At p. 247 we read, "The Basaruco's [coins] are the worst Allay, being made of the worst **Pewter**." In the second voyage, 1598-9, we find again of Bantam :—"As soon as the five Ships cast Anchor, several Pirogues [prows] came on board, and brought all sorts of Refreshments, which they exchanged for **Household Pewter**, and gave for one Spoon as much Victuals as a Man can eat in two days."⁷²

It was under the name of **Ganza** that the lump lead or lump spelter currency of Pegu was known to travellers. In 1354 Nunes found that in Pegu there was no coined money, but that pieces of a broken utensil of "a metal like frosylegra (? spelter)" were used for coins, and that this was called **gamça** (in Portuguese), and writing in the same year Caesar Frederick calls the metal **ganza** (in Italian) and says it formed the money of the country. The English version of this last writer, dated about 1567, gives the passage thus :—"The current money that is in this Citie [i.e., Pegu] and throughout all the kingdom, is called **Gansa** or **Ganza**, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the King, but every man may stamp it that will."⁷³ La Loubère (*Siam*, E. T., p. 14) writing in 1688, says :—Vincent le Blanc⁷⁴ relates that the Peguans have a mixture of Lead and Copper

⁷⁰ That is, pewter. "Billon," a rather confused term, I have avoided, taking the debased amalgams it is used to represent to contain always an admixture of silver and gold.

⁷¹ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. vv. Toonague, Ganza and Calay.

⁷² Just as the Nicobarese will do at the present day, and, as the same book notes (pp. 107, 109, 115) that the Malagasy did in the 16th century.

⁷³ This, and similar quotations that will be given later on, accounts for the mysterious Tenasserim Medals, that have hitherto been such a puzzle, and turns them into traders' tokens.

⁷⁴ He was "the physician retained by the King of Siam to work in his mines." Marginal note to La Loubère, *loc. cit.*

which he calls **sometimes Ganze**, and **sometimes Ganza**, and of which he reports that they make Statues and a **small Money**, which is not stamp'd with the King's Coin, but which every one has a right to make. In 1726 Valentijn called it "Peguan Gans (a brass mixed with lead)," and in 1727 Alexander Hamilton talks of "plenty of **Ganse** or Lead, which passeth all over the Pegu Dominions for Money."⁷⁵

Lockyer, in his exceedingly intelligent book, *Trade in India*, 1711, uses an expression which might easily be taken to be a form of **ganza**. At p. 130 he says:—"Tin from Pegu, Jahore, etc., in **Gants**, or small pieces of two or three Pounds, bears the best price. There is another sort in Slabs of 50 to 60. l each, but that is of less value."⁷⁶ We sold one with another for about 9½ Tale per Pecull." Again at p. 150 he talks about "Tin in Pigs and **Gants**." Tempting as it is to make the connection, I feel sure it must be abandoned, and that Lockyer's **Gants** were the "bundles of block tin" referred to by Terrien de la Couperie at p. xxi, No. 23, of his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*:⁷⁷ the derivation of the word being quite separate from that of **Ganza**. **Gants** must, I think, be referred to the Malay **Gantang** and the Indian **Gāṇḍa** on the faith of the following quotations:—

GANT.

1554. Also a Candy of Goa, answers to 140 **gantás**, equivalent to 15 *paraas*, 30 *medidas* it 42 *medidas* to the *paraá*. A. Nunes, p. 39 (*quoted in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Ganton*).⁷⁸

c. 1596. In going to the Market [at Bantam] you find women sitting by the Palissadoes of the Mesquite or Great Church [Mosque], with Sacks of Pepper, and a Measure called **Gantam**, which contains about three pounds' weight. *Collection of the Voyages of the Dutch E. I. Coy.*, 1703, p. 187.

c. 1596. They bring [to Bantam] from the Islands of Macassar and Sombaia, a sort of Rice called Brass, and give two hundred Caxas [cash] for the **Gantam** or Measure, which is three Pounds weight, Holland Weight. *Dutch Voyages*, p. 196.

c. 1596. A great deal of big Salt of which they buy 800 **Gantams** for 150,000 Caxas, and sell three **Gantams** at Bantam for a thousand Caxas. *Dutch Voyages*, p. 197.

c. 1596. There is another Measure in Java and in the neighbouring Countries, called **Gantan**, which contains about three pounds of Pepper. . . . They have also another Measure called **Gedeng**,⁷⁹ and measure all sorts of grains with it, it contains about 4 pounds. *Dutch Voyages*, p. 247.

⁷⁵ See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Ganza*. Cf. Pyrard de Laval, Hak. Soc. ed., vol. I, p. 235; vol. II, p. 68, where the word used is *calin* or *callin*.

⁷⁶ Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, ed. 1775, says, p. 113, exactly the reverse.

⁷⁷ Compare the following quotation from the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, A.D. 1416 in *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., vol. I, p. 244:—"Tin is found in two places in the mountains (of Malacca) and the King has appointed officers to control the mines. People are sent to wash it and after it has been melted, it is cast into small blocks weighing one cattí eight taels, or one cattí four taels official (Chinese) weight: ten pieces are bound together with rattan and form a small bundle whilst forty pieces make a large bundle. In all their trading transactions they use these pieces of tin instead of money."

⁷⁸ Yule says (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Ganton*) that this word is "mentioned by some old voyagers as a weight or measure by which pepper was sold in the Malay Archipelago: it is presumably *gantang*." He is right as to its derivation through *gantang*, but, as will be seen in the text, it was used for many purposes.

⁷⁹ This is not the same word as *gantam*, but is a loose measure for the rice in a double sheaf of straw. Crawford, *Indian Archipelago*, 1820, I, p. 271; Raffles, *Java*, 1814, vol. II, Appx. p. clxvi.; at p. 336 of vol. I. Raffles writes it *gédang*.

1615. I sent to borrow 4 or 5 *gantas* of oyle of Yasemon Dodo . . . But he returned answer that he had non, when I know to the contrary, he bought a parcell out of my handes the other day. Cocks, vol. I, p. 6 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Ganton*).

1639. They fetch Rice [in Java], which there they buy for one Sata de Caxa [string of 100 cash] the *Gantan* ". . ." They fetch Salt at a 150,000 Caxaes [Cash] the 800 *Gantans*; and at Bantam, three *Gantans* are worth a thousand Caxaes. Mandelslo, *Travels into the Indies*, E. T., p. 117.

1699. That the Shabundar shall deliver to the Cheif of the Factory a *Ganton* &ca. Tyall weight, which shall be marked with the Kings marke, and with the Compas. marke and be the standard measure and weight that all People whatsoever shall be obliged to use in Trade with the English, and that for great Weights the China Pecule [Malay *pikul*, showing how the word was pronounced] shall be used. General Letter to Borneo. *Letter Book*, vol. X, p. 53.

1704. Price Courant, Canton, with the Emperour's Customs, December, 1704 Tin in Pigs and *Gants*. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 150.

1711. Tin from Pegu, Jahore, &c. in *Gants*, or small pieces of two or three pounds, bears the best price. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 130.

1739. *Gantam* being a certain wooden Measure that contains about 4 lb. 5 Ou. Avoirdupois. A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. II, Appx. p. 9.

1775. At Malacca, a *Ganton* is 6 lb. Amsterdam; a *Laast* is 500 *Gantons*; 10 *Gantons* are 1 Measure; 50 Measures are a *Laast* of 300⁸⁰ lbs.; 800 *Gantons* are a *Quoyane* or 1 3/5 *Laast*. Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, p. 87.

1775. 1 *Last* of Rice is 3,066 2/3 lbs., or 46 Measures; 1 Measure is 5 *Gantons*; 230 *Gantons* is 1 *Last*.⁸¹ Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, p. 88.

1775. 25 *Gantas* of Sooloo are 1 *Pecul* of Rice of 100 *Catties*. Stevens, *Guide*, p. 125.

1811. *Ganta*, from the Malay *gantang*, a measure of rice, salt, and other dry goods, equal to *kulak*. Marsden, *Malay Dictionary*, s.v.

1814. [In the Sulu Archipelago] half a cocoanut shell is one *panchang*; 8 *panchangs* 1 *gantong* equal to 4 *catties*; 10 *gantongs* 1 *raga*; 2 1/2 *ragas* 1 *picul* of 133 1/2 *avoirdupois*; 1 *cabban* (Manilla measure for *paddi*) 1 *picul*. Hunt, in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, Appx., p. 45.

1820. For dry and liquid measures they may naturally have recourse to the shell of cocoanut and the joint of the bamboo which are constantly at hand. The first called by the Malays *chupa* is estimated at two and half pounds *avoirdupois*. The second is called by some tribes *Kulch* and is equal to a gallon, but the most common bamboo measure is the *gantung*, which is twice this amount. Craufurd, *Indian Archipelago*, vol. I, p. 271.

1828. Their dry measure [at Manila] is as follows:—8 *chupas* 1 *gantan*; 26 *Gantas*, 1 *Caban*. I could not procure a sight of the standard. A mean measurement of several new *Gantas* and *Cabans* (for they are all clumsily made, though sold at a Government office) gave as follows:—The *Caban* 4,633 cub. in. Eng.; the *Ganta* 186,878 ditto. *Remarks on the Philippines* in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, p. 82.

1830. The weights and measures are nearly the same [in Bali] as those in Java: the *picul* containing 100 *catties*; the *coyang* 30 *piculs*; the *gantang*, however, is large, containing about 19 *catties*. *Singapore Chronicle*, June, 1830, in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, p. 94.

⁸⁰ Misprint for 3,000 lbs.

⁸¹ This makes the *ganton*, as a rice measure, over 17 lbs.; see also in the text *ater on*.

c. 1833. Banjar Massin in Borneo I. . . . Last, grain measure — 230 ganton — 3,066 lbs., 10 oz., 10 drs.⁸² . . . Bantam, Java, *Coyang* of rice = 200 gantams — 8,681 lbs.⁸³ . . . Malacca, Malay, ganton, measure, 6 lbs., 8 oz. . . . Gantang, measure, = 4 chupahs. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, pp. 115, 119f.

c. 1833. British India. 4 *Kauris* make 1 Ganda; 20 *Gandas* make 1 *Pan*; 5 *Pans* make 1 *Áná*. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, p. 2.

1833. 4 chupahs 1 Gantang, 16 Gantangs 1 Nâlih . . . according to Col. Low Note to p. 19, *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, vol. I.

1834. It has been stated that Naning produces annually 300 piculs of tin, 16,000 gantams of paddy, and a quantity of coir rope. Newbold in Moor's *Indian Archipelago* p. 248.

1844. *Dumree* is commonly known as a nominal coin equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{1}{4}$ *Dams*, or between 2 and 3 *Gundas*.⁸⁴ " . . . " Like the *Dam*, the *Gunda* of account and the *Gunda* of practice do not coincide . . . The *Gunda* known to the common people is not of stable amount; sometimes four, and sometimes five, and even six, go to a *pucka Dumree*. . . . Notwithstanding this variable amount, as a *Gunda* is equivalent to four *Cowrees*, to "count by *Gundas*" signifies to count by fours, or by the quaternary scale, to which the natives are very partial. Elliot, *Glossary*, quoted by Thomas, Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 93.

1852. Gantang, name of a dry measure, equal to about a gallon. Crawford, *Malay Dict.*, s.v.

1855. *Ganda Gunda*,⁸⁴ Hind.; *Gandā*, Beng. To count by *Gandas* is to count by fours. Wilson, *Glossary*, s.v.

1869. *Ganda*.⁸⁴ This word is given under *Gandal* in the *Printed Glossary*. Beames, *Memoirs of the N. W. P.*, which is an ed. of Elliot's *Glossary*, vol. II, p. 315.

1870. *Nalih*, a measure of 16 gantangs, is probably the Tamil *nali*, a corn measure of 8 marcals. Niemann, [*Bloemlezing Maleische geschriften*, p. 58 in *Indo-China*, 2nd Ser., vol. II, p. 178n.

1883. Measures of capacity. 4-Pau, 1 Chupak: 4 Chupak, 1 Gantang: 10 Gantang, 1 Para. *Singapore Directory*, 1883. So also Swettenham, *Malay Vocabulary*, 1881, vol. I. Appendix on Currency, etc. and Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, 1882, p. 141.

1885. The *bazâr ser* is named as containing so many *ganda*,⁸⁴ a *ganda* consisting of four *tola*, or sometimes four pice, and being a constant quantity. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 430.

In Tremmenheere's *Report of a Visit to the Pakchan River*, and of some tin localities in the Southern Portion of the Tenasserim Provinces, in 1843,⁸⁵ we find that at Ranaung the collectors of tin ore were "paid a nominal price of two (Spanish) dollars for 18 viss of (tin) ore, but as the payment is made by small ingots of tin, the only currency in use, the actual value received by workmen, according to the present selling price of the metal, is Rs. 8 per 100 viss of ore, the same quantity being at Mergui worth Rs. 40."

The following quotation, important in this connection, shows how tin was procured and purchased by the old East Indian merchants. Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, 1775, p. 113, says:—"Tin is to be bought at New Queda, in the Straits of Malacca by a *Bakar*,

⁸² Therefore a ganton is 17 lbs. odd.

⁸³ Therefore this ganton is 43 lbs. odd.

⁸⁴ I have given these quotations from India, but *ganda*, a bundle of four, is not necessarily the same word as the Malay *ganta*, a measure or even bundle.

⁸⁵ In *JASB.*, vol. XII, pp. 523-534, and *Indo-China*, 1st Series, vol. I, p. 282.

equal to 419 lb. English. The advantage is considerable if you pay for it in Dollars. . . . The Country Ships generally meet ours, and will sell their Tin for Rupees, instead of Dollars. But observe to get large Slabs, if possible. If you cannot get all large, you may take every thing but their Chain-Stuff, like Jack-Chains, and **thin Stuff of Birds**, etc. . . . If you buy of a Country-Ship, know whether they sell by the Queda or Salengare *Bar* (= *bahar*) : The first is equal to 419 lb., the other not so much." Now their "thin Stuff of Birds" is, I take it, the tin tokens which are now known to numismatists as **Pegu and Tenasserim medals** *vide* Plate III, Fig. 6, and Supplement Plate III, figs. 1, 5 and 6; and Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, vol. III, p. 38 and Plates III and IV.⁸⁶ Stevens on the same page says :—"If you are obliged to take the **small Stuff**," and by this "small Stuff" he no doubt meant **lumps used as currency**.

As to **Siam**, we find the factors of Ayuthia writing in 1675 to the East India Company⁸⁷ that "this King was pleased to give as credit for 40 cattees of silver 300 Bahr of Tinn, 1000 pecull of Sappar wood," and then that "This King proffers that if your Honours will supply him with silver, whereof hee finds a decay, he will repay them in Tinn at a cheaper rate than he offer[s] to any."

For the **Malay Archipelago**, Groeneveldt, quoting the authority of the *Hai-yü* (Chinese), 1537,⁸⁸ says of Malacca :—"In trading they use **tin as their currency** : three caties of this metal are about equal to one mace of silver."

That this referred to a lump currency is shown by a paper on the Dutch in Perak (*Journal of the Straits Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. 10,) in which Sir W. Maxwell says, p. 268, "The old **Perak currency—lumps of tin**, weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kati* each, called **bidor**, have altogether disappeared" : a statement which throws light on expressions quoted by him (pp. 246-247) from certain old **Dutch treaties** as well as on the Chinese record above quoted. Thus :—

1650. Contract with the Chiefs of Perak Dependent on Acheen stipulating that the exclusive Tin Trade granted to the [Dutch East India] Company by the Rattoo of Acheen will likewise embrace the state of Perak. . . . The Company to pay the same duty as at Acheen for the Tin it shall export and the value of the **Tin Coinage** to remain as it is at present, namely, 1 **Bidore** for $\frac{1}{4}$ Spanish Dollar and 1 *bahr* of 2 peculs for 125 bidore or $31\frac{1}{4}$ Spanish Dollars.⁸⁹

1655. Treaty of peace between the Company and Sultana Todine, Raja Muda Forca and the Chief of Perak, tributary to the Crown of Acheen.—The Chiefs of Perak will pay to the Company a sum of 50,000 reals, partly in **Tin** (100 bahrs) within a few days.

1660. Treaty of peace between the Company and the Rattoo of Acheen.—The remainder of the Company's claim amounting to 44,000 reals will be settled by diminishing the **price of Tin** from $31\frac{1}{4}$ to 30 reals **per bar** until the debt shall be extinguished.

For the same period we have the evidence of Pyrard de Laval, collected about **1608**, as to Malacca (*Hak. Soc. ed.*, vol. II, p. 176), who says that, like gold and silver, the people cut "**calin**," i.e. tin, "**into pieces** to make purchases of goods."

⁸⁶ Subsequent enquiries have since shown that by "thin stuff of birds" was meant the tin "cock" ingots used in the Malay Peninsula as currency. These ingots are called *gambar* or models of animals—elephant, cock, tortoise, etc. See *The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States*, ante, vol. XLII, pp. 87, 92-94.

⁸⁷ Anderson, *Siam*, p. 123.

⁸⁸ *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, vol. I, p. 246.

⁸⁹ This explains an enigmatical statement in Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, p. 87 :—"1 Bahar is 3 Pecul (at Malacca the Pecul contains 100 Catty) or 375 lb. or 125 Bid." Here "Bid" is clearly "bidore."

For a century later we have the evidence of Stevens' *Guide to East India Trade*, 1775, p. 128f. :—"Tocopa. Tin is the only produce of this Port ; about 100 *Bahars* of which may be had, if there has not been any Ship at the Port for some Time before. **The only Coin of this Place is Tin**, which is distinguished as follows :—3 *Pingas* are one *Putra*, 4 *Putas* are 1 Viss, 10 Viss are 1 *Capin*, 8 *Capins* are 1 *Bahar* equal to 6 Factory Maunds 15 seers Bengal. You must be very careful not to sell upon Trust here, and must always go on Shore armed."

Maxwell refers to all this at p. 142 of his *Malay Manual*, 1882, where he says :—"In Perak lumps of tin were formerly current as coin ;⁹⁰ in addition then, Dutch and Spanish silver coins were also employed. The following are some of the old modes of reckoning :—**Tin coinage** : 2 *boya* are 1 *tampang* (value the 10th part of a dollar) : 5 *boya* are 1 *bidor* (value the 4th part of a dollar). The weight of the *tampang* in Perak was one kati. **It was a small cubical lump of tin with a pattern stamped on it.** The *bidor* weighed 2½ kati or the 40th part of a pikul."

As already noted, lead, spelter and tin have been mixed up by travellers, who have used the same expressions representing vernacular words to express all three. The following passages, quoted under the heads of **Tutnag**, **Calin** and **Ganza** will both give the ordinary equivalents used and show the extent to which the terms and the metals they represent have been mixed up.

TUTNAG.

1605. 4500 Pikals of **Tintenaga** [misprint for *tutenaga*] or **Spelter**. Valentijn, vol. V, p. 329 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tootnague).

1644. That which they export (from Cochin to Orissa) is pepper, although it is prohibited, and all the drugs of the South, with Callaym, **Tutanaga**, wares of China and Portugal; jewelled ornaments ; but much less nowadays, for the reasons already stated. . . . Bocarro, MS. f. 316 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tootnague).

1663. The product of the Country thereabouts besides Rice and other eatables is **Tutaneg**, a sort of Tin : I think coarser than ours. . . . For this **Tutaneg or Tin** is a valuable Commodity in the Bay of Bengal and here (Dinding) purchased reasonably by giving other Commodities in exchange : neither is the Commodity peculiarly found hereabouts, but further Northerly also on the Coast ; and particularly in the Kingdom of Queda there is much of it. Dampier, *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 171 (quoted in Maxwell, *Dutch in Perak*, p. 255f).

1675. From thence with Dollars to China for Sugar, Tea, Porcelane, Laccared Ware, Quicksilver, **Tuthinag**, and Copper . . . Fryer, p. 86 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tootnague).

1679. Letter from Dacca reporting . . . that Dacca is not a good market for Gold, Copper, Lead, Tin or **Tutenague**. *Fort St. George Consultations*, Oct. 31, in *Notes and Extracts* (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tootnague).

1683. Wednesday the 7 (February). Att a Consultation Extraordinary. Ordered that a sloop be sent to Conimero with Europe Goods *Vizt.* Lead **Tutenague** and Cloth . . . Friday 9 (March). Att a Consultation Extraordinary Afternoon . . . The particular and prizes are as followeth *Vizt.* . . . **Tutenague** ps. 2031½ att P. 31½ per Cattee. Pringle, *Madras Consultations*, 1st Series, vol. II, pp. 14, 24.

⁹⁰ See *Obsolete Malay Tin Currency*, ante, vol. XLII, pp. 88 ff.

1684. Munday 3 (February). Att a Consultation. . . Goods to pay Godown Rent . . . One fanam per Candee for all dead goods, as Copper, Tynn, **Tutanagg**, etc. Pringle, *Madras Consultations*, 1st Series, vol. III, p. 22.

1688. And 'tis this **White Tin** which they (Siameses) call **Toutinague**. La Loubère, *Siam*, Eng. Trans., p. 14.

1689. (Tea) is so delicate and tender that it is injur'd by the very Breath of only the common ambient Air. For preventing which it is inclos'd in Pots of **Totaneg**, or in strong large Tubs of Wood, and in them is safely sent abroad. Ovington, *Voyage*, 1696, p. 309.

1703. "Told me that the Springs in China had pernicious Qualities because the subterraneous Grounds were stored with Minerals, such as Copper, Quick-silver, Allom, **Toothénague**, etc. A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. II, p. 223.

1704. I received what goods they were pleased to bring me, but I found wanting 80 Chests of Japan Copper, and some **Toothénague** that I had weighed off at Canton, and put the Stocks Mark on them . . . Among which was my 80 Chests of Copper, and 200 Peculs of **Toothénague**, with my own Mark on them. A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. II, p. 233f.

1711. **Tutanague**⁹¹ is a kind of **course Tin in oblong Pieces** five or six to a Pecull. I never knew but one sort and that generally betwixt 3½ and 4 Tale a Pecull. **Queddah** and **Jahore** on the Coast of **Mallacca** afford plenty of it . . . Having mentioned **Quedah** and **Jahore** to afford plenty of **Tutenague**, I would not be understood as if it was the proper Produce of these Countrys, only that large Quantities may be Bought there imported by the Chinese, who make Returns in Ivory, Wax, Tin, etc. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, pp. 129, 246.

1750. A sort of Cash made of **Toothénague** is the only currency of the Country. *Some Account of Cochin China*, by Mr. Robert Kirsop, in Dalrymple, I, 245 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. **Tootnague**).

1774. Price Current of Goods at Bombay November 10th 1774 . . . China Goods—Tin, per Sur (att) Md. of 40 Srs. Rs. 10 : **Tutanag**, per Sur (att) Md of 40 Srs. Rs. 5 . . . Tin is the Product of most of the Malay Countries, and is used also in China, to mix with their **Tutanag** . . . **Tutanag is a metal like Tin**, but much better and softer. Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, pp. 109, 118.

1780. You find the Port of **Quedah** : there is a trade for **calin** or **toutenague**. Dunn, *Directory*, p. 338.

1782. Je suis surpris que les Nations européennes qui vont en Chine, n'aient point entrepris d'y porter de l'étain, puisque le calin s'y vend très-bien ; peut-être aussi que le préjugé a fait négliger cette branche de commerce ; car on a toujours cru que le calin étoit un métal différent de l'étain. On a cru aussi qu'il étoit la **toutenague** des Chinois ; mais ce dernier métal n'est pas naturel, et est formé par un **mélange de calin et de cuivre**. Sonnerat, *Voyage*, vol. II, p. 101n.

1797. **Tu-te-nag**⁹² is, properly speaking, zinc, extracted from a rich ore or calamine ; the ore is powdered and mixed with charcoal dust, and placed in earthen jars over a slow fire, by means of which the metal rises in form of vapour, in a common distilling apparatus and afterwards is condensed in water. Staunton's *Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy* (4to ed.), vol. II, p. 540 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. **Tootnague**).

⁹¹ See also pp. 71, 111, 150, 229, 245, 263. It is sometimes misprinted in this book *tutanague*. Compare Lockyer's statement, p. 123, "Copper in Bars like Sticks of Sealing Wax."

⁹² Although I cannot trace the passage above given in my copy of Staunton's *Embassy*, I must endorse Sir H. Yule's remarks, *loc. cit.*, that *tutanague* is not a word of Chinese origin.

c. 1804. The white copper (**tutenague**) has been tenderd to us at sixteen tahils per pikul, but has not been accepted, the prices being too high. *Raffles, Java*, 2nd ed., vol. II, App. p. xxiv.

1813. The only currency of the country (Cochin-China) is a sort of cash, called *sappica*, composed chiefly of **tutenague**. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, pp. 444-5 of ed. 1825 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Sapera*).

1854. **Tutinagamu**—**Tutenague**, pewter. Brown, *Dict. of Mixed Telugu*, s.v.

1886. **Tootnague**. Port. **tutenaga**. This word appears to have two different applications; (a) a Chinese alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel, sometimes called "white copper" (i.e., *peh-tung* of the Chinese); (b) it is used in Indian trade in the same loose way that **spelter** is used, for either zinc and pewter (*peh-yuen*, or "white lead" of the Chinese). The base of the word is no doubt the Pers. **tûtia**,⁹³ an oxide of zinc. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

1888. This coin (*bousuruque*, *basaruco*, *budgrook*) was minted all through the Portuguese time, generally of copper, sometimes of tin and **tutenay** [? misprint for **tutanag**]. Gray, footnote to *Pyrard de Laval*, Hak. Soc. ed., vol. II, p. 68.

1893. **Tootnaug** (*nâga*, San.; **tuttinâga**, Mahr.;⁹⁴ *jast*, Hind.; *jas*, Dec.; *tambâgaputih*, Malay; *sattu*, Can.; **tuttinâgamu**, Tel.; *nâgam*, Mal.; *tuttinâgam*, Tam.). Title from **Tamul**. San. from *naga*, San., mountain. Mahr. from *tutt'ha*, San., blue vitriol+*naga*, San., lead. Malay from *tambâga*, Malay, copper+*putih*, Malay, lead. Tel. from *tutt'ha*, San. blue vitriol+*nâga*, San., lead. Mal. from Sanscrit. Tam. from *tutt'ha*, San., blue vitriol+*nâga*, San., lead, from its bluish-grey colour. San. also *yashada*, meaning bright. **Zinc**. Zincum of chemists. Bluish-white metal which slowly tarnishes in the air . . . malleable, and when rubbed with the fingers emits a peculiar smell. Zinc, oxidised with the ore, is called *calamine* (*madal toottam*); its constituent parts are varying proportions of oxide of zinc and carbonic acid (*kary poolipp*). Zinc has been discovered in the Southern districts combined with sulphur (*gandhac*) and iron (*auhan*), forming what is called *blende*; the greater part, however, is brought from Cochin-China, or China, where both *calamine* and *blende* are common. It is from the last, or the sulphuret, that this metal is usually obtained for commerce and it is then called **spelter**. *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. III, p. 914.⁹⁵

CALIN.

c. 920. **Kalah** is the focus of the trade in aloes-wood, in camphor, in sandal-wood, in ivory, in the lead which is called **al-Kala'i**. *Relation des Voyages*, vol. I, p. 94 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., **Calay**).

1154. Thence to the Isles of Lankialius is reckoned two days, and from the latter to the Island of **Kalah** five . . . There is in this last island an abundant mine of **tin** (**al-Kala'i**). The metal is very pure and brilliant. *Edrisi* by Jaubert, vol. I, p. 80 (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*).

⁹³ This has enabled me to light on a delightful Anglo-Indianism—1852. *Tutiya*, *tutty*. *Tutiya'i akbar*, shell whence they make *tutty*, and so on. Johnson's *Pers. Dict.*, s. v. But Steingass, 1884, *Ar. Dict.*, says s.v., that *tûtiyâ* is zinc. However, I think modern compound derivatives of Skr. *tuttha*, blue vitriol, and *nâga* Skr., tin or lead, are more likely to be the real source of the word. See also Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 188f.

⁹⁴ Not in Molesworth's *Marathi Dict.*

⁹⁵ By far the finest work of reference on the general Indian subjects; at the same time the most perverse and irritating, for it has deliberately adopted a spelling of its own for Oriental words, irregular and unique. Were it not for the Index at the end, which is very good, it would be unusable.

1421. He gave Sultân Shâh eight *balish* of silver, thirty dresses of royal magnificence, a mule, twenty-four pieces of *kalal*¹. *Embassy of Shah Rukh to China*, in Yule, *Cathay*, vol. I, p. ccviii. Yule's note on this is:—"Tin? Quatre-mère does not translate it. Astly has 'under petticoats'!"

1552. Tin, which the people of the country call **Calem**. Castenheda, vol. III, p. 213. . . . It is mentioned as a staple of Malacca at p. 186 of vol. II (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay).

1606. That all the chalices that were neither of gold, nor silver, nor of tin, nor of **calaim**, should be broken up and destroyed. Gouvea, *Synodo*, f. 29b (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

1608. Another metal called **Calin**, which is white like tin, but harder, purer, and finer, and much used in the Indies. . . . In these galiots they have a number of drinking vessels like glass water-bottles, but made of **cally**, a white metal like tin, but much harder. . . . (Malacca) plenty of the metal called **calin**, which is much esteemed all over the Indies, and even in Persia and elsewhere. It is as hard as silver and as white as tin, and it gets whiter with use. Pyrard de Laval, *Hak. Soc. ed.*, vol. I, pp. 235, 441; vol. II, p. 176 (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

1608. Some of this money (at Goa) is of iron, the rest of **callin**, a metal of China. Pyrard de Laval, *Hak. Soc. ed.*, vol. II, p. 68.

1610. They carry (to Hormuz) clove cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, ginger, mace, nutmeg, sugar, **calayn**, or tin. *Relacones de P. Tereira*, p. 382 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay).

1613. And he also reconnoitred all the sites of mines of gold, silver, mercury, tin or **calem**, and iron and other metals. Godinho de Eredia, f. 58 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay).

1644. All the drugs of the South, with **Callaym**, Tutunaga, wares of China and Portugal. Bocarro, MS. f. 316 (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

1646. Il y a (i.e., in Siam) plusieurs minieres de **calaim** quiest vn metal metoyen entre de plomb et l'estain. Cardim, *Rel. de la Proy. de Japon*, p. 163 (quoted in Yule *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

1688. This Tin or Calin (of Siam), as the Portuguese report, is sold through all India. . . . The **Calin** or Tin. All the **Calin** is his (the King's), and he sells it as well to Strangers as to his own Subjects, excepting that which is dug out of the Mines of Jonsalam [Junkceylon] on the Golph of Bengal. La Loubère, *Eng. Trans.*, pp. 14, 94.

1726. The goods exported hither (from Pegu) are . . . **Kalin** (a metal coming very near silver). Valentijn, vol. V, p. 128 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay).

1770. They send only one vessel (viz., the Dutch to Siam) which transports Javanese horses, and is freighted with sugar, spice and linen: for which they receive in return **calin**, at 70 livres 100 weight. Raynal, *Eng. Trans.* 1777, vol. I, p. 208 (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

1780. You find the port of Quedah: there is a trade for **calin** or **tutenague**. Dunn, *Directory*, p. 388.

1782. On y (Pegu) trouve des mines d'or, d'argent, de cuivre et de **calin**, mais on ne les exploite pas . . . (Malacca) on trouve de **calin** à la superficie de la terre, espèce d'étain que l'on porte en Chine . . . M. Daubenton a analysé quelques morceaux de

cette mine que je lui avois remis á mon arrivée ; il à trouvé que le **calin** étoit de l'**étain ordinaire**. Sonnerat, *Voyage*, vol. II, pp. 53, 101 and note.

1835. The discovery of tin in the Peninsula cannot be traced, but it is assuredly of ancient date. Part of Perak is said to be the Témala, or land of tin of Ptolemy, and **Caláng** (a name signifying tin in Malay),⁹⁶ to be the **Malaion Colon** of the same author and the **Malaya Culam** of the Hindus. Newbold, *JASB.*, Sept. 1835, in *Moor's Indian Archipelago*, Appx. p. 83.

1887. (**Calin**). This was in fact Malayan tin. The word is originally Malay (**kalang**)⁹⁷ it appears in Arabic **kala'i**, and in the Portuguese writers as **calaim**⁹⁸. . . the form **calin** seems to have been adopted by French writers from Pyrard, Pyrard de Laval, Hak. Socy. ed., Gray, vol. I, p. 225, notes.

1893. **Calye**. **Kala'i**, Ar., from **Kala**, Ar., (i.e., ? **Queda**)⁹⁹ where produced. **Tin**, *Mad. Man. Adm.*, vol. III, p. 120.

GANZA.

1554. In this Kingdom of Pegu there is no coined money, and what they use commonly consists of dishes, pans and other vessels of service, made of a metal like *frosleyra* (? spelter) broken in pieces ; and this is called **gamça**. Nunes, p. 38 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Ganza).

1554. Vn altra statua cosi fatta di **Ganza** ; che e vn metallo di che fanno le lor monete, fatte di rame e di plombo mescolati insieme. Cesari Federici, in Ramusio, vol. III, p. 394 (quoted in Yule, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*).

⁹⁶ This is not, I believe, the case.

⁹⁷ Crawfurd's *Malay Dict.* has no such word : the false derivation is no doubt due to the quotation above given under date 1835.

⁹⁸ This is an abstract of Yule's remarks (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay).

⁹⁹ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Calay, suggests the port known as Kalah to the Arab geographers as the origin of *kala'i*, and notes that *kwala* in Malay (*kwala* and *kuwala* in Crawfurd's *Malay Dict.*), "the mouth or estuary of a river" in Malacca, is meant by Kalah. As to this Lockyer, writing of Achin, says, *Trade in India*, p. 36 :—"On the arrival of a Ship the Shabunder must be applied to for Liberty to trade. At the great Quala or River's Mouth, those that go first a Shore are examined by the Gards." In *Moor's Indian Archipelago*, Appx. p. 56, we read of Sulo :—"Extensive forests of the finest teak, about one mile up from the qualla, of a very large river." In an early XVIth century map, torn out of some book in Latin by some by-gone collector, and entitled *India extra Gangem, quae Europaeis propinquior est ; Cap. CX*, being obviously based on the "Ptolemies" of the period, I find alongside Pego and Tanasari a city Queda, and further South in Malacha another city Queda beside Tacola, where, by the way, Tacola should not be. To carry on the evidence from the maps in my possession, the following show "Queda et Vieu Queda" :—*Carte des Indes et de la Chine*, 1705, by Guillaume de l'Isle ; re-issue in colours by Covens and Mortier, c. 1740 ; re-issue by Dezauche, 1781. *L'Inde de la le Gange [sic]*, by Vander Aa, c. 1720, founded apparently on de l'Isle, does the same. *Le Royaume de Siam* by Ottens, c. 1710, shows "Roy. de Queda, Queda, et Petite Queda." *Regni d'Aracan*, etc. by Antonio Zatta, Venezia, 1785, shows "Queda é N. Queda." All this goes to confirm the opinion that the earliest navigators knew of more than one place by the name of Queda. In the *Times Atlas*, I find, Sheet 82, Old Kedah and Kwala, and on the coast of the Malay Peninsula no less than nine entrances to rivers with the prefix Kwala, and three on the coast of Sumatra. Besides these there are, inland on the Peninsula, as many as six towns and villages shown with the same prefix.

Lastly, in *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, vol. I, 1887, Dr Rost inserts a map at p. 262 showing "Kora or Kala," based on his identification of the Chinese Kora of A.D. 650-656, with Kala, p. 241ff., and in a note to p. 243 he says :—"Professor van der Lith, in his dissertation on Kalah has clearly established what Walckenaer and Yule had conjectured, viz., that Kalah is identical with Kādah (Kedah, Queddah). See Yule, *Cathay*, vol. I, p. cxci.

For the identification of Takola, see *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 571, in Gerini's ingenious paper on the *Early Geography of Indo-China*.

c. 1567. The current money that is in this Citie (Pegu), and throughout all this Kingdom, is called **Gansa or Ganza**, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the King, but every man may stampe that will, because it hath his just partition and value; but they make many of them false by putting overmuch lead in them and those will not pass, neither will they take any of them. With this money **Ganza** you may buy gold and silver, rubies, muske, and other things. For there is no other money current among them. And gold and silver and other merchandise are at one time dearer than another as all other things are. Caesar Frederick, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. III, pp. 1717-18.

1568. This **Ganza** goeth by weight of Byze (viss) . . . and commonly a Byza (viss) of **Ganza** is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat. Caesar Frederick, in Hakluyt, vol. II, p. 367 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Viss).

1711. Tin from Pegu, Jahore, etc., in **Gants**¹⁰⁰ . . . Tin in Pigs and **Gants**. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, pp. 130, 150.

1726. Rough Peguan **Gans** (a brass mixt with lead). Valentijn, *Chor.*, p. 34 (quoted in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. **Ganza**).

1852. **Gangsa**, bronze, bell-metal . . . **gongsa**, bronze, bell-metal. Crawford, *Malay Dict.* s.v.

1855. The old travellers of the Sixteenth Century talk often of **Gansa**, as a mixture of copper and lead, apparently stamped, which was the current money of Pegu in that age. Yule, *Ara*, p. 259.

1886. **Ganza** . . . the word is evidently Skr. **kansa**, "bell-metal," whence Malay **gansa** (the same), which last is probably the word which travellers picked up. Yule *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

1893. **Gangsa**, see **cunts**. **Cunts**. **Kamsya**, San.: *pachras*, Hind. and Dec.: **gangsa** Malay; **kanchu**, Can.; **kanchi**, Tooloo; **kantsu**, Tel.: *otu* Mal: title from Telooogo (**cunsam**) . . . Mixture of several metals, strictly a metallic alloy of copper, brass, tin, lead, and iron . . . Mixed metal, Queen's metal; any amalgam of zinc (*tootuang*) and copper (*taumram*). *Mad. Man. Adm.*, vol. III, p. 254.

(To be Continued.)

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851.

By S. CHARLES HILL.

Introductory Note by the Editor.

[Mr. Hill, who has been engaged for some years past in an exhaustive enquiry into the History of Piracy, ancient and modern, has been good enough to send to this *Journal* an account of some thirty episodes of piracy in the Eastern Seas. Mr. Hill has further been so kind as to promise a full history of Eastern Piracy later on.—R. C. T.]

INTRODUCTION.

Piracy is illegal violence committed at sea or in any such place (ports, harbours or the mouths of rivers) as in a modern, civilized State would be considered to be under Admiralty Jurisdiction. The use of the word *illegal* however is confusing, for it implies the existence of Law, and there is not, nor ever has been, any universally accepted Law of the Sea. In trials for Piracy therefore it has been assumed that the accused are subject to the laws of their

¹⁰⁰ I have included this quotation in the list, because of the Italian form of the word we are discussing, and because of the forms to be found in the quotations under date 1893. But, as I have shown in the text, this form *gant* used by Lockyer has no connection whatever with the various forms of *ganza*.

own State or of those of their victims, and, by a kind of legal fiction, their acts have been held to have been committed within such jurisdiction. That it is a legal fiction is, I think, proved by the fact that in many cases States, on the capture of foreign pirates, have requested the consent of the States to which they belonged to their punishment. But there is a whole class of actions held to be piratical which comes under a different category, viz., instances of violence committed under the sanction of the States to which the pirates belonged: such States as the ancient Illyrians, the Barbary States, the petty States of the Malabar Coast in India and of the Malayan or Indian Archipelago, all of which looked upon Piracy as a national or tribal custom and an honourable means of livelihood. Such also, one must confess, are numerous acts of violence committed under the sanction of religion, e.g., the Crusades, the continual warfare between Muhammadans and Christians in the Mediterranean, the Portuguese attacks on Indian and Arab traders, and the attacks on ships belonging to any Muhammadan or Pagan nation by the early European Adventurers in the Eastern Seas, all sanctioned by the laws of the States to which the pirates belonged, though they loudly proclaimed similar acts to be piratical when their own subjects were the victims. Lastly, and for the same reason, certain acts of inhumanity, such as the cruel treatment bestowed upon Protestant seamen by properly commissioned officers of the Spaniards, are considered piratical, for it is held and rightly, that no commission can cover actions which shock all our feelings of humanity. In these two categories, it is not the illegality of the action but the inhuman nature of it which makes it piratical, and under them, I think, would come the German submarine warfare and the bombardment of undefended coast towns by German warships.

Instances of piracy under all these categories will be found in the record of Piracy in the Eastern Seas. It remains to point out that Piracy was indigenous to the whole coast of Arabia, Western India, the Bay of Bengal, the Malayan or Indian Archipelago and the Chinese and Japanese Seas, but though, according to the *Koran*, there was a piratical king in Oman as early as the time of Moses, i.e., about 1550 B.C., it is not until some three thousand years later that we can get anything like detailed accounts of particular instances of piracy.

In the following pages I propose to present to the reader a number of extracts, principally descriptions of sea-fights, taken either from old books compiled, if not published, soon after the events described, or from contemporary newspapers or from letters and depositions of eye-witnesses. From these he will be able to gather a correct view of the ways and manners of the pirates in the Eastern Seas, whether they were natives of Asiatic countries or adventurers from Europe or America.

I have found only two instances of the use of the *Black Flag* in this part of the world, viz., by the pirate Seager (or England) in 1720 and by a Malay *prahu* (prow) in 1820. The flag used by the pirates was usually the *Red* or *Bloody Flag*. This was the flag long recognised by all European seamen as signifying 'No Quarter' and 'No Surrender'. I have met with no instances of prisoners being made to walk the plank. This particular form of cruelty was apparently limited to European and American pirates.

I.

AN INDIAN PIRATE KILLED BY THE PORTUGUESE NEAR CEUTA, 1519.

The first of these extracts describes a fight which took place, not in the Eastern Seas, but in the Straits of Gibraltar, and is included as showing that natives of India were not wholly destitute of enterprise at a time when the Portuguese were introducing European

Adventurers to the rich plunder offered by Eastern Trade. The fight was a fairly equal one, though the pirates were the more strongly manned. This will be found to be the case in almost all cases of fights with pirates, because it was necessary for them to make up by superiority of numbers what they lacked in discipline, seamanship and gunnery.

“This year [*i.e.*, 1519] there was performed an exploit near Ceuta, inconsiderable with regard to the number of men, but great and illustrious because of the intrepidity with which it was executed. There were two pirates, inhabitants of India and brothers, who with a couple of large ships had for four years greatly infested the streights of Gibraltar and the neighbouring coasts of Africa. Gomez Sylvio Vasconcelo was at this time Governor of Ceuta. One of the pirates lay in ambush amongst the opposite islands, whilst the other kept out at sea, and gave notice to his brother, when there was occasion for his assistance. Vasconcelo, having received intelligence of this, immediately fitted out two small brigantines. One he gave to Andrew Vasconcelo and the other to Michael Sylvio, his two sons. Ceuta stands on a narrow ridge of land which runs out into the sea, so that the city has two harbours, one on the eastern and the other on the western side. The brigantines being fitted out in the western haven, the Governor ordered his sons to double the point and try to surprise the enemy. Michael, the youngest, according to his instructions, was the first to make the attack. Both were fired with the utmost zeal to execute their father's orders, yet both deviated from his council. The younger sailed on in the utmost hurry and did not choose to wait till his brother came up; the elder, on the other hand, was far from making that expedition which the occasion required. Michael in the most undaunted manner set upon the enemy. They, being more numerous, their ship large, their commanders of no less experience than boldness, and all their men well skilled in sea-affairs, looked with contempt on the brigantine. There ensued a desperate engagement, but our people being at last filled with the utmost consternation, hid themselves in the hold. The Governor at this time rode along the coast with a party of horse to observe the fight, and when he saw Michael in such distress he called aloud and made signals to his other son to make all haste to the assistance of his brother. But before Andrew could come up, Michael had driven the enemy from his vessel and disengaged her from the pirate. Having roused his men from their lurking holes, he reproached them for their cowardice, and at length inspired them with courage. He then made another attack on the enemy, and, the two ships having grappled each other, the fight was renewed with redoubled fury. The pilot¹ of the brigantine was killed, and his son, together with another relation, suffered also the same fate. Pedro Vieira² was likewise desperately wounded. Four of the enemy jumped upon the forecastle of the Portuguese vessel. Michael, however, catching hold of a spear, threw it amongst them with great force. Luckily it struck one of the pirate brothers in the throat and killed him instantly. The other three still remained, but Michael, taking up another spear, attacked and drove them overboard, and again disentangled himself from the enemy's ship. Then, running towards the stern to consult the pilot what was proper to be done, he found him and several others dead, and when he looked about for Vieira, a most horrible spectacle presented itself to his eyes. This unhappy man was lying in the utmost agony with his entrails hanging out of his belly. As he was a man of age and experience, Michael asked his advice in the present juncture. ‘Go,’ answered Vieira, ‘drive those cowards from their holes who have

¹ At this time ships carried Pilots into strange seas, either as having been there before, or as expert advisers to the Commander.

² Probably the Master or Michael's Lieutenant.

again hid themselves, and, since you are left alone, ply your oars³ with the utmost vigour, and make off from impending destruction.' He accordingly again brought forth those shameful poltroons from their retreats. But the pirates, seeing several of our people killed some disabled with wounds, and others behaving in such a dastardly manner, renewed the attack on the brigantine. Meanwhile Andrew Vasconcelo appeared. The sight of him greatly discouraged the enemy, who being likewise tired of fighting and disheartened with the loss of their commander, sheared off. Michael Sylvio now consulted Vieira whether he should pursue the enemy. Vieira advised him to make towards the land, and by this means to endeavour to drive the pirates on the shelves.⁴ He accordingly followed his advice. The enemy, being not a little frightened, with all their sails and oars made towards the opposite shore. Many of them jumped overboard, the greatest part of whom were drowned. Eight swam ashore and were made prisoners by the Governor of Ceuta. Thus, before Andrew Vasconcelo came up, his brother had finished the whole affair. This youth is certainly worthy of the highest encomiums, nor do I know which to praise most, his bravery, which was so great that he alone, or with the assistance of a few, and these weakened with wounds, did so nobly withstand such fierce and desperate enemies, or his modesty which would allow him to do nothing without consulting those whom he thought superior to himself in age and experience."

[Jerome Osorio. *History of the Portuguese*, II. 290.]

II.

ANTONIO DE FARIA, BY SEA-FORTUNE A KING, BEGGAR, LORD, HOLY HOLY THEEFE. circa. 1541.

The Portuguese came to India not merely to trade but to introduce the Christian religion in pagan countries which had been given to them by the Pope. However piratical their actions may have been, they could always throw over them the cloak of religion. On the coasts of Africa and Asia they found, not merely the indigenous pagan but also the Arab trader with his Muhammadan converts. None of these wished for either the Portuguese trade or the Portuguese religion. When they were strong enough they resisted by force; when too weak by treachery. The Portuguese retaliated with cruel reprisals and the Portuguese traders took the infliction of these reprisals into their own hands. Thus, when de Faria found himself ruined by a Gujarātī Muhammadan named by the Portuguese Coja Acem, i.e., Khwāja Hasan, he armed a vessel and set out in quest of his enemy, plundering all infidels on the way. The extracts which I have taken from Purchas, tells how he fought and killed him. His success and the booty he acquired inflamed his avarice and that of his companions, and finally caused him to make a raid upon the tombs of the Chinese Emperors, an act of impiety which was punished by his ship sinking with all hands in a storm. It will be noticed that both he and Coja Acem considered themselves as fighting under the protection of the Deity. It may also be supposed that the pots of powder with which de Faria provided himself for the fight were probably the stink-pots—a kind of combination of hand-grenade and poison-gas—which were early used in sea-fights on the Indian and Chinese coasts.

"Faria and Quiay Panian [Kwai-ping]⁵, who had kindred at Lailoo,⁶ provided themselves there of powder, lead, victuals and other necessities for money by leave of the Mandarin

³ Most small ships used to carry large oars or sweeps.

⁴ I.e., rocky banks or shoals.

⁵ A Chinese pirate who was friendly to the Portuguese and had thirty of them in his pay.

⁶ This and the other place-names in the narrative appear to be corruptions of the Chinese names of ports and places in the Canton District.—ED.

(no country in the world being like China for all kind of provisions) and there got two greater junks in truck of the other, and two Lanteas⁷ and one hundred and sixty mariners, so that they were in all five hundred persons, of which ninety-five were Portugals. They had one hundred and sixty harquebuses, forty brass pieces and sixty quintals of powder, nine hundred pots of powder, four thousand darts headed with iron, arrows and many fire-works with other weapons. Thus provided, they set forth in pursuit of Coia Acem [Khwāja Hasan], and by a fisher-boat learned that he was in the river Tinlan, there to fit and furnish the junk lately taken from the Portugals, to go with it and two others from Siam, where he was born, about two days thence. Faria sent Vincente Morosa in the fisher-boat with some of his Company⁸ to inform himself more fully, which, making a show of fishing with the rest, he easily did and brought word aboard of the easiness of the attempt. In the night they anchored, and went up the river in the morning, the enemy knowing nothing till they came in sight and Faria crying out 'Hey, my Masters, in the name of Christ, to them, to them, Santiago!' Off went the ordnance, the small shot succeeded, that none now in the junk durst appear. His small vessels (Lorche)⁹ coming from the shore with succour were so entertained with great shot that they could not help themselves, and by our small vessels were fired with the fire-pots, in three of them two hundred persons were slain. Out of the fourth they leaped into the water and were most of them slain by Panian's men.

"Coia Acem, which before was not known, seeing his Moors ready to try the water's courtesy to escape their fiery enemies, armed in buff with plates fringed with gold, cried out aloud that he might be heard, 'La Ilah illalah Muhamed roçolah!'¹⁰ What, shall you Muslemans¹¹ and just men of the Law of Muhamed suffer yourselves to be conquered of so feeble a nation as these dogs, which have no more heart than white heñs and bearded women? To them! to them! the book of Flowers hath given promise from our Prophet to you and me to bathe ourselves in the blood of these Cafres [*kāfir*, unbeliever, heathen]¹² without Law.' With these cursed words the Devil so animated them that it was fearful to see how they ran on our swords. Faria on the other side heartened his [men] in the name of Christ crucified, and with a zealous fervour reached Coia Acem such a blow with a two-hand sword on his head-piece of mail that he sunk to the ground, and with another blow cut off his legs. Whereupon his men with such fury assailed Faria, not caring for thirty Portugals which stood about him, that they gave him two wounds, which put such spirit into our men that in a little space eight and forty of the enemies lay dead upon Coia Acem, and the rest they slew all but five, whom they took and bound, the boyes cutting the others in quarters and throwing them into the water with Coia Acem and the King of Bintan's¹³

⁷ A sailing cargo boat. See a note on this term in *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. III, Pt. I, ed. Temple (Hak. Soc.), p. 172.—ED.

⁸ I.e., ship's company or crew.

⁹ The lorcha of the Chinese coast is a launch (Port. *lancha*) fighting or other. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Orooke, s.v. Lorcha, suggests *low-chuen* as a Chinese form for a small boat. In Cantonese this form would be *lau-shün*, but according to Eitel, *Chinese-English Dict.*, the word for lorcha is *wa-shün*.—ED.

¹⁰ The Muhammadan Creed: *Lā ilāha ill'illāhu Muhammadī'r-Rasūlu'llahu*: (There) is no God except the God; Muhammad is the Prophet of the God.—ED.

¹¹ Interesting false plural of Musalmān, a Muhammadan.—ED.

¹² According to Pinto (Cap. XX, p. 72) the promise is one of eternal delights *provided* the faithful bathe themselves in the blood of infidels.

¹³ Bintang (Bentān), island on the south side of the Straits of Singapore.—ED.

chief Caciz [*kázi*] or Priest, the shedder or drinker of Portugal blood as he styled himself in the beginning of his writings, for which he was of that cursed sect much honoured.

"Of the enemies were slain three hundred and eighty, of ours forty-two (eight of which were Portugals). Faria searched the islands and found a village therein of forty or fifty houses, which Coia Acem had sacked, slaying some of the inhabitants. Not far off was a great house, seeming a Temple, full of sicke and wounded men, ninety-six in number, which the Pirate had there in cure, whom he [*i.e.*, Faria] burned, setting the house on fire in divers places, those that sought to escape being received on pikes and lances. The junk, which they had taken from the Portugals six and twenty days before, Faria gave to Mem Taborda and Antonio Anriquez¹⁴ in almes for remission of his sins, taking their oath to take no more but their own. He took special care of the wounded and caused the slaves to be set free. After all this there remained of clear gains one hundred and thirty thousand taels in silver of Japan and other goods which that Pirate had taken along that coast from Sumbor to Fuchea."

[*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 2, paras 1-4.]

III.

JAPANESE PIRATES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES AS DESCRIBED IN THE *HÁI-KWOH TÚ CHI*.¹⁵

This and the next two extracts refer to Japanese pirates. The piracies they committed on the Chinese coasts were primarily due to the treacherous dealings of the Chinese merchants, who took their goods and refused or delayed payment. The Japanese, afraid to return empty-handed to their country, as their goods had been provided by their Government, recouped themselves by seizing Chinese vessels and plundering the coastal villages. Gradually acquiring confidence from their military superiority over the unwarlike Chinese, they extended their raids into the interior and attacked even large and fortified towns. In later times they were assisted by Chinese who had been driven to desperation by Government corruption, or who, refusing to submit to their Tartar conquerors, betook themselves to the sea and to a life of piracy.

P. 138. The Japanese were naturally cunning : they would always put on board some of the produce of their own country, and at the same time weapons of war ; with these they would stand off and on until an opportunity offered, when they would display their arms and make a wild inroad on the coast ; should none occur, they would parade their produce, styling it 'tribute to the crown'. The south-east coast [of China] was much afflicted by them. Their envoys too often put people to death and otherwise transgressed the laws : the object of all of them in coming with tribute was to benefit by trade, and to connect themselves with the more daring and crafty of the inhabitants of the coast : thus they were either bearers of tribute or freebooters as it suited them.

P. 139. In the time of Shi-tsung (1522-65) the cunning inhabitants of the coast possessed themselves of the profit of the trade, which continued in the hands of mercantile people, until communication with foreigners was strictly prohibited : it then passed into those of persons of birth or station, who repudiated their debts to the Japanese to a worse degree than the others had done. When they were pressing in their demands for money, these men so scared the officials by their alarming language, that the latter would

¹⁴ Two of his friends who had been plundered by Coia Acem. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto (Cap. IV) mentions one Jorge Fernandez Taborda owning a ship which carried horses from Ormuz to Goa in 1538.

¹⁵ Or *Notices of Foreign Countries*. The translator (Sir Thomas F. Wade) says this work is by Commissioner Sin.

have exterminated the Japanese ; but as soon as the troops were about to take the field, they wheedled them into moving off, telling them ' We do not mean not to pay you the full amount some time or other.'

The Japanese lost the produce of their own country, and being unable to return home, were very indignant. Meanwhile the leading bad characters (of China) such as Wáng Chih, Su Hái, Chin Tung and Mayeh, who had always been lying *perdu* amongst them, discontented with the Inner Land, escaped to the islands and became the chief advisers of the Japanese whom they induced to make descents upon China, which was accordingly ravaged by large bodies of pirates in separate squadrons, who wore the dress and counterfeited the flags and signals of Japan.

In 1552 Wáng Chih and the Japanese made a descent with a large force : their united ships, some hundreds in number, covered the sea.

P. 141. There were on an average three native Japanese in every ten, the remaining seven (were Chinese who) followed the others. In action they used to drive their prisoners on in front, and their discipline was such that all these fought till they died.

P. 142. Dressed in red with yellow caps, they attempted the great gate of (Nanking) At Hú-yé they were surrounded by the troops and pursued to Yánglin Bridge, where they were entirely cut to pieces. In this affair (in 1554) the robbers were never above 60 or 70 in number and yet they marched several tens of *li*, massacred and wounded perhaps 4000 people, and this during some eighty days before they were exterminated.

P. 151. *Extract from the Wu Pi Chi or Annals of the Art of War.*¹⁶ It was the custom of the barbarians of Japan to draw up their troops in the form of a butterfly. When they went into action the signal was given by the flourishing of a fan. One of them did this, and the body then rose (or sprang) up brandishing their swords. As they tossed the points of their weapons toward the sky, our soldiers threw their heads back in astonishment and the enemy thereupon cut at them below. Another of their formations was a long, snake-like column, in which they advanced waving a hundred-tailed banner, and marching one after the other like fish in a file. The van was composed of their stoutest men and the rearguard of the like ; in the centre the brave and cowardly were mingled together. They rose every morning at cock-crowing and ate their meal squatting on the ground. When this was ended their chief would take a seat in a high place (or above them), the rest listening to his orders (or in obedience to his commands), brought each one his book, upon opening which it was seen what place was to be foraged on such and such a day, who were to command the parties and who to serve in the ranks of the companies. These did not consist of more than thirty men, and moved independently each at a distance of one or two *li* from each other. At the blast of a conch, which is their call, the company immediately closed up to support that which it had heard give the signal. Sections of two or three also skirmished about irregularly, brandishing their swords. Towards evening they returned, and every one gave in whatever booty he may have seized, keeping nothing back. The chief made a partition of the spoil in proportion to the amount contributed by each. Whenever they captured women, they were sure to pass the night in drinking and wantonness, until at last they fell asleep intoxicated. When they had nearly completed the pillage of a place they set it on fire ; the smoke and the fire filled and illumined the skies, and while the population were in a state of alarm at its fierceness, the pirates decamped. They practised this *ruse* upon

¹⁶ Sir Thomas Wade supposes this work to be by a contemporary historian.

our people for the especial purpose of diverting them from lying in wait to attack them. When these pirates came upon wine or food amongst the inhabitants, they made them taste before they ate or drank themselves for fear that they should contain poison. In their marches they kept to the thoroughfares and highways, never entering the lanes or byways lest they should fall into (an) ambuscade; neither did they move under the walls of a city lest bricks or stones should be thrown at them by the people thereon. When they marched, it was always in a single file of great length, at a slow pace and in good order; by which means they occupied some miles of ground, and there was no approaching them. They could move rapidly for several tens of days together, and by opening out their body into four or five divisions they would manage to surround their enemy. When their forces were encamped opposite ours, they used to send one or two men who by alternately leaping up and crouching down contrived to exhaust our fire of stones and arrows. In an action with artillery they waited until their antagonists had fired; then they broke in on them impetuously and following up their advantage would drive them to a distance. In the heat of an engagement they would suddenly come forth from ambush on all sides and surround their enemy's flanks, by which manœuvre they forced our army to disperse in great consternation. They constantly resorted to strange stratagems, such as tying sheep together, or driving women on in front so as to perplex the beholder; the eyes of our people were dazzled by this, and the arms of the Japanese were thus enabled to take effect. They used the double sword exercise; with one sword they made feints above and struck with the other below, which rendered defence difficult. They hid the shafts or butt ends of their halberds and lances, and then, all of a sudden they would hurl them forth so that it was impossible to anticipate (the blow); their bows were long, their arrows large, and as they discharged them close, their shot was deadly. If they lay *perdu*, they had a marauding expedition in contemplation; if they spread a report abroad (so as to keep people on the alert) they were moving off. Thus they drew up their injured vessels across the stream to make a show of lying by, and straightway they sailed forth and invested Kinshán. At Shingshan they made ladders of bamboo to signify that they were about to storm it, and then they raised the siege. When they were going to take to the country, they pressed upon a city; if they had a march to make by land, they would provide themselves with oars. Sometimes they dug holes as pitfalls for their enemy; sometimes they plaited stubble to entangle him as he fled, or they stuck slips of bamboo in the ground to run into the feet of the fugitives. They used too to make a decoy of precious stones, cloth, gold, silver or women, by which they were enabled to inveigle our troops into ambuscades, and they were pleased when these lay in wait for them or pursued them. They gashed the faces of their prisoners of war, and tied their tongues to prevent it being detected by their answers that they were not Japanese; thus their return home was cut off. They showed great kindness to the people in the vicinity of their resorts, and were thus kept fully informed of the truth and falsehood of every report They made handsome presents to such artisans as fell into their hands, and they were in consequence easily provided with arms. As they employed our people as spies, it is difficult on our side to ascertain (whence they got their information), and by using them as their guides, they became perfectly familiar with all the paths by which to advance or retreat. For their eating or sleeping they would stay in some place where they could break open the wall, and which was high enough for them to keep a look-out, so that there was no chance of taking them by surprise. Should they be closely beleaguered, they would leave some heads as a pretence and retire; some of them wrapping themselves in cloaks of the bamboo leaf and putting on bamboo hats would play the part of labourers

in the fields ; some in flowered silk handkerchiefs and shoes of cloth would swagger through the public places of the cities, thus placing our officials in the dilemma of killing the (wrong) robbers by mistake or honest men on suspicion.

Although fighting on the water was not at first their *forte*, they had the ingenuity to fasten empty vessels together, and to spread light screens over them by which (the fire or assault of) our forces advancing on them was expended ; and they would abandon the women and leave money in the way to check us in the pursuit. The bulwarks and spars of their ships were all covered with cloths, quilts and cushions, which they damped to render them proof against fire. In an action, as soon as they came to close quarters, they boarded with rapidity ; (their onset was) terrible as the thunder and (those on board) were scattered like the wind.

These pirates kidnapped our people to show them the road and to procure water for them, and as the latter went out in the morning and came home at night they called the roll of their names. At (or for) every place a register was kept in which they inserted their names and surnames, and they divided them into classes, according to which they told them off and inspected them.

There were but few native Japanese amongst them ; not above some tens, of whom they formed the van. When the pirates returned to the island to which they belonged, they used to give out that they had come home from trading, and they never divulged aught concerning their comrades whom our troops had captured or slain, so that their neighbours knew nothing of it, but, on the contrary, offered them their congratulations.

P. 155. *Extract from the Art of War.* The Japanese do not construct their vessels in the same manner as the Chinese. They require beams of a large size and square, in fitting the seams of which they use no nails but band them together with iron plates. Neither do they make use of hempen rope or wood oil in closing their crevices but stop the leaks with sedge grass. Their ships cost much pains and money, and without a large capital it is not easy to build them. The pirates who attacked China were every one of them poor people from the islands, and what has been said in times past about the hundreds and thousands of ships built in Japan is an idle tradition. Their largest craft may carry three hundred men ; the middle class one or two hundred, and the smallest from fifty to eighty. They are of a low and narrow build, and find it difficult to hold their own with such large vessels as they fall in with, and they are poorly off when they ground in the mud. For this cause our vessels from Kwángtun and Fuhkien are much feared by them, and particularly those of the former province as their sides are perpendicular like a wall.¹⁷ Their ship's bottoms are flat and cannot easily cut the waves. Their canvas sails are set with the mast right in the middle and not one side of it as in China, and both their masts and sails shift about and are not made fast like those of the Chinese ; hence they can only carry on with a fair breeze, and if they meet with a calm or a contrary wind they unship the mast and work the long stern scull ; they cannot handle the oar. Their vessels could not (formerly) cross from Japan in less than a month, and if they now perform the voyage with greater ease it is because of the treachery of certain of the inhabitants of the coast of Fuhkien who bought ships in the outer waters, and when they had added a false bottom to them, brought over the Japanese in them. They had a sharp keel and were able to beat against the sea ; in these they feared neither a head wind nor one on the quarter, and their sailing was so much improved that they could now make the passage in a few days.

¹⁷ See episode No. XXV, *infra*, for a similar remark.

P. 211. *Extract from Chin Lunkiang. Collection of Particulars of Foreign States.*¹⁸ The pirates of the period Kiátsing (c. 1540) were from Satungma. When Japan first sent trading vessels to Yungkiá eighteen Japanese fishermen were driven by the winds to China and induced by certain bad characters to commit acts of disorder. The latter trimmed their beards and shaved their heads (in Japanese fashion), mixed up in their speech the local dialect of some distant place, and thus confederated they robbed and plundered. Their gang was called the Wo Nú, Japanese slaves, but when they were at length taken there were but these eighteen men of Japan amongst them. The vessels of that country were thereupon prohibited from trading to China, but permission was given to ours (the Chinese) to go to Japan, and up to the present time (1730) no ship from it has ventured hither.

P. 215. *Extract from the Hwáng-tsing Tung-kau Sz'-i-mun or Book of the Four Barbarian Races.* From the time of Shunchi (1644) there has been commercial intercourse with the Japanese, but they bring no tribute; the trade too is in Chinese vessels only, which went to Japan, none of her ships coming to China. The commerce with China is carried on at Chángki.

[*Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIX.]

IV.

CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS KILLED BY JAPANESE PIRATES, 1605.

In this extract from Purchas, it would be difficult, according to modern ideas, to decide which were the most piratical—the English or the Japanese. The former indeed held a regular commission and, according to the ideas of the day, it was not piratical to attack foreigners who had no treaty of peace or alliance with one's own country. Thus, Sir Edward Mitchelbourne narrates quite calmly how he plundered Chinese ships. The Japanese, at this period, judging by the absence of any distinction of rank amongst them, were probably pirates pure and simple. Superior force compelled them to allow the English to rummage their ship, which would certainly have been plundered if it had contained anything worth taking. Their policy was to lie low and to retaliate when they had put the English off their guard. They fought with the courage and resolution which has always characterized the Japanese and the surrender of the solitary survivor with the request to put him to death was in strict accordance with the Japanese code of honour. In all probability he expected to be tortured.

27th December 1605. "Here as I stood for Patane [East Coast, Malay Peninsula] about the twenty seven of December I met with a juncke of the Japons, which had been pyrating along the coast of China and Camboia [Cambodia]. Their Pilote being dead, with ignorance and foule weather they had cast away their shippe on the sholds of the great island of Borneo; and to enter into the country of Borneo they durst not: for the Japons are not suffered to land in any port in India with weapons: being accounted a people so desperate and daring that they are feared in all places where they come. These people, their shippe being splitted, with their shalops entred [i.e., boarded and captured] this juncke, wherein I met them, which was of Patane, and killed all the people save one old Pilote. This juncke was laden with rice, which when they had possessed and furnished with such furniture necessities and armes as they saved out of their sunken shippe, they shaped their course for Japan: but the badnesse of their juncke, contrarie winds and unseasonableness of the

¹⁸ *Hsi-kwán Wen-hien Lu*, published 1730.

yeare forced them to leeward, which was the cause of mine unluckie meeting them. After I had haled them and made them come to leeward, sending my boat aboard them, I found them, by their men and furniture, very unproportionable for such a shippe as they were in ; which was a juncke not above seventie tunnes in burthen, and they were ninetie men, and most of them in too gallant a habit for Saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them, that they seemed all fellowes [i.e., equals] ; yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine, but gave him little respect. I caused them to come to an anchor and, upon further examination, I found their lading to be only rice : and for the most part spilt [i.e., spoiled] with wet : for their shippe was leakie both under and above water. Upon questioning them, I understood them to be men of warre, that had pillaged on the Coast of China and Camboia, and, as I said before, had cast away their shippe on the sholds of Borneo. Here wee road at anchor two dayes, entertayning them with good usage, not taking anything from them, thinking to have gathered by their knowledge, the place and passage of certaine shippes on the coast of China to have made my voyage.¹⁹ But these Rogues,²⁰ being desperate in winds and fortunes, being hopelesse in that paltrie juncke ever to returne to their countrey, resolved with themselves either to gaine my shippe or to lose their lives. And upon mutuall courtesies with gifts and feastings betweene us, sometimes five and twentie or sixe and twentie of their chieftest came aboard ; whereof I would not suffer above sixe to have weapons. There was never the like number of our men aboard their juncke. I willed Captaine John Davis in the morning to possesse himselfe of their weapons, and to put the [Japanese] Companie before mast and to leave some guard on their weapons, while they [i.e., the English], searched in the rice, doubting that they by searching and by finding that which would dislike them [i.e., the Japanese], they might suddenly set upon my men and put them to the sword, as the sequell proved. Captaine Davis being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possesse himself of their weapons, though I sent twice of purpose from my shippe to will him to doe it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the rice and they looking on : at the Sonne-setting, after long search and nothing found save a little Storax and some Benjamin,²¹ they, seeing opportunitie and talking to the rest of their Companie which were in my shippe, being neere to their juncke, they resolved at a watch-word betweene them, to set upon us resolutely in both shippes. This being concluded, they suddenly killed and drove over-boord all my men that were in their shippe, and those which were aboard my shippe sallied out of my Cabbins, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certaine targets in my Cabbins and other things that they used as weapons. My selfe, being aloft on the decke, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waste, where with the Boate Swaines, carpenter and some few more, wee kept them under the halfe-decke. At their first comming forth of the Cabbins, they met Captaine Davis comming out of the gun-roome, whom they pulled into the Cabbins, and giving him six or seven mortall wounds, they thrust him out of the Cabbins before them. His wounds were so mortall that he dyed as soone as he came into the waste. They pressed so fiercely to come to us, as wee, receiving them on our pikes, they would gather on our pikes [i.e., drag themselves along the pikes] with their hands to reach us with their swords. It was neere halfe an houre before wee could stone [sic] them backe into the Cabbins : in which time wee had killed three or foure of their leaders. After they were driven into

¹⁹ "To make a voyage" meant "to make a successful and profitable voyage," just as "to make no voyage" meant "to make an unsuccessful and unprofitable voyage."

²⁰ As late as Defoe, *Rogue* was equivalent to *Pirate*.

²¹ *Styrax* and *Benzoin*, balsamic resins.

the Cabbin, they fought with us at the least foure houres before wee could suppress them, often fying the Cabbin, burning the bedding and much other stuffe that was there. And had wee not with two demy-culverings from under the half-decke beaten down the bulke head and the pompe [?] of the shippe, wee could not have suppressed them from burning the shippe. This ordnance, being charged with crosse-barres, bullets and case-shot, and bent close to the bulke-head, so violently marred therewith boords and splinters, that it left but one of them standing of two and twentie. Their legs, armes and bodies were so torne as it was strange to see how the shot had massacred them. In all this conflict they never would desire their lives, though they were hopelesse to escape : such was the desperatenesse of these Japonians. Only one leapt over-boord, which afterward swamme to our shippe again and asked for grace. Wee took him in and asked him what was their purpose ? He told us that they meant to take our shippe and to cut all our throates. He would say no more but desired that he might be cut in pieces.

"The next day, to wit, the eight and twentieth of December, wee went to a little island to the leeward of us. And when wee were about five miles from the land the Generall [Sir Edward Mitchelbourne] commanded his people to hang this Japonian : but he brake the rope and fell into the sea. I cannot tell whether he swamme to the land or not."

[*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 361. Second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, Knight, in the *Tigre* and *Tigres Whelpe*.]

V.

JAPANESE DESTROY A SPANISH SHIP, 1640.

In 1636-7 the Japanese, incensed at the insolent and violent behaviour of the Portuguese and their Christian converts, having massacred the latter, closed their ports to Portuguese ships and forbade all trade. Portuguese ambassadors sent to Japan in 1640 were executed. Spain, being then under the same crown as Portugal, Spanish vessels were included in this prohibition ; in spite of which and of their own infamous behaviour to the Japanese, one of their ships ventured into Nagasaki, with the result so vividly described by Kaempfer. The action of the Japanese may be looked upon as a proper assertion of national rights or as a justifiable reprisal, but on the other hand it may be regarded as contrary to international law—then much more vague than now—and therefore, from the place where it was committed, as an instance of official piracy.

The Castilians, for so the Japanese call all Spaniards, took a Japanese junk near Manilla, and sunk it with all on board, thinking that by this means they would extinguish the memory of so barbarous an action. However the Japanese Government obtained word of it. About a year after a Spanish three-decked ship, which had been fitted out in the Philippines for Japan, cast anchor in the harbour of Nagasaki, of which the authorities informed the Court. Thereupon the Prince of Arima received the Emperor's orders to burn the ship with its goods and crew. The Spaniards were warned by some of their friends and by persons who did not wish them to perish that the thunderbolt was about to fall on their heads and that they should hasten to avoid the danger by a speedy flight. But at first their avarice and then contrary winds prevented their following this salutary counsel. All they could do was to work day and night loading their ship with silver and gold and the valuable merchandise of Japan, filling their vessel as full as it could hold, and then they prepared themselves to depart or to defend themselves against anyone who should attack them. However, the Prince of Arima, appointed to put the Emperor's orders into execution, arrived in the

harbour with a great number of boats full of soldiers. The Spanish ship was immediately surrounded and, the wind being still contrary, it was impossible to open a passage by which to escape the enemy. The Spaniards finding themselves in this extremity, took the unanimous resolution to sell their lives dearly and that the Japanese should find that it was not as easy as they thought to take and burn their ship. The Prince of Arima, on his side did all he could, encouraging the soldiers by his presence and by promises of reward if they attacked the ship bravely, but seeing that no one was willing to take the first risk, was himself the first to leap on board the ship and was immediately followed by so large a number of his soldiers that the deck was covered by them. Thereupon the Spaniards withdrew below the deck and closed the hatchways after them. The Prince, suspecting some design in this and fearing some nasty trick, leapt back into his boat as if to call up more soldiers, and, a moment after, the Spaniards set fire to some barrels of powder which they had placed under the deck, blowing into the air all the Japanese who were upon it. The first attack having failed, the Prince ordered up fresh troops to board a second time, and the Spaniards retiring under the second deck blew it up in the same manner. So also they did with the third deck when the Japanese attacked the third time, the Spaniards having retired to the bottom of the hold. By these repeated explosions the harbour was covered with the bruised, wounded and dead bodies of Japanese soldiers, before the rest could actually attack the Spaniards, who defended themselves with the greatest bravery for some hours, refusing to surrender, until they were killed to the last man. This combat, in which more than 3000 Japanese were killed, lasted six hours. Later on an incredible amount of treasure was found where the ship sank, and it is said that more than 3000 boxes of silver were fished up. This is the story given by my Japanese author, who says that only a few years ago [written 1690] divers brought up some silver from this place.

[Engelbert Kaempfer. *Histoire du Japon*, II, 59.]

(To be continued.)

THE LAKSHMANASENA ERA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, B.A. ; CALCUTTA.

IN this paper I do not propose to discuss all the points concerning this era. I shall here confine my attention chiefly to the question whether the era used in some Bodh-Gayâ inscriptions is the same as the Lakshmaṇa-saṃvat of A.D. 1119, and whether there is any ground for supposing that this era did not originate in the reign of Lakshmaṇasena.

The Bodh-Gayâ inscriptions in question are the three records dated in the *post-regnal* years of king Lakshmaṇasena, i.e. years counted from the initial point of his reign, even when it had passed away : they are the two well-known epigraphs of the time of Aśoka-challa,¹ and one of Jayasena² which has recently been discovered at a place close to Bodh-Gayâ. The dates of these three inscriptions are expressed as follows :—

- I. *Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇa(kṣmaṇa)-senasy = ātīta-rājye Saṃ 51.*
- II. *Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevapādānām = ātīta-rājye Saṃ 74.*
- III. *Lakṣmaṇasenasy = ātīta-rājye Saṃ 83.*

From the above it will be seen that the three dates are expressed in a uniform manner so far as their wording is concerned. Regarding I and II Kielhorn came to the conclusion

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 27ff.

² See *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 273ff and cf. my edition, *ante*, 1919, p. 43ff.

that the years 51 and 74 which they contain, should be referred to the era of Lakshmaṇasena or Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat, in which are dated numbers of MSS. discovered in this country, and which according to the calculation of that learned savant, was started from October 7, A.D. 1119.³ His inference, it is necessary to point out, was drawn from the astronomical calculations based upon the data supplied by the colophons of MSS. dated in the aforesaid era. Kielhorn clearly pointed out that if the dates of the MSS. be referred to an era the initial point of which lay before A.D. 1119, all the dates, including even that of inscription II, referred to above, could not be properly worked out; but, if they be referred to the era of A.D. 1119, they all would work out most satisfactorily. This itself should have been considered sufficient for the identification of the era associated with the name of Lakshmaṇasena in these inscriptions (two of which have long since been known to us), with the era known as the Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat, or in an abbreviated form, as *La-saṁ*. But some scholars, the most prominent among whom are Messrs. Ramâprasâd Chanda and Nagendra Nâth Vasu, have rejected Kielhorn's theory and maintained that not one but two eras were associated with the name of this Sena king. It has, therefore, become necessary to reopen the question here, and offer my own views on the subject for what they are worth.

The views of Messrs. Chanda and Vasu, which are almost identical, are embodied in their works, the *Gauḍa-râjamâlâ* (Râjshâhi, 1319 B.S.), pp. 64-5,⁴ and *Baṅger Jâtîya Itihâsa* (Calcutta, 1321 B.S.), pp. 347-52. According to both of them, the years specified in epigraphs I and II, though associated with an era bearing the name of Lakshmaṇasena, should not be referred to the Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat of A.D. 1119; in other words, they contend that we should suppose the existence of two different eras started at two different periods and bearing the name of Lakshmaṇasena. By the clause *Lakshmaṇasenasy=âtîta-râjye Saṁ* is meant the year of an era started from the termination of the reign of the king, and according to them this is to be put down about A.D. 1200. Thus the year 74 of inscription II, for instance, would correspond to A.D. 1274 and not A.D. 1193 as Kielhorn calculated. From inscription I, Mr. R. D. Banerji concluded with Kielhorn that the reign of Lakshmaṇasena came to an end before A.D. 1170,⁵ apparently because the inscription refers to the *râjya* as *âtîta* or passed away. He accepted the identity of the era of this and the cognate inscription (No. II), where also the word *âtîta* occurs, with the era of A.D. 1119. But, according to Messrs. Chanda and Vasu, Lakshmaṇasena lived up to the time of the Muhammadan invasion (*circa* A.D. 1200) when he lost his kingdom. From A.D. 1200 was counted the *âtîta-râjya* era of Lakshmaṇasena. According to Mr. Chanda the other era, *viz.* the *La-saṁ* of A.D. 1119, though counted from that year (by a process of backward calculation?), was a *much later invention*. In other words, according to that scholar, it was not originated as a matter of fact in the year 1119. When did it then actually come into vogue?—and the same scholar replies, this was so when the *âtîta-râjya* era started from A.D. 1200 fell into disuse, and there was necessity for a fresh era to fill up its place. The main evidence⁶ that has led him to postulate this theory is the so-called palæographic consideration according to which he finds it difficult, nay even impossible, to refer inscriptions I and II to the twelfth or the first part of the thirteenth century A.D. The same palæographic consideration also compels him to assume that the Gayâ stone inscription of 1232 v.E. = A.D. 1175, which was

³ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306, n. 3; and *List of North Ind. Inscr.*, No. 577.

⁴ Regarding the era Mr. Chanda briefly expressed his views also in this *Journal*, 1913, pp. 286-7.

⁵ *JASB.* (N. S.), 1913, p. 277.

⁶ The other evidences on which this theory is based have been already examined by Messrs. Banerji and Kumar—*JASB.* (N. S.), 1913, p. 274ff; *ante*, 1913, p. 185ff and 1915, p. 215ff.

executed in the fourteenth year of Govindapāla,⁷ is much earlier in date than inscription I of the year 51. Before proceeding to discuss the very possibility of this theory I must examine the evidence of the palæography of the inscriptions, as Mr. Chanda lays much stress on it, and declares it to be of a very highly convincing character.

The palæographic consideration of Mr. Chanda is chiefly based on the examination of the two test letters *d* and *p* occurring in the following six inscriptions: the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions I and II of the time of Aśokachalla; the Gayā stone inscription, dated 1232 V.E.=A.D. 1175; the Edilpur grant of Viśvarūpasena; a Chittagong grant, dated A.D. 1243; and the Assam grant of Vallabhadeva, dated A.D. 1184-5. Now, for a comparative study of letters which may be of any practical use for determining dates, it is not desirable that we should mix up inscriptions incised on different materials, e.g., stone, copper, etc., or inscriptions though on the same material, yet connected with different localities far removed from one another by long distances. This procedure, I may say, is certainly, what may be called 'scientific' and that it is so, is clearly borne out by such an expert epigraphist as the late Dr. Fleet, who has made similar remarks in another connection (*JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 975-6). In view of this general principle of palæography I am compelled to reject the last three inscriptions of the above list, for, they are, in the first instance, all copper-plates and therefore, not calculated to furnish any reliable data with regard to the palæography of stone inscriptions; and secondly, inscriptions discovered in Dacca, Chittagong or Assam cannot be brought in a line with inscriptions discovered in Bihar. The real comparison of letters that might be safely instituted therefore, is virtually confined to the first three records which are all on stone and belong to one and the same locality. Now, according to Mr. Chanda, the letters *p* and *d* in the Gayā stone inscription represent the old Nāgarī type and those in epigraphs I and II almost resemble the modern Bengali specimens of the same letters. I quite agree with this observation, but cannot endorse the opinion, that the aforesaid appearances of letters only would justify us to fix in any way the age of the inscriptions, viz., that Nos. I and II are later in date than the Gayā stone inscription. One characteristic of the palæography of North-East India inscriptions from circa A.D. 1050 onwards is that they contain a mixture of Nāgarī and later Bengali forms. Curiously enough, we find the Nāgarī and the later Bengali forms of some letters used side by side not only at one and the same period but also at one and the same locality. Let us take, for instance, the case of letters *v*, *l* and *s*. The *v* of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the year 51 has practically no difference with a Bengali *v* of our own period. But strange to say, in the inscriptions of the years 74 and 83, the letter clearly represents its Nāgarī prototype. Exactly similar is the case of the letter *l* which is proto-Bengali in the first, and Nāgarī in the second and third, inscriptions. Again in inscription I we have a Nāgarī *s*, in inscription II it is of proto-Bengali type, but in inscription III which is *ex hypothesi* later than II the old Nāgarī type is again met with. The case of the two letters *d* and *p* is also not different. In inscription I, *d* represents an advanced type of the letter, and there is a close resemblance between this and modern Bengali *d*. In the Gayā stone inscription referred to above, the *d* is doubtless of the Nāgarī type; but then, this type we also notice in inscriptions II and III. With regard to the letter *p*, it must be admitted that the proto-Bengali type alone occurs in the three Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83. But, from this if we infer that the Nāgarī *p* was not in general use in the locality during this period, we shall commit a serious mistake, because, in a Gayā inscription,⁸ which like inscriptions I

⁷ Banerji, *Mem. ASB.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 109 and Plate XXVIII.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 342 and Plate.

and II, refers itself to the reign of Aśokachalla and is likewise on stone, there is to be found the Nāgarī *p* throughout. The above considerations are, in my opinion, instructive, and enough to prove the futility of such a procedure as the one followed by Mr. Chanda. It will thus be agreed that there remain no reasonable palæographic grounds for saying that the Bodh-Gayâ inscription of the year 51 is later than the Gayâ stone inscription of Govindapâla.

Let us now proceed to discuss the possibilities of there being two different eras bearing the name of the same king. The résumé of the views of Mr. Chanda, which has been given above, will show that he has committed himself to one important assumption, viz., that the two eras were never current side by side—one was succeeded by the other. According to his theory, the three dates 51, 74 and 83 of inscriptions I, II and III would correspond to the years A.D. 1251, 1274 and 1283 respectively. Therefore, if the La-sam came into vogue after the *âtita-râjya* era had ceased to exist, it must necessarily have been so after A.D. 1283; it cannot be said to have flourished before this date. But is it really a fact that there is no date earlier than A.D. 1283 which is expressed in the Lakshmana-samvat? Now, in the colophon of a MS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, noticed by M. M. Haraprasâd Sâstri, its date has been expressed as follows: *La-sam* 91 Chaitra. *Vadi Gurau*.⁹ The date which is herein expressed is the year 91 of La-sam corresponding to A.D. 1210. This year, therefore, which is expressed in La-sam, precedes all the three dates, viz., 1251, 1274 and 1283. Thus, the theory that the La-sam came into vogue after the so-called *Mrityu-samvat* had ceased to exist, at once falls to the ground. Again, if we take the two eras as separate we are driven to the conclusion that they were flourishing side by side from at least about A.D. 1210 to 1283. Thus two eras started from different years but going under the name of the same king, were being employed by the people at one and the same period—a view which is *prima facie* untenable, and as such will, I am afraid, commend itself to very few scholars.

But this is not all. There is also evidence of a definite character which goes straight against the theory that the era of the inscriptions was started from A.D. 1200. Now, the most important data that can finally settle the question at issue are, of course, those that are furnished by astronomical calculation. In inscription II, dated 74, there are fortunately enough the following details of a date:—

Thursday, the 12th tithi, Vaisâkha vadi.

According to the calculation of Kielhorn, who referred the date to the era of A.D. 1119, it corresponded to Thursday, the 19th May, A.D. 1194. The question that now arises therefore, is: whether the above details tally in the case of the year A.D. 1274 which corresponds to the year 74, according to Messrs. Chanda and Vasu, i.e., whether the 12th *tithi* of Vaisâkha vadi falling in the year A.D. 1274, was a Thursday? As a matter of fact, however, it was not so, and according to the calculation of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, this detail does not tally with any year between A.D. 1272 and 1277.¹⁰ In this period there is no year whose 12th *tithi* of Vaisâkha vadi is a Thursday. It is clear, therefore, that the year 74, and, consequently, the years 51 and 83, cannot be referred, on pure astronomical grounds, to an era having for its initial year A.D. 1200 (or even one or two years earlier).

Let us now consider the exact meaning and force of the expression *Lakshmanasenasy = âtita-râjye Sam*, and see whether it in any way supports the theory of Messrs. Chanda and Vasu. The question that arises here is: whether a regnal and a post-regnal year of a king can be expressed in identical language if we want to express them *in extenso*. The full

⁹ *Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected paper MSS.*, pt. I, p. 15, No. 400.

¹⁰ As I was not personally acquainted with Dewan Bahadur Pillai, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was kind enough to request him to calculate the above thing for me.

expression of a regnal date in words would be, *e.g.*, as follows: *Lakshmaṇasenasya rājye* or *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye Saṃ*. But if we are asked to express fully a post-regnal year of the king, what have we to do? Surely, the above expression will not serve our purpose. There must undoubtedly be alteration of the wording of the date. Of course, *pravarddhamāna* or some such phrase cannot be tolerated: but, even if we score it out and retain only *rājye* it will also lead to a confusion. For, this might give rise to the idea that in both the years, regnal and post-regnal, the king was actually ruling! To avoid such a confusion it will be necessary to clearly indicate that the reign of the king had passed away, but that the era started from the date of his accession, was being continued. And we have already indicated that our intention is to express it *in extenso*. Hence the word *rājya* by itself will not do and we must use some other additional word to show that this *rājya* or reign had already passed away. The only appropriate phrase that can be employed in the circumstances is some such as *atīta-rājye*.¹¹ It can only mean, in the past reign, *i.e.*, in the reign (*now*) passed as Kielhorn suggested. It can never mean, as some scholars no doubt suppose, so many years elapsed *since* the *atīta-rājya* which word being in the locative cannot give rise to the sense of ablative ('since').¹² As regards the propriety of this expression the following words of Kielhorn may be well quoted: "During the reign of Lakshmaṇasēna the years of his (*Lakshmaṇasēna's*) reign would be described as *Śrīmaḥ-Lakshmaṇasēna-dēvapādānām rājye* (or *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē*) *saṃvat*: after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atīta* prefixed to the word *rājyē*, to show that, although the years were still continued from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmaṇasēna, that reign itself was a thing of the past. In the course of time *atīta-rājyē* is apt to become a meaningless phrase, as may be seen from the *Śrīmad Vikra-māditya-dēvapādānām = atīta-rājyē Saṃ*¹³ 1503 in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddh. Skr. MSS.*, p. 70"—*ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 2, note 3.

I shall now examine another theory, *viz.*, that according to which the initial point of the era, though it is counted from A.D. 1119, does not fall in his reign, but in that of his predecessor. According to some scholars it originated with the reign of Sāmantasena,¹⁴ according to others with that of Hemantasena;¹⁵ while there is yet a third view according to which we should look upon Vijayasena as the founder of the era.¹⁶ Mr. R. D. Banerji has already made a very relevant remark, that the era which was all along associated with his name, cannot be reasonably ascribed to the reign of any one of his predecessors.¹⁷ Hitherto, the earliest testimony of the origin of the era was believed to have been the *Akbar-namah* of Abul-Fazl which was compiled about the middle of the 16th century A.D. It records a current tradition that the era was started from the year of Lakshmaṇasena's accession. It may here be contended that the Dacca

¹¹ In some seven manuscripts and one inscription we have similar phrases, *e.g.*, *Govindapāladevānamgata-rājye chaturdaśa-saṃvatsare*, to express the dates in which they were written. Mr. Banerji and others contend that these expressions should not be interpreted like the date-wordings of the Bodhi-Gaya inscriptions referred to above. I, however, cannot subscribe to it. My own views regarding them will be published in a subsequent issue of this *Journal*.

¹² In the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 240, which were executed in his first regnal year, we have *Abhimanyude (de)vasy=atīta-rājye* by which it is evidently meant that they were issued in the 'passed reign' of his predecessor Abhimanyudeva. This certainly lends support to Kielhorn's interpretation of *atītarājye*.

¹³ Cf. also (*Vikramāditya*) *devānam=atīta-rājye varsha=śatatrāyodasābda-satrin=śatata-mādhikam*, etc. occurring in a copper-plate noticed by Mr. Banerji. See *JASB.* (N. S.), Vol. VII, p. 308.

¹⁴ *JASB.* (N. S.), Vol. I, p. 45. ¹⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sk. MSS.*, 1897, p. LXXXVII.

¹⁶ Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 418.

¹⁷ *Baṅglār Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 300.

image inscription¹⁸ discovered by Mr. Banerji furnishes earlier testimony, because it mentions the *Saivvat 3* of Lakshmanasena, which shows that the first year of the era falls within the reign of that king. But, I am afraid, it is by no means the only conclusion deducible from the expression *Śrīmal-Lakshmanasenasya saivvat 3*. It can also mean simply "in the third regnal year of the king" without necessarily having any reference to the era started by him. Therefore, we do not get any definite clue as to the origin of the era from this inscription. Let us turn, therefore, our attention to the colophons of MSS. dated in this era. Now, in one of them we find the expression: *abde Lakshmanasena-bhūpati-mate*,¹⁹ which can only mean, "in the era which was approved (*mata*), i.e., started by king Lakshmanasena."²⁰ The date of this MS. is *La-saṁ* 293 = A.D. 1412. It is thus a century and a half earlier than Abul Fazl and is therefore, the earliest known evidence about the origin of the era. And, according to this also, Lakshmanasena is regarded as its founder. I have shown before that the theory that the era was started after the reign of Lakshmanasena has no ground to stand upon. Likewise, as we now see, it could not have originated in any reign previous to his own.

Thus, what I have set forth in this paper will all go to support Kielhorn and those scholars who share in his opinion. I have shown (1) that there is absolutely no need of assuming two Lakshmanasena eras; (2) that the era of A.D. 1119 was not a later innovation having nothing to do with Lakshmanasena; (3) that it was not started to fill up the place of an imaginary 'death-era' of the king; (4) that the expression *atitā-rājye Saṁ* which has been incorrectly taken to yield the sense of a death-era is but the only natural form of fully expressing a post-regnal date; (5) that even if we imagine the existence of such an era it cannot, at any rate, be counted from A.D. 1200, because this cannot be supported on astronomical grounds; and (6) that the earliest tradition about the origin of the era, handed down to us through manuscripts, points to Lakshmanasena as its founder, and there is no evidence for fathering it on any one of his predecessors.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE DREAM QUEEN, a translation of the Svapna-vāsavadattā of Bhāsa, by A. G. SHIRREFF AND PANNA LALL. The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1918.

This is a metrical translation of one of Bhāsa's best plays, the discovery of which has made famous the name of M. M. Pandit Ganapati Śāstrī of Trivandrum. The short introduction of the translators gives a summary of the discoverer's arguments as to the date of the author and touches briefly on the plot and compares it with the earliest romantic drama of the West, the *Alcestis* of Euripides.

Though the translation is a metrical one, it is generally faithful. But the translators have followed an English model and not that of the original in so far as they omitted the *Prastāvanā* and rendered even the prose portions of the original in verse. Thus they have presented this old Sanskrit play in a modern English garb; and credit must be given to them for their success. As a

specimen we quote the following soliloquy of Vidūshaka (the original of which is in prose) :—

I thank my lucky stars that I have seen
This rare old time of mirth and merry-making
For the long-wished for wedding of my lord,
The Vatsa king. Why, bless me! who'd have
thought it?
When we had been soused over head and ears
In such a whirlpool of calamity,
Who would have thought we ever should emerge?
And now, I bask on palace balconies,
Loll by the fountains in the ladies' court,
Eat the most toothsome and delicious dainties,—
In short, I live in an elysium,
With nothing missing but the heavenly nymphs
But there's one drawback, and a dreadful one : .
This diet plays the deuce with my digestion.
I cannot sleep upon a bed of down
For these distempered humours in my vitals,
Ugh! 'Tis no joke, I tell you, to endure
These griping pains. I can't enjoy my breakfast.

—(Act IV, pp. 21-2).

S. ŚĀSTRĪ.

¹⁸ JASB. (N. S.), Vol. IV, p. 290.

¹⁹ Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected paper MSS., Pt I, p. 22.

²⁰ Cf. expressions like *Śaka-nṛpati-mate*, *ibid*, Pt. II, p. 66.

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851.

By S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from p. 171.)

VI.

THE *COMFORT*'S FIGHT WITH MALABAR PIRATES, 1638.

The Malabar pirates infested the Indian coast from Mangalore to Cape Comorin. They comprised Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians, the last mentioned including European renegades, Portuguese and European half-castes. They were the subjects of petty princes or chiefs, nominally subordinate to the Mughal or, later, to the Marâthâs. To these chiefs the pirates paid a fixed share of their booty in return for ships, arms and provisions, though, in some cases they received a regular wage for the voyage and a monthly stipend in the off season instead of booty. Their sole object was plunder and their prisoners were almost invariably reserved for ransom, such ill-treatment as they received being due to the necessity of guarding against escape or to callous indifference to suffering rather than to intentional cruelty. In Europe every little Prince or State owning a mile of sea-coast claimed the right to issue commissions to privateers, whom it was impossible to distinguish from pirates, and the petty Indian chiefs claimed an immemorial right to issue passes to all ships which sailed by their shores and to punish, by forfeiture of goods and cargo, refusal or neglect to purchase these passes, for which indeed they demanded but a paltry price. The enforcement of this claim, and the further claim to seize the cargoes of all wrecks, European traders considered to be piracy, and resisted whenever they were able, whilst the local Governments of the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese tried to force native Indian vessels to carry passes which they themselves issued. It was a pretty game but not one to be commended.

A letter from John Mountney, dated 27th November 1638 (*India Office Records, O. C. 1651*) says that at this time there were twenty Malabar pirate vessels at sea, and that they approached their intended victims under the *white flag* (the use of which was well known in Asia as early as we have any record) and then suddenly attacked. This was the case in the attack on the *Comfort*.

"November the 16th being in the latitude of 11d. 20m, and in 13 fathom wee were chased by nine sayle of Friggotts from six in the morning untill eight before they came within shott of us, after which time they kept theyr distance untill twelve at noone, then falling flat calme; in so much they perceived our shippe could not work any way with her sayles they handed theyr sayles and immediately rew [rowed] all together on board us and lashed fast notwithstanding wee placed every snott into them and spoyled [hurt] many of theyr people.

"Being lashed on board, they entred theyr men in abundance, the which wee used all meanes possible to cleare, but, finding them so resolutely bent and still encreasing so abundantly, I resolved to blow up our upper deck, and effected it with the losse of not one of our people, yet some hurt, and divers of theyrs, namely the Mallabars, slayne and maimed.

"This seemed little or nothing to diminish or quell theyr courage but wee still continued to defend the opposing enemy by murthuring and wounding each other, they being so resolute that they would not step aside from the muzzell of our ordnance when wee fired upon them but immediately being fired heaved in whole bucketts of water, in so much that in the conclusion wee were forced to betake ourselves to the Gun-Deck, upon which wee had but two pieces of ordnance. They then cutting with axes the deck over our heads,

and hearing the hideous noyse and cry of such a multitude, thought how to contrive away to send them all to theyr greate adorer Belzebub, which was by firing all our powder at one blast,²² as many of us as were left alive leaping into the sea, yet intercepted (some) by those divelish helhounds.

" Wee were at that present English 23, being all wounded foure excepted, blacks 4 and Javaes 4 : slayne English 5, Javaes 3 and blacks 13 : all which were then living they tooke into theyr Friggotts and carried us on shoare about 24 houres after, where wee, the English, wanted all thinges whatsoever, irons, hunger and cold only excepted ; the manner of our then present estate would be but prolix to write and therefore omitted.

" During all this time of our encounter, which was from 8 in the morning untill 4 in the afternoone, there was not more than three leagues distance from us a Dutch shippe, which could not by any meanes assist us, in regard of its being calme, yet at 6 or 7 in the evening in our lee came fayre by the shippe burning, and so she continued, the enemy not gaining ought that belonged to the Honble. Company, but was enforced to leave her with the losse of more than 1400 men."²³

[Letter from Walter Clark, Commander of the Company's ship *Comfort*, to the Council of Bantam, dated 1st April 1639. *India Office Records, O. C. 1651 and 1671.*]

VII.

THE PIRATE COXINGA TAKES FORMOSA FROM THE DUTCH, 1661.

In 1624 the Dutch gave up their settlement in the Pescadores and, with the permission of the Japanese, settled at Taywan [Tai-ouan],²⁴ in the Island of Formosa. Here in 1634 they built a fort which they named Fort Zeelandia. The Japanese soon found it advisable to retire and the Dutch made themselves masters of the whole island. In this position they found it necessary to take action against the Chinese pirates. In 1626 the leader of these was one Chin-chi-lung who collected a large fleet and made himself master of the seas. When trapped and killed by the Chinese authorities in 1646, he was succeeded by one Chin-ching-kung, known to the Europeans by the Portuguese version of his name viz. Coxinga. He had been a tailor at Taywan in Dutch employ and had been baptized under the name of Nicholas Gaspard but dissatisfied with his treatment by the Dutch, he turned pirate. Finding that he could not establish himself in China itself and full of animosity against the Dutch, he formed the project of seizing the Island of Formosa. This he succeeded in doing in the year 1661. How he did so is told by Gautier van Schouten, who was in the Dutch East Indies at the time. Coxinga behaved with especial cruelty to the native converts and to the Dutch pastors, but such cruelty was characteristic of the Chinese pirates. It was exhibited as fiercely against their own countrymen as against foreigners, and, it is only fair to say, met with equally cruel reprisals.

During and after the Tartar invasion, pillaging and piracy, disorders on land and sea continued incessantly throughout China, as there were always two factions at war with each other. At last the remainder of the party which had been defeated on land betook itself to sea under the command of a famous pirate named Chinchilung or Yquion. He soon found himself master of a great fleet, and at the head of several valiant corsairs, that is, if corsairs deserve that the quality of valour should be ascribed to them.

²² Mandelslo (p. 87) says that some 1,200 of the enemy were blown into the air.

²³ The prisoners were ultimately released on payment of ransom and arrived safely at Surat.

²⁴ This was the port of exchange between Japan and China owing to the prohibition of direct intercourse. Mandelslo p. 165.

This fleet having engaged sometimes in piracy, sometimes in trade or private affairs, all together or in parts as occasion required, the forces of Chinchilung increased to such an extent that he quickly got together 3000 vessels. This formidable power filling him with audacity he formed the design of seizing the Empire, but the Tartars, more cunning than he, having enticed him ashore with the greater part of his men, defeated and took him prisoner and sent him to Peking, where they put him to death by poison.

Coxinga, who had been his lieutenant and second in command, took his place, though he came originally from the very dregs of the people, having been a tailor at Taiovan [an Island on the S.E. coast of Formosa] where the Sieur Putman [Hans Putmans] had employed him as such. Later he turned pirate and, having pulled off some considerable coups, acquired a high reputation which placed him in the position which he now occupied.

He hated our nation, which had often interfered with his piratical undertakings and given him some sufficiently important checks, for which he was looking out for an opportunity of revenge. Accordingly he equipped some hundreds of junks, some of which mounted forty guns and all were well manned and carried a number of soldiers. With this force he left the coast of China in order to land at Taiovan.

In Formosa there had occurred several portents of this misfortune. In the month of January, 1661 there took place a furious earthquake which caused all the mountains in the island to crumble and threw down thirty-one houses at Taiovan. The thick walls of Fort Zeelandia were cracked in several places and in others had fallen down. Three vessels in the harbour were tossed about in an extraordinary manner. The waves of the sea were raised to such a height that they looked like mountains and it appeared as if they would overwhelm the island. These tremors could be felt six weeks later though always diminishing in force. It is true that they had often occurred before in Formosa, but never before had they lasted so long or been so violent.

On the 15th April, 1661 at midnight terrible noises were heard on one of the bastions of Fort Zeelandia, named Middelburg, which waked up all of the soldiers who were asleep. Every one rushed to his arms and then towards the place from which the noises came, but look as they might, nothing could be seen. This incident caused extraordinary surprise.

There were three vessels at anchor in the Roads of Baxamboi, which, an hour before daylight, were seen from the land to be on fire and in flames which burst out again and again as if a cannon were being fired, but no reports were heard. On the other hand those who were on board saw the same take place in Fort Zeelandia. At daylight all these phenomena disappeared.

On the 29th April about mid-day there was seen, in front of the new works, a man who rose up three times out of the water and for the third time disappearing was seen no more. About mid-day beneath the Holland bastion there was seen a Siren with long blond locks of hair, who also showed himself three times. There were also several other portents which are thought to have been messengers of the approaching misfortune.

On the morning of the 30th April, as a great fog, which hid the horizon, began to clear, one saw from Fort Zeelandia that the sea was covered with vessels, a forest of masts. This great force was divided into three squadrons. The first, passing in front of Fort Zeelandia, cast anchor three leagues to the south. The second went north to the pass of Lagimoi which lies between Formosa and the long and narrow bank of Baxamboi. The third remained in the same place in which the whole fleet had been first seen, about a cannon-shot from the Dutch vessels in the Roads.

Soon after, the troops being landed spread on all sides, committing all sorts of hostilities, as well against the Chinese themselves and the Islanders as against the Dutch, and putting everything to fire and sword. Four hundred men, who had been sent to reinforce the garrison of Zijkam [Sakkam], being overtaken and defeated by the enemy, some of those who were not killed got into the Fort and others by swimming got back to Fort Zeelandia.

The enemy, laying siege to Fort Zijkam, cut off the watersupply and battered the Fort, which at first was valiantly defended, but the besieged, soon losing courage on account of the smallness of their forces and the want of provisions and water, surrendered at discretion on the 4th of May. The treatment given them was what might be expected from brutal and inhuman people who made them suffer all that one can in the most cruel captivity.

However as soon as the fleet was seen, Captain Thomas Pedel, sailing from Fort Zeelandia with some men, erected three batteries in the outskirts to command the shore. The next morning his son was brought to him with one of his arms cut off, the enemy having caught him with his tutor whom they had murdered. This gallant gentleman, wild with grief, begged of the Governor Sieur Coyet [Frederik Coyett] for permission to take two companies to look for the assassins. Having obtained it he marched along the shore supported by some little vessels which hugged the coast and had small guns.

The Chinese, seeing him coming, sent against him a whole army in order of battle, and after a short cannonade an engagement took place. The enemy came from all sides, the ground being covered by them, uttering furious cries and flashing their daggers and long swords. Pedel defended himself valiantly and made a great slaughter, but at last, overwhelmed by the prodigious number of his assailants, he and most of his people were killed. The remainder of the two hundred men whom he had commanded and who were not more than eighty, threw themselves into the water, and by the help of the little vessels or by swimming got back into the fort.

During this fight on land the three ships *Hector*, *Gravelande* and *Marie* were, according to the orders they had received, fighting at sea. But the powder on the *Hector* catching fire and blowing her up with more than 100 men, of whom not one escaped, the two others found themselves too weak to continue the fight and withdrew under the cannon of the Fort.

Moreover our people obtained no assistance from either the Islanders or the Chinese who had settled on the island, most of them having taken fright and fled and the remainder, unable to resist so great a force, submitted.

The enemy meeting with no resistance in the island penetrated everywhere and took all the little forts in it, putting to the sword everyone they found in arms, and even free women, slaves and children. They spared no one, neither priests nor officers, neither old people nor people of rank. Next Coxinga laid siege to Zeelandia and, having closely surrounded it, sent in a pastor, named Antoine Hambroek or Hambrouc, who had been made prisoner, to tell the Governor that if he would surrender he should have good quarter, but that in case of refusal he would not spare even the infants at the breast nor the prisoners he had taken or should take in the future.

Neither the Governor nor any other person amongst the besieged was inclined to listen to the deceitful offers of the enemy, and Pastor Hambrouc, who had left his wife and some of his children in their hands, could not make up his mind to abandon them. He made a last farewell to two of his daughters who were in the Fort, one of them being married to an officer. One can easily imagine how cruel and pathetic was such a parting. It was in fact a last adieu, for the Pastor and his son and the other prisoners were soon afterwards

decapitated, as well as Pierre Mus [?Mazins], Pastor of Favorlang [?Kelang], and Winshemius, Pastor of Zijkam. Some of them saw their wives violated before their eyes and then cut in pieces with swords. Other women after being violated were given to the Islanders as slaves. In short there was no barbarity or infamy which was not exercised on this occasion.

Governor Coyet, fearing that the two vessels which were left would be taken, sent the *Gravelande* to Kielang and the *Marie* to Batavia, where on its arrival the squadron mentioned above was fitted out [i.e., ten ships under Jacob Cacuw].

The enemy having pressed our people so closely that they were forced to abandon the town, they retired in all haste into the Fort with their cannon and set on fire the houses which were nearest to it. But the Chinese, who followed them up closely, extinguished the fire and saved and plundered all they could, and immediately filled with earth and sand the sugar boxes which they found, using them to entrench the streets. They raised cavaliers with batteries upon them: threw a quantity of fireworks; battered the Fort from several sides, after the return of Pastor Hambrouc, and hoped to make a breach, but in this they were disappointed.

On the contrary the besieged made a sortie and spiked the guns of the besiegers. They also made play with their mortars, and the Chinese, who had never before seen anything like them, ran to the places where the grenades were falling and were wounded by them. One of their Mandarins or Colonels, having been accused of cowardice, had his head cut off.

Herman Clenck [who had been sent to Taiovan as President and Commandant] having arrived at Taiovan and having unloaded a part of what he had with him was forced to go on to Japan. The enemy, continuing their attacks, made two new batteries at Baxamboi, whither up till then the besieged had been able to go to bury their dead, and in this way the Fort was battered on all sides.

On the 9th August twelve Dutch vessels appeared and this great reinforcement made our people hope that the Chinese would raise the siege. They were the ships which General Cœuw brought from Batavia. But it is in vain that men count upon their own forces if it does not please God to bless their designs. Scarcely had this agreeable sight struck the eyes of the besieged: scarcely had the twelve ships cast anchor when there arose a terrible tempest, which obliged them to cut their cables and run out to sea, where the ships were carried to such a distance that the besieged lost all hope of anything like speedy succour, besides which a flyboat named the *Urck* having grounded, fell into the hands of the Chinese, who by this means got full information of the condition and forces of the squadron.

At length the other vessels returned and disembarked men and provisions. Five of them posted themselves in the harbour behind the town, in order to enfilade the streets. But the entrenchments had been so well made that instead of annoying the enemy, our vessels were so troubled by their batteries that they were forced to retire. In carrying out this manœuvre the *Kouwkerke* also grounded and immediately afterwards was set on fire by the fireworks of the Chinese. The whole poop blew up. Some of the crew were cut to pieces and others, still living, were thrown into the flames which burst from the vessel. Others were drowned and very few indeed were saved.

Next a small flyboat named the *Koertehoef* ran aground, but the greatest part of the crew were so fortunate as to escape by swimming. Only the Master and a few of his men, who had jumped into a boat, were drowned by its capsizing.

However the Commandant of our squadron having armed some sloops and supplied them with a quantity of fireworks, they were sent against the Chinese junks to try to burn them. But the number of the junks was so great and they were so well handled that they surrounded the sloops, took one of them and also two boats and made their crews prisoners. Further the Chinese, holding in their hands great pieces of sailcloth, in which they caught the grenades, immediately threw them back into our ships where they fell wounding our people, who were forced to retire with the loss of three hundred and eighty men, not counting the wounded. The enemy cut off the noses, the ears and the privy parts of the dead who remained in their hands and threw them into the sea with shouts of derision.

After so many disgraces it is not surprising that the besieged lost courage. Heaven, the Elements, the Air, the Winds, the Currents, the Earth, all declared against them, all favoured their enemies. Up to this time the besieged had been able to communicate freely with the ships. The enemy now tried to prevent this. To frustrate their design the Governor caused a small wooden redoubt to be erected, which by its fire caused great annoyance to those of them who wished to establish themselves between the Fort and the ships. Besides this the besieged turned one of their vessels into a fireship without anything appearing outside to show what they had done. The Chinese advancing to fight and take it, the Dutch abandoned it and fled in a pretended panic. When the enemy had carried it off it blew up in the middle of their junks and destroyed a great number of their people. On the other hand their cannon pierced through and broke down the redoubt in several places.

The besieged might still have maintained themselves and forced the Chinese to raise the siege, if a treacherous sergeant, named Hans Jurgen, [Radis] with some others whom he had debauched, had not deserted and reported to the enemy the condition of the place. Three Dutch ships which had gone to the Pescadores to try to get cattle and fish for the sick, were cut off by the enemy and the greater part of their crews killed. Ten of them, whom they caught in the water or on the shore, had their noses and ears and right hands cut off and fastened round their necks, in which condition they were sent back as a final insult to our Nation.

Whilst these things were happening, the yacht *Gravelande* went to Quelang and took up the Factor Nicolas Lœnius, Marc Masius Pastor and three married Dutch ladies, fifteen inhabitants of that place, sixteen children, twenty eight slaves, &c., in all 170 persons, as the place was defenceless and exposed to the insults of the Chinese. All these people were carried to Japan and landed in the little island of Disna [Deshima].

The Dutch ladies were regarded by the Japanese with extreme curiosity for they had never seen any before, and they treated them very civilly. In the end they were brought to Batavia, whence the widow of the Sieur N. Lœnius, who had married again, had returned to Holland.

Admiral Cœuw, with five of his ships, went to China, to obtain help from the Tartars. But a fresh tempest having again dispersed his little squadron, he, with three of his vessels, was thrown on the coast of Siam, whence he sent them back to Batavia. The two others returned to Taiovan without having been able to get any help.

The Chinese having continuously battered the redoubt and fired more than seventeen hundred shots at it, the besieged were forced to abandon it. The enemy, taking possession of it, one hundred of them were blown into the air in consequence of a lighted match which had been left close to the powder. But the Chinese immediately raised a cavalier in the

same place, put some thirty-six pounder guns in it, and having made a breach prepared to give an assault.

The Fort was by no means in condition to stand an assault successfully. Dropsy, dysentery and scurvy were rife and had carried off a large number of people. The churches were full of sick as also the warehouses; since the beginning of the siege we had lost more than sixteen hundred men, and in fact the only choice was to perish or capitulate. Thomas van Yperen and David Harthouwer went to the enemy's camp, who sent two hostages into the place, and an agreement was come to on the following conditions, viz., That all prisoners should be returned on both sides. That Fort Zeelandia should be surrendered to the Chinese with all the goods and silver in it, which amounted to some tons of gold [?] and also the cannon of which there were forty pieces. That the besieged, to the number of about nine hundred men, well and sick, should march out with arms in their hands and colours flying.

On these conditions the Fort was surrendered after a general discharge of the cannon, which the Chinese insisted upon to assure themselves that they had not been tampered with. The Dutch then embarked and were transported to Batavia.

* * * * *

The arms used by the Chinese are great swords with long handles which they can use either as spears or scythes. They have bows, arrows and long javelins with white streamers. They carry large ensigns, both pendants and standards, on which are painted monsters, heads of devils and the figures of dragons.

They have armour covering them from the head to the knee and a helmet on the head reaching down to the shoulders, with no openings in it except for the mouth and the eyes. On the top of the helmet is a sharp spike which they use very skilfully for wounding their enemy and throwing him down. Their armour is composed of an infinity of plates like scales, and they wear two or three of them, one over the other, which hang down and flap against their thighs and will resist musquet shots. Thus clad they look more like devils than human beings, and indeed many people think them no better than devils. They keep good order in war and in all military operations, and a thousand musquet shots will not make them give ground. At the head of each company there is generally an officer on horseback, two others on the flanks and one in the rear, well armed and carrying their swords drawn with which they cut down any one whom they see giving way."

[*Voyage de Gautier van Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, 1658-1665, Vol. I, p. 270.]

VIII.

DEATH OF JOHN PETTIT, 1684.

The coasts of Cutch (Kachh) and Gujarât, or, speaking roughly, the north-western coast of India from Karâchî to Surat, were inhabited from time immemorial by pirates, each new wave of settlers, including recruits from the local Râjpûts, taking up the local tradition, and continuing their operations until finally suppressed by the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Various names were applied to different sections of these pirates, but, in general, they were referred to by Europeans as Sanganians or Sangadians.

On my reference to Sir Richard Temple as to the origin of this term he writes:—

"The Sanganian pirates of the coasts of Sindh, Kachh and Kâthiâwâr, especially of Kachh, were so famous among Europeans in the 17th century that Orelby's *Atlas* (1670) refers to Kachh as Sanga.

"From your quotations regarding them, they were known as Sanganians, Sangadians, Singaneys, Singanias, representing vernacular forms, such as Sangani, Sangadi, Singani, Singania. All these forms are descriptive adjectives and clearly relate to the name of a tribe inhabiting places in Sindh, Kachh and Kâthiâwâr. Other European spellings of the name are Sanghanians and Sangaries.

"Sanghâr, Sangâr, Singhar (Changâr in the Panjâb) is the name of a tribe widely spread in places over Upper India from Sindh to Bengal. There are also Sanghâr or Sengar Râjpûts. The tribe has been settled in India for a very long time, and was found in Sindh as Sangâmera (Tangâmera) by the Arabs in the 8th century A.D., and by Alexander's Greeks (4th century B.C.) about the Indus delta of the period as Sangada, Sangârâ (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II (Thana), pp. 713-14, footnote).

"They came into Kachh from Sindh with the Samâs, splitting into four divisions of Râjpûts, and were joined by other Râjpûts (Châvara, Châhurân). Some became Muhammadans, or perhaps emigrated as such (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 167-174; Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 246).

"It may be assumed therefore that the Sanganians were originally very early emigrants into India through Sindh, settling down eventually as Râjpûts in numerous places, and in some instances as 'low castes', like many other tribes. Those on the coasts took to piracy, doubtless a long time ago, and attracted recruits from adventurous men of Râjpût origin. Their stronghold originally was at Kachhigad, five miles above Dwârkâ, and subsequently at Bet (Shankhodâr) in Kachh: the Beyt of the Maps and of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and the Bate of the older spelling, formerly known to Europeans as Sanganiat, Singania, from its association with the Sanganians (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V, (Cutch), pp. 95, 96)."

Of these people Alexander Hamilton (*A New Account of the East Indies*, I, 132-33) says:—"Their seaport is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade but practise piracy. They give protection to all criminals who deserve punishment from the hand of justice . . . They, being confident of their numbers, strive to board all ships they can come at by sailing. Before they engage in fight they drink *Bang*, which is made of a seed like hempseed that has an intoxicating quality and whilst it affects the head they are furious. They wear long hair and when they let that hang loose they'll give no quarter."²⁵

Such were the pirates into whose hands fell Mr. John Pettit, a Member of the Bombay Council, who, having quarrelled with Sir John Child, the President, bought a ship, the *George*, in which he went trading to the Persian Gulf. It will be seen that, in spite of the defence, which caused the pirates serious losses, these Sanganians preferred ransom to revenge, and then, having landed their prisoners, were so callous to their sufferings and careless of their own interests that they allowed the ransom to slip out of their hands, whilst they haggled about its amount, for the want of a little attention.

The use of *bang* (*Cannabis indica*) to infuriate soldiers before attack was a common practice in the East and is referred to by Orme and other writers in their accounts of fighting in all parts of India.

I Ben Oxborough being put on board the shipp called the *George*, which belonged to Mr. John Pettit, himself being on board also, wee sett saile from the Island Bombay upon the

²⁵ So the Spartans at Thermopylae combed out their long hair before they made their last stand against the Persians.

20th day of October [1684] designed for Suratt. Upon the 28th day wee were sett upon by two Sanganyan pyratts, the one a shipp, the other a very large grabb,²⁶ which wee engaged for about foure houres, but at length, wee having destroyed many of them, they left our shipp, wee sustaining noe damage but the loss of one Englishman.²⁷ But it pleased God that a very sad accident happened, for our powder took fyre and the Quarter-Deck was blown up, which falling downe, part of it broake Mr. Pettit's head and bruised his right shoulder very much and had undoubtedly prest him to death, but that the timber was supported by a great gunn, by which Mr. Pettit stood, as also he was most lamentably burnt with the powder on the left side of his face and neck and left legg and foot, which was a great torment to him, but with much adoo hee gott out with seaven more Englishmen, myself being one. Butt the shipp falling on fyre and having noe hopes to quench itt, wee betook ourselves to our boates. But the Mate, one Mr. Samuel Harris, gott into the Pinnis with three more Englishmen and most unworthily rann away with her and left us, by reason of which wee were forst to gett into the long boate, which had neither saile nor oares, by reason of which wee became a prey to the Enemye, who, seeing our distress, turned head upon us and took us prisoners; and as soone as wee came aboard of them they stript Mr. Pettit of his uper garment onely, which was a great favour, none else experiencing the same, after which hee was put asterne of their grabb in our boate, where wee continued about three houres, at the end of which time they took Mr. Pettit and myself aboard, leaving the other two in the boate, towing astearne all night with nothing for their covering but their shirts and those almost burnt off their backes, by means of which, it being very cold in the night and their burnes almost intollerable, the one dyed the next day, the other two dayes after.

For Mr. Pettit's entertainment, it was as followeth: As soone as wee entered wee were put downe into their cookroome where wee were forst to sett almost one upon another, there being seaven lasscarrs with us, and could take noe rest. In the morning wee understood the pyratts held a consultation what to do with us, and at length itt was determined that Mr. Pettit, myself and two Christian lasscarrs should bee put into the pro [? prow or native boat so called] and there to have our throats cutt and so heaved overboard. Accordingly wee were put there. Over the head the sea which came washing us [*sic*], which was much troublesome to Mr. Pettit's legg. Here wee continued about three houres, but Mr. Pettit, being very uneasy, sent for one of the officers and desired a better place and hee would reward him with five rupees, which as soone as they found there was money coming they granted, which I believe was one cause of our preservation, for after that wee understood they examined the Moore lasscarrs very strictly what itt was, and by two Banyans who was with us they understood the certainty of what hee [Mr. Pettit] was; so from thence wee were removed into their Kernoe [? canoe or boat] upon deck among their sailes, where wee had not continued but a very short time when the soulders upon deck began to bee outrageous and were about to cut us in pieces, but the officers stopt them, upon which Mr. Pettit proffered five rupees more for another place to lye in, which they granted likewise and removed us to the Quarter-Deck, where wee had a Topgallant saile allowed us for a bed and covering; but the next morning the Pylate of the shipp would not suffer us to continue there any longer, upon which Mr. Pettit promised him fifty rupees more for a good lodging where hee might be settled, which they granted also, but did not perform to expectacon, for wee were put down into their hold upon the rock stones which was all

²⁶ Mahr. *guráb*, from Ar. *ghorab*, a galley. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Grab.—ED.

²⁷ He does not include those killed when the ship was blown up after the pirates had been repulsed.

their Ballis [ballast] and there wee were forst to lye all the terme of the voyage, itt being tenn dayes (which was very hard), in all which time Mr. Pettit never went to stool, which did much disorder him and putt him into a feaver and could gett neither Doctor nor Cururgion to give him help but a poor silly Barber, who brought a little white oyntment, which I cannot tell whether itt did him good or hurt.

At length wee were carryed ashore, Mr. Pettit being soe unwildy hee was forst to be carryed out in the Topgallant saile by forse of men, and when on shore was carryed up to their towne in a cart. The place being called Ramra,²⁸ as soone as wee came to their towne wee were called before their Roger [Râjâ] or King and examined where hee was, very sivilly treated, and they bid him [Mr. Pettit] feare nothing, for hee should sustaine noe damage but should have what hee desired. But all hee could gett was a little rise and butter, save a great deel of Cow-milk and butter-milk, and the which I believe did him harme, but hee could not be dissuaded from itt; alsoe hee was brought to soe low a condicon by reason of his burnes as hee could not turne his legg up on his body but as I turned itt for him, neither could hee make water or goe to stoole but as I turned him and held a peece of potsherds to him to ease himselfe, yet notwithstanding, hee had noe feare nor apprehencon of any danger but seemed to bee very chearly, I endeavoring to promote itt what I could.

At length the Roger sent to him about his ransume and demaunded a lack of rupees, but at last fell to ten thousand which hee granted, but the next day they went back of their words and would have five thousand more, which too much troubled him, hee telling me hee would willingly give itt but was afraid if hee should condescend they would stand off againe, and soe hee should never know when hee had done.

The night after, wee having been ashoare seaven dayes, I heard him talke idly [deliriously]. In the morning hee was pretty well but I was afraid of him, askt him if hee had any words to send to Suratt. Hee answered Noe. Then I askt him if hee had made his will. Hee told mee Is [Yes], soe I would trouble him noe more at that time, hee being inclinable to sleepe, but at last I, seeing him grow worse and worse, sent to the Roger to acquaint him that hee was in a very bad condicon and if hee had noe Doctor to afford him present helpe I thought hee could not continue [to live] and soe they would lose their ransume, upon which came a great many of the Cheife men and felt of his pulse, some saying hee was not so ill, others shaking their heads at him.

But noe helpe, and in the afternoone, I lyeing by him, hee fell into a very cold sweat and in an houres time departed, which as soone as itt was knowne there was order given for a grave to bee made and myselfe and three of the blacks were commanded to carry him to his grave, which we did. Myselfe was one of the two which put him in. This as near as I can remember is the whole of this sad Axydent concerning Mr. Pettit, which I affirme to be the truth. Witnesse my hand.²⁹

Jany. the 20th. 1684-5.

BEN OXBOROUGH. [*India Office Records, O.C. No. 5304.*]

The account given by the Mate, Samuel Harris, is as follows:—

October the 29th, 1684. At eleven in the forenoon engaged with the Singaneys, where they boarded us with four or five hundred men, continuing till three in the afternoon, then

²⁸ Arāmra, opposite the island of Beyt, on the Gujarāt Coast.

²⁹ According to this account, Hamilton's statement (I, 198, 202) that Pettit died after six months captivity, owing to Sir John Child's refusal to allow him to be ransomed, is quite inaccurate.

they finding us to be too hot for them, put off and fell astern, then we firing off musketts out of the Great Cabin windows, the powder room scuttle being open, blew our ship up and killed our commander Thomas Matthews and [the] gunner, four Englishmen more, five lascars and two Portuguese women outright. Then the fire being so fierce we was forced to take to our boats. Mr. John Pettit, Mr. Oxenbon [or Oxborough], six lascars, one Banyan in the longboat, Samuel Harris and the Boatswaine, two Englishmen more, one Portuguese merchant, fifteen wounded lascars, took to the Pinnace, leaving some twenty or twenty-five souls on board the ship alive. The longboat having no oars in her was taken up by the Singaneys, but we got ashore the next morning at Tarrapore [Tārāpur, Cambay] where one Englishman dyed of his wounds and five lascars.

Damages received by him [i.e., from the enemy], lost our head [fore-part, bows] and bowspritt, one man killed. His damage was unknown, but upon our deck we had forty or fifty of his men dead and as many more swam by the board crying for help. This from me

SAMUEL HARRIS. [*India Office Records, O. C. No. 5233.*]

(*To be continued.*)

SECOND NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.; CALCUTTA.

IN my previous note¹ on the edition of the above inscription by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, I discussed mainly the passage alleged to have contained the date of the inscription. Since then a new impression of the inscription has been taken by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, and his revised readings and notes have been published in *JBORS.*, December 1918.² It is gratifying to note that the learned scholar has now given up the reading *pānātariyā-saṭhivasasate* which was looked upon as the key-stone of the date of the inscription, but which, as I contended in my note, was altogether untenable. Unfortunately, however, the new reading proposed is equally, or rather still more, unsatisfactory. It runs as follows:—“*pānatariya-sata-sahasehi Muriya kālām*”. As no facsimile is given along with the revised reading, we can only take help of that which was first published. Now, unless this is looked upon as an absolute forgery, we fail to understand how the new reading can be evolved at all. Any one who looks at the estampage can easily satisfy himself that the letters can by no means be construed as *satasahasehi*. The editor remarks:—“I examined the passage for several successive days, and so did Mr. Panday along with me. We both came to the definite conclusion that the text is as given above. . . . We had three fresh impressions taken and they all confirmed the above readings. . . . I can with absolute confidence say that the former readings were wrong.”³ It is indeed unfortunate that the editor did not see his way to publish this new impression, but until that is done, it is legitimate to hold that the new reading proposed by him is sufficiently doubtful. The reader is indeed puzzled, when he finds that the same letters are read, with equally absolute confidence, once as *saṭhivasasate rāja* and at another time as *sata sahasehi*.

While first editing the inscription, Mr. Jayaswal rejected the theory that the expression beginning with *choyaṭha aga satika*, in line 16, denoted any date, even when

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 223.

² To be denoted henceforth by Roman numeral II, the Journal for December 1917 in which the first article was published being denoted by Roman numeral I.

³ II, p. 394.

taken along with the preceding words which were interpreted as year 165 of the time of king Muriya.⁴ He now takes the very expression as the principal phrase recording the date by itself, and translates the whole sentence as follows :—" He (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted, and being of an interval of sixtyfour with a century." ⁵ It is a very unusual way of expressing dates, to say the least of it, even if we hold that the expression is rightly read and the translation correctly made. There are, however, grounds of doubt in both these respects. With the facsimile before us it is difficult to read *kāla* in place of *kāle* and *vochhinnem* instead of *vochhinne*, while the proposed interpretation of *vochhinne* and *upādāyati* is certainly not such as carries immediate conviction. We need not pursue the subject further till the new impressions of this very important portion of the record are made accessible to the public. In the meantime we are bound to maintain that no case has as yet been made for those who look upon line 16 of this inscription as containing any reference to a date.⁶

Much has been made of the expression *tatiye kaliṅga-rājavase purisa-yuge*⁷ in ll. 2-3. Mr. Jayaswal has taken this to refer to the " third dynasty of Kaliṅga " and proceeded to discuss the two dynasties that preceded the one to which Khāravela belonged. In his opinion the first dynasty occupied the throne of Kaliṅga from the time of Mahābhārata war to its conquest by Nandivardhana, and the second, during the interval between the fall of the Nandas and the conquest of the country by the emperor Aśoka; the Cheta dynasty to which Khāravela belonged and which reasserted the independence of Kaliṅga being of course the third. According to Mr. Jayaswal " the inscription thus indirectly confirms the Purāṇas, which indicate that the Aryan rule in Kaliṅga had come down for some 1300 years." ⁸

I am not prepared to concede that the expression certainly means " third dynasty of Kaliṅga." The simple meaning seems to be " the third generation (*yuga*)⁹ of the Kaliṅga kings in the male line." This seems very suitable when taken along with the context. For Khāravela who would thus belong to the third generation of Kaliṅga kings, was a young contemporary of king Śātakarṇi, who has been generally identified with the first Andhra king of the name and who was the third king of that royal family. It may be assumed that when the disruption of the Maurya empire began, both the Kaliṅgas and the Andhras seized the opportunity and declared their independence, and the one event followed closely upon the other. Although Śātakarṇi did not probably belong to the third generation, his long reign must be presumed to have covered the period for the third generation.

But, even assuming that the expression really means " the third dynasty of Kaliṅga," there is no reason to connect the first dynasty with that described in Mahābhārata. The Nandas and the Mauryas had conquered Kaliṅga and they might be looked upon respectively as the first and second dynasties. The objection that they were conquerors from the north does not carry any weight in view of the presumption made by Mr. Jayaswal that the Cheta dynasty too came from the north. It may be pointed out in this connection that it is

⁴ I, p. 450.

⁵ II, pp. 394-95.

⁶ Mr. R. Chanda also arrives at the same conclusion after a prolonged discussion. *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur of India*, Vol. I, p. 8ff.

⁷ Mr. Jayaswal now reads it as *ca* se (II, p. 373) but there is no trace of any *anuvāra* in the published facsimile.

⁸ I, p. 436.

⁹ Mr. Jayaswal himself offers this meaning of *yuga* (I, p. 437).

extremely unusual for a king to refer to, far less to number, the dynasties that preceded his own and I do not believe there is another instance in Indian Epigraphy. The interpretation assigned by Mr. Jayaswal to the expression is therefore less probable even on general grounds, whereas it is extremely unsafe to look upon it even as an indirect confirmation of the Pauranic statement that the Aryan rule in Kalinga had come down for some 1300 years.

From some expression in line 4, Mr. Jayaswal has come to the conclusion that, according to the official estimate, the population of Kalinga numbered thirty-five hundred thousand.¹⁰ He has read the expression as *panatîsâhi sata-sahasehi pakatiyo cha ranjayati*.¹¹ Now any one who looks at the estampage can satisfy himself that the third letter cannot be *tî* and that the fifth and the sixth letters cannot be respectively *ha* and *sa*. Besides, the second letter has a distinct *ê* mark on the left and most likely represents *no*. If the published facsimile is a faithful one, I have not the slightest doubt that the reading adopted by Mr. Jayaswal cannot be maintained.

Mr. Jayaswal has traced the name of the contemporary king of Magadha in line 12. He first read the expression as “*Ma(ga)dhâ cha Râjâna(m) Bahapati-mitraṃ pâde vandâpayati*” and sought to identify king Bahapatimitra with the well-known king Brihaspati-mitra whose name appears in coins and inscriptions as *Bahasati-mita*.¹² In his revised reading he has given the name as *Bahasatimita*, thus removing the discrepancy between the two forms. He remarks:—“The rock decided that the name is spelt as *Bahasati* not *Bahapati*” and further informs us that a cast was taken of the letters on Plaster of Paris.¹³ It is difficult to understand, why, in this case as well as in the all-important expression containing the date, the editor did not think it necessary to give the benefit of his personal examination of the rock to the public in the shape of improved facsimiles. He ought to have considered that expressions containing such important historical information must be placed above all doubts and cannot be accepted merely on the authority of any scholar, however great. I do not mean any disrespect to Mr. Jayaswal or cast any doubt upon his scholarship, but I am bound, in all fairness, to confess, that the facsimile which was published with his original article does not seem to me to lend any weight to his view. After a close and careful inspection of the letters I am of opinion that the reading adopted by Mr. Jayaswal is mostly conjectural. The first two letters are hopelessly indistinct, and the portion that remains of the third letter does not make it likely that it represents *dha*. As regards the six letters which have been read as *Bahasatimitram*, the second letter seems to have a clear *u* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. I would propose the tentative reading *bahu pasâsitaṃ* which gives good sense. I do not of course deny that the reading *Bahasatimitaṃ* might, after all, be proved to be correct but so long as it is not supported by a clear impression of the inscription, all conjectures about the relation of king Khâravela and Bahasatimitra must be altogether given up.

The arguments by which Mr. Jayaswal has sought to identify Brihaspatimitra and Pushyamitra¹⁴ seem to me more ingenious than convincing. But after what has been said above the topic need not be discussed in this connection.

An expression in line 11 has led Mr. Jayaswal to conclude that Khâravela led out in procession the wooden statue of Ketubhadra, the Kalinga hero, who died in the great war, described in Mahâbhârata, thirteen hundred years ago. He further observes in this

¹⁰ I, p. 439ff.¹¹ II, p. 374.¹² I, pp. 457, 473ff.¹³ II, p. 385.¹⁴ I, p. 473ff.

connection that "a careful chronicle had been kept in Orissa. . . . Their record could go back 1300 years."¹⁵ He reads the expression as "*nekâsayati janapadabhâvanam cha terasa-vasa-sata-Ketubhada-titâmarâ-deha-saghâtam*." But the letter which has been read as *va* in *terasa-vasa-sata* has a distinct hook on its upper left, and although the lower loop is a little larger than usual, it should more properly be read as *kha*. I therefore propose the reading "*nekâsayati janapadabhâvanam cha terasa-Khasa-satam katabhadata (. . .)-deha-sâh-ghâtam*". It may be translated as follows:—"Expels the thirteen hundred Khasas¹⁶ who were a cause of anxiety to the whole community and who injured the body of the ascetics . . ." But even if Mr. Jayaswal's reading be accepted, his conclusions about Ketubhadra and the chronicle of Orissa reaching back thirteen hundred years seem to rest on too slender a hypothesis to be taken seriously. Regarding the expression *terasa-vasa sata* Mr. Jayaswal remarks:—"It may be said that *terasa-vasasata* may mean 113 years also. But we have another such expression in the inscription *ti-vasa-sata* which, as has been shown, can only mean 300 and not 103 years. . . . That being so we must take the similar expression *terasa-vasa-sata* in the same way, i.e., to mean 1300 and not 113."¹⁷ Mr. Jayaswal evidently forgets that a few pages later he explained another similar expression viz. *sâhi-vasa-sate* as 160 and not 6,000.

Then, as regards Ketubhadra or "His Highness Ketu" Mr. Jayaswal remarks that "the age given for him in the inscription—thirteen centuries before Khâravêla's time (1300 - 160 = 1460 B.C.)—takes us to men who lived about the date of Mahâbhârata war as given by the Purânas (1424 B.C.)". This naturally led him to look into Mahâbhârata and there he found, to his agreeable surprise, that "Ketumân commanded the army of Kalinga in the great war as Commander-in-chief of the Kalinga forces. He was the eldest son of the king of Kalinga. He fought a great battle against Bhîma and had a heroic end on the battlefield."¹⁸

This is a serious error on the part of Mr. Jayaswal. The chapter 54 of Bhishmaparvan, to which he gives reference, clearly shows that the king of Kalinga named Śrutâyû actually commanded his forces in the battlefield and was killed by Bhîma, that his son "who fought a great battle against Bhîma and had a heroic end" was named Sakradeva, and that Ketumân was the name of a Nishâda chief who fought on the side of Duryodhana along with the Kalinga chief and met his end on the same day. The following verses, among others, from chapter 54 of Bhishmaparvan leave no doubt on the above points:—

"Tatah Śrutâyûh samkruddho rājñâ Ketumatâ saha

Âsasâda rane Bhîmam vyûdhânîkeshu Chedishu (6)

Kalingas=tu maheshvâsa's putras=ch âsya mahârathah || (18)

Sakradeva iti khvâto jaghnatuh Pândavam śaraih" | (19)

(Cf. also verses 24, 72, 75, 77).

Thus Ketumân was not only not a king or even a prince of Kalinga but was a Nishâda by caste (vs. 5 and 7) and his forces are clearly distinguished from the Kalinga army. It is a matter of surprise how, in spite of all these detailed descriptions, Mr. Jayaswal could have made Ketumân a Kalinga hero and the son of a Kalinga king!!

After all I do not find that much real progress has been made in the elucidation of the record beyond what was done by former scholars with the help of Pandit Bhagawanlal's

¹⁵ I, p. 436ff.

¹⁶ The Khasas are mentioned along with the Drâvidas in the Manu-Saṁhitâ (Ch. X, v. 22). The Khasas may therefore be supposed to have lived in the south in Khâravêla's time.

¹⁷ I, p. 438.

¹⁸ I, p. 437.

eye-copy, although two reputed scholars, with adequate equipments, have since visited the cave in order to make a scientific study of the inscription. Reliable historical information which they have been able to glean out of the record does not make any substantial addition to what we already knew about it, and this is a great disappointment to those who, like myself, built high hopes on a scientific study of the inscription. The result is no doubt to be sincerely deplored, but one cannot help thinking that it is mainly due to the decaying state of the cave which no longer admits of a sure interpretation of the record, but gives wide scope to guesses and conjectures. It is difficult to give any other explanation of the serious differences which pervade the two separate editions of the text, although both are based upon facsimiles prepared by approved scientific process, and aided by the personal experience of two distinguished scholars. The difficulty is, that we are asked to take on trust many things which do not appear clearly upon the estampage; but, in view of the differences between the two editions we may be excused if we refuse to concede this demand. Whether this state of things will ever be improved admits of doubt, but, in the meanwhile, we should rather confess that we know little than accept conclusions which do not clearly follow from the impression which we actually possess.

In the July-October number of *JRAS.*, 1918, Dr. V. A. Smith contributed a short note on the Hâthigumphâ inscription of Khâravela, in order, as he says, to give wide publicity to the learned paper on the above subject written by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, Vol. III, p. 425. Dr. V. A. Smith practically endorsed all the views put forward by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and did not even hesitate to give out as his opinion that the results achieved by Mr. Jayaswal were almost final.¹⁹ A great deal of importance naturally attaches to what Dr. V. A. Smith says on a matter relating to the history of ancient India and this makes it incumbent upon those who hold different views about Mr. Jayaswal's conclusions to test and analyse them a little more closely than would otherwise have been necessary. The second edition of the inscription with radical changes in the reading and the interpretation of the record is the most emphatic retort to Dr. V. A. Smith's views about the finality of the results achieved by Mr. Jayaswal. The above discussion is intended to demonstrate that the second edition of the inscription has as much or as little claim to be regarded as final as the first.

THE INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS IN TAMIL.

By JULES BLOCH.¹

So long ago as 1872, at p. 309ff. of Vol. I. of the *Indian Antiquary*, Burnell called the attention of scholars to a passage in Kumârila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravârttika*, a work composed towards the end of the VIIth century A.D., a passage notable inasmuch as it quotes sundry Dravidian words. In Vol. XLII of the *Indian Antiquary* (pp. 200, 201) Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar has given a new and corrected reading of this interesting passage, of which it may be convenient to repeat the meaning here:—

“So in Dravidian etc. language, in the case of words ending in consonants, we find that by inserted alterations, such as the addition of vowel terminations or feminine suffixes, we obtain words which bear a meaning in our own speech. For example, from *cor*, ‘boiled rice’, we get *cora*, ‘thief’. From *atar*, ‘road’, we make *atara*, by saying: “True, as it is difficult to traverse [*dustara*], the road is *atara* or ‘impassable’.” So, again, the word *pâp*, ending in

¹⁹ “The crucial question of date has been determined finally, and all the principal facts stated in and the inferences deducible from the inscription are placed beyond reasonable doubt.” *JRAS.*, 1918, p. 544.

¹ Extracted, with additions, from *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. XIX, fasc. 2 (1914, p. 85 ff.), translated by Mr. J. D. Anderson.

the consonant *p*, signifies 'a serpent'; but by adding the vowel *a*, we can assert: "True, it is indeed 'maleficent' or *pāpa*." Similarly the word *māl*, which means 'woman' can be made into *mālā*, 'a garland'. "And that is true," we remark. So also the word *vair*, when it ends with *r*, signifies 'the belly'. But pronounce it as *vairi* and reason as follows: "Yes, in impelling all famished mortals to crime, the belly in fact acts as an enemy, a *vairi*." But though in the case of the Dravidian etc. language, we can accommodate the words at will [to make sense], yet when it is a question of the Persian, barbarian, Greek, Roman and other such languages, we know not how to arrange them so as to arrive at any meaning whatever."

From what speech, then, are taken the words cited by Kumārila? The opinion generally held is that we have here to do with Tamil, or rather chiefly with Tamil, as is sufficiently indicated by the use of the group-word *Drāvidādi* before the singular *bhāṣāyām*. The implicitly accepted ground for that opinion, which may be taken to be as valid now as ever it was, is that all the words cited by Kumārila are known to us in Tamil. If we must admit that the word *māl* in the sense of 'woman' does not occur anywhere, it can nevertheless be interpreted, as Mr. Srinivas Iyengar has explained in his article, as being clumsily extracted from an authentic compound Tamil phrase. Strongest argument of all, two of these words *atar* and *cor*, are at present unknown anywhere except in Tamil. Finally, we have Caldwell's identification of the nouns *Drāviḍa* and *Tamīl*, at pp. 8 to 10 of his *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* (3rd ed.), a matter to which I shall presently revert. Subject to the result of possible further investigation of the use of the words in question, and especially *atar* and *cor*, in other Dravidian speeches, we can, I think, already deduce some significant indications as to the probable development of the Tamil language from this passage of Kumārila.

In the first place, Mr. Srinivas Iyengar (herein following Burnell) notes that three of the examples quoted by the Sanskrit writer are defective, inasmuch as the words *śōru*, *pāmbu* and *vayiru* have not the consonantal termination postulated by Kumārila. But, with all due deference to Sir G. A. Grierson and Dr. Sten Konow (Vol. IV, *Munḍa-Dravidian*, p. 287 of the *Linguistic Survey*; cf. also Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 126, n. 2), who think the assumption a rash one, I venture to think that there is no reason to suppose that the existing vowel-endings are not quite modern. Indeed, the terminal vowel is often absent in colloquial Tamil at the present day, and normally disappears in compound words and in oblique cases of the noun. It should also be noted that, in passing from one Dravidian language to another, we find instances of this change. Take, for instance, the affix of the plural, which in Tamil is *-gal* (colloquial *-ga*), in Canarese *-galu* (colloquial *-gol*), in Tulu *-kulu* and in Telugu *-lu*. Take, again, the classical Tamil *il*, 'house', expanded into *-ile* as the ending of the locative case, which becomes in Telugu *illu*, and in Kui *iḍu*. So the Tamil *taṇṇīr* (colloquial *taṇṇi*) 'water', becomes in Telugu *niḷlu*.

But the most interesting inferences to be deduced from the form of the words quoted by Kumārila relate to the law, characteristic of Tamil, by which the intervocalic occlusive consonants become sonants. This law is well known (see, for example, Caldwell, p. 138ff.) and may be stated thus. As initials, the occlusive *k*, *t* and *p* remain surds, as also when they are doubled between vowels. But they become sonants (and often even spirants) when they occur singly between vowels, and are also sonants after nasals. Similarly, as an initial *s* is often pronounced as *c*, and always when it is doubled; after *ñ* it always becomes *j*. (Note here the significant difference between Tamil *vayiru* and Canarese *basir*, 'belly'; cf. Caldwell,

p. 153, and Vinson, *Manuel de la langue Tamoule*, pp. 44, 45). The same rule applies to *t* and *r* (both included in the category of 'strong' letters as distinguished from 'middle' letters, *i.e.* liquids, and 'soft' letters, *i.e.* nasals), save only that they do not occur as initials; hence, between vowels, we may get either *tt* and *tt* or *d* and *r*. It is a consequence of this law that such Sanskrit words as *kathâ*, *dantâ*, *pâpam*, are transliterated in Tamil as *kadei* (there are no aspirated consonants in Tamil), *tandam*, *pâbam*, and even *pâvam*.

This rule, which is clearly illustrated in Tamil by the system of script, in which the surd and the sonant are undistinguishable from one another, may possibly have operated also in other dialects of the same family. No doubt it is a result of it that in Canarese, no less than in Tamil, we get in compound numerals the form *padu-* as compared with *pattu*, 'ten'. But I need not elaborate a chapter in phonetic history whose existence we all suspect, but of which none of us has yet any direct proof.

Be that as it may, the forms *pâp* and, above all, *atar*, prove (as Grierson and Sten Konow have already pointed out, *op. cit.*, p. 288) that this law of the voicing of intermediate surds has operated in Tamil subsequently to the time when Kumânila Bhaṭṭa wrote. In fact, the word *atar* survives in Tamil (and in Tamil only, as aforesaid) in the compound form *adar-kkôl*, 'highway robbery.' That the *d* in this word was once pronounced as a surd by Kumânila's contemporaries is proved unmistakably by the fact that he identifies the word with the Sanskrit root *tar*. As for his word *pâp*, it is evidently the common stem from which we get Tamil *pâmbu*, Canarese *pâvu*, and Telugu *pâmu*, to which we must add the adjectival form quoted by Caldwell (p. 202), which gives *pâppu-kkodî*, 'serpent banner'. Note the same consonantal changes in the various Dravidian names for the Melia tree, which are in Tamil *vêmbu*, in Canarese *bêvu*, and in Telugu *vêma*; compare again, Tamil *kâmbu* with Canarese *kâvu*, meaning 'stalk', 'handle'. We may, then, legitimately infer that nasalisation after a long vowel in all these Tamil words is recent, and that the word for 'serpent', in particular, originally ended in a surd *p*.

It is evident, then, that intervocalic surds existed in old Tamil. We may even legitimately ask whether there was not a time when that language contained only surd consonants to the exclusion of sonants. This assumption alone would explain why, when they adopted the northern alphabet, the Tamils came to exclude the symbols representing sonants, just as, owing to the absence of aspirates in their own language, they rejected the symbols of aspirated consonants. So both from the testimony of Kumânila Bhaṭṭa and from the orthographical facts of the language we are led to infer that the present sonority of intervocalic consonants is a secondary and modern development.

But an even more interesting conclusion is now open to us. If we examine the phonetic state of the Indo-Aryan languages towards the beginning of the Christian era, we shall find that in these languages the occlusives occur in the following fashion (see J. Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, §§ 14, 81):—

Final occlusives have disappeared.

Initial occlusives survive, whether surds or sonants.

Between vowels, we find, firstly, that doubled letters (surds and sonants) have taken the place of the old compound consonants; and, secondly, that single intervocalic consonants are now sonants exclusively, whether they were originally surd or sonant.

If we omit the consideration of aspirated consonants (and these are lacking to all languages of Southern India, including the Indo-Aryan Singhalese), we cannot but be struck

by the remarkable similarity of the phonetic changes undergone by the two families of languages. But we can carry the parallel even further. In the subsequent middle-Indian Aryan speeches, intervocalic sonants, we shall find, become spirant or disappear; on the other hand, the doubled consonants which took the place of the classical compound consonants are simplified in the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Exactly in the same way, the intervocalic sonants of modern Tamil tend to become spirants, and double letters as in Northern India, to become single. Nay, the very change of surds into sonants after nasals has a singular parallel, and that at a distant date in the Indo-Aryan dialects of the North West (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, I, p. 331ff).

But if we have established, in medieval and modern times, a singularly close parallel development in the two groups of languages, may we not conjecture a similar parallelism in a more distant past? Suppose, as we easily may, that the Sanskritic languages of Hindustan had only become known to us at that stage of development at which we first make acquaintance with the earliest dated documents of Dravidian speech, and that we were still unaware of their affinities with Indo-European languages. It would obviously be impossible to adduce documentary proof of the earliest stage of these tongues, when they possessed not only intervocalic surds, but compound consonants. For example, there would be nothing to justify us in assuming the existence of a primitive *tr-*, either, say, as an initial in the name of the number 'three', which would only be known to us in Prakrit as *tiṇṇi*, in Hindi and in Marathi as *tīn*, in Singhalese as *tun*, etc., nor, again, could we prove its existence in the midst of the word signifying 'leaf', since it would only be known to us as surviving in Prakrit *patta-*, in Marathi and Bengali *pāt*, in Singhalese *pat*, etc. Nor would it be possible for us to recognize the primitive existence of an initial *dr-* in a word only known to us through its descendants, the Pali *doni-*, Marathi *don*, Bengali *duni*, and Singhalese *deṇa*, all signifying 'trough' or 'boat'. Equally impossible would it be for us to surmise the existence of the same compound as a medial in the word meaning 'turmeric,' which we should only know as Prakrit *haliddā*, *haladdā*, Marathi and Gujarati *halad*, Hindi *haldī*, Singhalese *haladu*, and so forth. Now, in regard to the Dravidian speeches, we possess only these secondary survivals. But there is no reason to prevent us from assuming that these languages, like those of Northern India, once possessed compound consonants such as, in Sanskrit, have been preserved in written records as *tri-*, *pattra-*, *droni-* and *haridrā*.

Indeed we may find in Tamil itself modern examples of assimilations similar to those which our theory of Tamil origins postulates. We have, for example, *kt*, *t'k* > *kk*, *td* > *dd*, etc. (see Vinson, pp. 48, 49). It is probable that in such transformations we may find the explanation of changes which are used to express grammatical changes of meaning, such as in the oblique stem of nouns, or in the past tenses of verbs (cf. Vinson, p. 111; Grierson, *Ling. Survey*, IV, p. 291). But above and beyond these vague indications, there survives to us one word which supplies direct proof of the existence of a parent compound consonant, and that is the word Tamil itself. If its modern form is *tamil*, it was adopted into Sanskrit in early times as *draviḍa-*, which occurs, for example, in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Atharva-vedaparīṣiṣṭa*, and in the Code of Manu. Not only has the word thus transliterated survived to us in Sanskrit literature, but it even imposed itself on Tamil men of letters, who retransliterated it into their own characters as *tiramida*. On the other hand, it has made its way into European scripts. We find it in Peutinger's Table as *Damirice*, in the Periplus and in Ptolemy as *Δαμυρικη*, which may well be a copyist's error for * *Δαμυρικη*

(see Burnell, *South Indian Pal.*, p. 51, n. 1 ; Caldwell, p. 10) ; the cosmographer of Ravenna records the name as *Dimirica*. Now, as Dr. Caldwell has justly observed, the transmutation of *dr-* into *d-* is Prakritic (cf. also the Pali *Dāmilo* in the *Mahāvamsa*). How great is the probability that a parallel transformation has occurred in Tamil itself ! In any case, it is inconceivable that, when the word *Dravida* made its appearance in Sanskrit, it was not a transliteration of an authentic indigenous word. Whereas it is impossible to suggest any previously existing Sanskrit model on which an indigenous word more closely resembling the surviving *Tamīl* could have been moulded into *Dravida*.

If we now come to consider the chronology of the processes considered above, we may first state that the simplification of the old grouped consonants must have occurred at about the same date in Tamil as in Indo-Aryan languages ; at least, if the testimony of the geographers' records authenticate local usage and not forms belonging exclusively to the Indo-Aryan dialects which borrowed Dravidian place names.

As for the surding of sonant consonants, we have seen it proved for the initial by the modern pronunciation *tamiḷ*, and confirmed for intervocalic consonants by the testimony of Kumārila, and, above all, generally by the absence of sonant symbols in the alphabet of a language which possesses voiced sounds now and which no doubt had them in prehistoric times also. So we may conclude that this loss of sonority must be sought for somewhere between the beginning of the Christian era and the time of Kumārila.

At what date, then, did the surds thus obtained again become sonants, as they now are, between vowels ? We do not know. But we may infer that the change is comparatively recent. The *Nannūḷ*, written about A.D. 1200, (see Barnett, *Cat. of Tamil Books in the British Museum*, preface, p. III) still inculcates (III, 20) that in the transcription of Sanskrit words, the first letter of each *varga* represents the three following letters (for example the letter *k* does duty for *k*, *kh*, *g* and *gh*, not only without distinguishing sonants from surds, but also without indicating any difference of sound due to the place of the letter in a word). Besides, the existence of doubled consonants is expressly recognized (II, 55), but without the faintest allusion to any difference in articulation. Finally, the doubling of the initial letter of the second members of compound-words (IV, 15ff.), although it may seem to indicate a difference in pronunciation between the initial and the intervocalic consonant, is by no means conclusive, even on that point. Its occurrence may depend on various conditions, among them the nature of the preceding sound (compare *Ko-pparakesarivraman* as opposed to *madirai-konḍa* in the inscription of Nandivarman the Pallava, VIIIth century ; see Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 370) ; and it is easy to conceive a stage in the history of the language, (whatever be the future alterations), when the initial consonants may have been uttered with a special stress ; this would not imply that the intervocalic consonants were necessarily weaker. So we may admit that in A.D. 1200 there is not yet any clear trace to be found of the change in question.

MISCELLANEA.

PALÆSIMUNDU.

The *Periplus* applies the name 'Palæsimundu' to the island which was called by the ancients 'Taprobane' (Ceylon). Pliny knows the name (VI, 24). Ptolemy too notes that the ancient name of the

island was Simundu. According to Lassen the word 'Palæsimundu' is the Sanskrit Pāli-*śranta*, "abode of the law of piety" ; i.e., the *Dharma* of Gautama Buddha. (See Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 249.) This view though ingenious is far from satisfactory.

The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya throws some light on the matter. In Book II, Chapter XI, we have the following passages:—

“Kauṭa, that which is obtained in the Kūṭa; Mauleyaka, that which is found in the Mūleya; and Pārasamudraka, that which is found beyond the ocean, are several varieties of gems.”

“(As to) Agaru:—

Joṅgaka is black or variegated black and is possessed of variegated spots; Doṅgaka is black;

and Pārasamudraka is of variegated colour and smells like cascus or like Navamālika.”

According to the commentator ‘Pārasamudraka’ means that which is available in the island of Sindhala (Ceylon). From this it is clear that ‘Pārasamudra’ is Ceylon. Have we not in the term the Sanskrit original of ‘Palæsimundu’?

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE HARSHACHARITA OF BĀṆABHAṬṬA (*Uchchhāsa* I—VIII), edited with an Introduction and Notes by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M. Bombay, 1918.

The *Harshacharita* is one of the most difficult Sanskrit prose *kāvya*s causing much perplexity to University students; but Mr. Kane’s annotations will enable even private students to understand difficult passages full of puns. Mr. Kane has taken great pains to elucidate the language with explanations, references to various Sanskrit texts and parallel passages and has not passed over really difficult passages with the remark *spashtam*. Rather, he has clearly marked out the hard ones. As for his hard verse I, 18, I like to take it and the next one to mean that our poet says that although his tongue, as if drawn inwards (for it is rashness on his part to write a biography of Harsha), does not set about to write a poem even when he remembers the great encouragement shown to him by the rich king (Harshavardhana who made rich presents to our poet), yet his devotion to the king makes him bold to attempt it, though he is not equal to the task.

But the *Harshacharita* is not simply a *kāvya* requiring the knowledge of *kośa*, *vyākaraṇa* and *alamkāra* only to explain it. It is a historical poem full of obscure historical allusions and Mr. Kane is not so very successful in his historical notes as he is in his explanatory ones. In spite of Dr. Schmidt’s assent (*Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 215) to Pandit Krishnamachariar’s theory (stated in the Introduction of his edition of *Pārvatī-pariṇaya Vāṇivilāsa*, Skr. Series, Srirangam, 1906) that the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* was composed, not by the author of *Kādambarī* but by Vāmana Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa (of the *Vātsya-gotra*), the author of *Śabdaratnākaranighaṇṭu* and *Vīranārāyaṇacharita* (a biography of the Rājā king Vīra *alias* Vīranārāyaṇa of the 15th century), Mr. Kane

still clings to the old theory without even alluding to Pandit Krishnamachariar’s researches. He still identifies, notwithstanding Prof. Pathak’s and Dr. Vincent Smith’s important contributions to the Vākāṭaka chronology, Devagupta of Magadha (A.D. 680–700) with the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka king, Pravarasena II. He has not a word to elucidate the history of Kumāra *alias* Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyjyotiṣa from the latter’s Nidhanpur inscription (*EI.*, XII, p. 65). He has no note to offer on the passage (p. 50). अतिदक्षितलास्वस्य... मूर्धनमसिलतया...अलुनादग्निमितात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य..., nor on (p. 51) अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुक. कामिनी. वेद्यगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमहान्. On Padmāvati, the capital of the Nāgas (long ago identified by Cunningham with Narwar), he writes, “What particular city is meant we cannot say.” He quotes the *Rājataranginī* (I, 172-3) to state that Nāgārjūna was, according to it, a king (who lived 150 years after Buddha)—a statement not fully correct for Kalhana says that Bhūmīśvara (and not king) *Bodhisatva* Nāgārjuna dwelt in the ‘forest of Six Arhats’ and flourished during the reigns of Kanishka, Hushka and Jushka—but not those passages of it (II, 148; III, 54) which refer to Varuṇa’s parasol in possession of the king of Assam and which ought to be quoted to explain the present of Varuṇa’s parasol made by Bhāskaravarman to Harshavardhana as described in *Uchchhāsa* VII. His geographical notes are rather vague: is it correct to state that Gāndhāra is Kandahar or that Anga is North Bengal?

We point out these shortcomings not in the spirit of fault-finding but in order to find the future publications of Mr. Kane to be free from similar defects.

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851.

BY S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from p. 187.)

IX.

FIGHT BETWEEN H.M.S. *PHŒNIX* AND A SANGANIAN PIRATE.

In the year 1685 Captain John Tyrrel of H.M.S. *Phœnix* of 42 guns, was cruising between Bombay and the Persian Gulf to protect trade, and ran across a Sanganian vessel of 150 tons, 120 men and 8 guns off Versova on the west of Salsette Island. The general account is that she attacked the *Phœnix* mistaking her for a merchantman, but in the first version of the engagement (by an eyewitness) it is stated that the *Phœnix* summoned her to submit to examination which she refused to do. Probably the real truth is that she accepted the fight under the illusion stated and, having accepted it, her crew fought it out with the courage which is characteristic of the Indian Râjpûts, for the Sanganians were of Râjpût descent and their traditions forbade them to surrender. The Lieutenant [George] Byng whose gallantry secured victory to the English was the father of Admiral John Byng who was shot in 1757 for his conduct in the Mediterranean. The Admiral and the great-grandfather of Sir Julian (now Lord) Byng, who has so greatly distinguished himself in the recent war, were brothers.

It is a curious fact that shortly after this date, when European pirates appeared in these waters, the native pirates seem to have taken a rest. One would have thought that they would have resisted any poaching on their preserves, and it is certain that if the Indian merchantmen had fought with anything like the same courage as these Sanganians, the European pirates would have left them alone.

"We set sail [from Bombay] the 11th [September 1685] in the morning with the wind at north-west a small gale and the 13th at 8 in the morning we, being off Cosseer³⁰ espied a ship in the offing at an anchor, having her main topmast and main yards down. We takt and stood toward her, haveing the wind at north-north-west, a fresh gale. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 she got under saile. We did perseve that she was a country ship by her proe.³¹ We fired a gun and shot, but the shot did not come near her, we keeping of our Luf to get up with her, firing guns to make her bear down to us [in order that we might examine her]. At length she fired at us. Her shot grazed on our bowe near us. Then we kept fireing, and at 11 her boat broak lose from her starne, haveing 2 men in her, and at 12 we was neare unto her. We past a broadside into her. They fired several times at us with their guns and small arms. Our Captain was loth to board her,³² we passing several broaisides into her and vollies of small shot, in so much that we did judge that we had done them great damedges. They killed but one of our men, which was a passenger as I was.³³ At $\frac{1}{2}$ past

³⁰ It will be seen that the dates given in the two accounts of the engagement do not agree. By Cosseer must be meant Agâshê, through Gâshî, Kâsî, on the coast just above Bâsein.—ED.

³¹ The native craft were built with long-beaked prows.

³² No doubt because of the large number of her crew, which would make such an attempt very costly as well as dangerous.

³³ See, however, the *Captain's Log*, *infra*, which gives 3 killed and one died of wounds.—ED.

one we boarded her but dast not enter ³⁴ a man, for they was very stout and bould in thayr assalts with bowes and arrows, lances, sords and targats and abundance of stones. We boarded her five times and could not keep her fast. The sixth time of boarding we had a fire grapline ³⁵ and chaine at our maine yard and fore yard arms, which we did let drop into her when she was alongst our side, and one of the Sanganians with his Simmeter with 3 or 4 blowes cutt the chaine and she fell astarne without our entering a man. At 6 in the evening we boarded her the seventh time, being in a readiness to board and to enter in him. She was alongst our side. Our gunner raised the mouth of a gun in the West ³⁶ and fired into her, being loden with double head and round [shot]. Leftenant Bings with 9 more entered and had a hard dispute, but they was concorers. The ship drove astarne, and before we could send the longboat to them, she sunke and we saved all our men, only Mr. Christopher Mason which has the King's letter and one man More which had reseved mortall wounds being disabled of strength and drowned. Leftenant Bings reseved two gangarous [? dangerous] cutts on the small of his back. At 8 we came to anchor in sight of the ship, for the head of her mast was above watter. No sooner was our anchor down, but we did parseve a great many blacks hanging on our ships ties and wales. ³⁷ We got candles in lanthorns and brought them all into the ship to the number of 40 men and boys, plasing them fore and aft on the deck a both sides, then seized [tied] their legs and arms one unto another, keeping a good watch over them at night, we haveing fair weather and a small gale."

[*Log of H.M.S. Phœnix, Captain John Tyrrell, by one John Beavan. Sloane MS. No. 854.*]

" *Fryday the 18th [September 1685]*, at noone we had the North poynt of Salltsett ³⁸ Ebs $\frac{1}{2}$ So. 5 or 6 Leagues of.

Saturday the 19th. This 24 howers the winds from NNWt. to No. and NbEt., Small gails. We keeeping on After A Saile that wayed and stod of, at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 2 After noone came up with him, and After two Broadsids with our uper gunns Boarded him. He Broak away 3 times, but Just before sunn sett boarded him Againe and Entered him. He then broak Away and Sunk. We Sent our boats, tock up our men and Came to an Anchor in 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ fathom. They killed us 3 men and one passenger and two drouned. We tock up 41 of them; they had 107, the rest killed. He belonged to Singania, to or 3 Islands Lying in A Gulf by the River Indus. We rid till 10 this morning, then wayed and bore Away for Bombay. At past five we Anchored in 7 fathom, the Somost tree on Old womans Island NWbWT., the Sunken Rock NWt.BNo., the fort N $\frac{1}{4}$ Et., and moored with our Streame Anchor.

Killed : Bartholomew Hill, Hugh Mathews, David Dennis.

Drouned : Christopher Masson, John Chipp.

Wounded : Fower.

Thomas Burroughs dyed."

[*Log of H.M.S. Phœnix by John Saphier.*

Admiralty Captains' Logs (Public Record Office) No. 3933.]

³⁴ At this time a distinction was made between *boarding* (i.e., coming alongside or board to board) and *entering* (i.e., sending an attacking party on board).

³⁵ Fire-grapling, a grapling iron with which to capture fireships.—ED.

³⁶ That part of the ship which lies between the Forecastle and the Quarterdeck.

³⁷ By 'ties' (properly, cross-beams) here is meant the lower ends of the shrouds. The 'wales' or 'bends' running horizontally and projecting slightly from the sides of the ship would afford some hold for the hand.

³⁸ Salsette Island, immediately north of Bombay.—ED.

X.

A FIGHT AT 'CLOSE QUARTERS,' 1686.

Every man on board a ship in the old days, whether a sailor or not, was expected to give his assistance in time of danger, the sailors themselves being regularly exercised at the guns and the whole crew in the use of the small arms (*i.e.* fire-arms) and the cutlass. In a merchant-ship of the 17th century the Supercargo was a very important person. He represented the owners, and in many matters even the captain was subject to his authority. Often he was an old sea-captain himself.³⁹ It is not therefore very strange that in the following instance Mr. Richard Salvey (or Salwey), when the Captain and Chief Mate had been killed, should have taken command during the rest of the fight. What is most worthy of remark is that, though dangerously wounded comparatively early in the day, he refused to have his wound dressed and kept the deck until the enemy sheered off.

Again, in these times ships were not merely floating batteries. They were actual fortresses with, as it were, citadels to which the defenders could retire when the enemy had forced the outer works. These citadels were known technically as 'close quarters' and were formed by strong barriers running across the breadth of the ship and separating the Forecastle and the Quarterdeck from the Waist or middle part, which in a frigate-built ship was some feet lower. These barriers were provided with loopholes from which the defenders could fire upon the enemy who had entered the ship. So a fight under these conditions was what was properly called a *fight at close quarters*. If the defenders were absolutely determined not to surrender, they could continue the fight even after the citadels were taken, since they could, as in the case of the Spanish ship at Nagasaki (see No. V), betake themselves to the deck below and then blow up with powder the enemy above them. In the case of the *Bauden*, the Roundhouse or Captain's cabin appears to have been at the after end of and above the Quarterdeck, beneath which on the level of the Waist were the Steerage and the Great Cabin, with a Companion leading from the Roundhouse to the Great Cabin. The Waist was commanded by the loopholes in the Forecastle and the Quarterdeck. Thus when the crew had retired to the Forecastle and Quarterdeck and the Captain and some picked men to the Roundhouse, they were all under cover in their Close Quarters, in which also were situated all the guns which they had mounted for use. These guns were only part of the armament of the *Bauden*, other guns having been sent down into the hold as soon as she had come sufficiently far south to be free from any danger of attack by the Barbary pirates, for up to this date the pirates from the West Indies and New England had hardly begun to make the Cape Verde Islands a field for fresh operations.

The fight narrated below is remarkable as one between single ships, pirates not much relishing single combats. Possibly Mr. Salvey was right in supposing that they had intended to get water and refreshments at Santiago. Once to leeward of these Islands it was not easy, at certain times of the year, to get back again. If this were so, they were probably desperate and thought they might risk an attack upon a small ship. From the *Sloane MS.* 3672 it appears that the *Bauden* was only of 170 tons and 16 guns and was carrying 29 men and 39 soldiers (probably recruits for the Company's garrisons in India). As we shall see,

³⁹ However, from many expressions in this narrative, it would appear that Mr. Salvey had never been a sailor but was very much of a landsman.

the *Cæsar* (No. XI), Captain Edward Wright, was attacked by five pirate ships at once, but she was of 535 tons and 40 guns with 120 men and 116 soldiers.

Mr. Salvey supposed that he was attacked by the French pirate *Trampoos*, meaning presumably *La Trompeuse*, Captain Jean Hamlyn, but the *Trompeuse* had been destroyed by Captain Carlisle of H.M.S. *Francis* in August 1683.

It may be mentioned that the account of this fight, (*Sloane MS.* 3672), was left (on the 22nd October 1687) at Johanna, an island in the Comoros to the north of Madagascar, at which Indiamen often called, and a copy was there taken by one Nathaniel Warren who was on board of the *Charles*, Captain John Preston, which called at Johanna on the 17th August 1689.

" We set sail from St. Jago on board the *Bauden* Frigatt, John Cribbs Commander, on October the 20th/86 with 36 of the Company's soldiers, being bound for Bombay in India.

Upon the 20th [? 26th] October in North Latitude eight degrees about 6 in the morning we descried a saile to the westward upon our starboard quarter, about three leagues distant, standing as we stood, which our Commander and all of us concluded to be the same Dutch built ship that was plyeing into St. Jago when we were there, and that she was a Dutchman bound our way, in great want (as we conceived) of water and other refreshments, having bin putt by the Port, but we still kept our course with an easy gale, till at the last we had a small squall. We goeing right before it, brought him right astern of us about three leagues, and a small breeze comeing sooner to him than to us, he seemed to fetch upon us, and about 8 of the clock we perceived his boate rowing after us (it being stark calme) which we concluded was to make known his wants; at which time we were not quite idle, but employed in handing up and loadeing our small arms. About 9 a clock their boate being come within hale of us, they lay upon their oars and hailed us in English, we answered of London bound for East India. We asking from whence they came, they answering from Rochill [Rochelle] bound for Brazill. They still kept without musquett shott of us and lay upon their oars, viewing us about half a quarter of an hour, after which wishing us a good voyage they made the best of their way to their ship, their boate being half between both ships.

We made use of our Prospective Glass to discover what she was, with which at last we perceived their ship to row with 12 oars⁴⁰ on a side or more. We then being confirmed in our opinion that he was a Rogue [i.e., a Pirate] made ready to receive him as such. We run out our guns double loaded with double and round shott, knocked down our cabbins⁴¹ and all impediments, cleered our decks, slung our yards and fixed our powder chests,⁴² two of which we placed on the forecastle and one upon our Poop, where we had powered melted butter and strowed Pease to make it slippery. We had allso two dale boards struck full of ten-penny Nails with their points upward to prevent their boarding us. We had 4 great guns on our Quarterdeck, one of which we carried into the Roundhouse and levelled out of the Port in the doore to cleere [cover] our Quarterdeck, the others we spiked up, by reason the enemy should not turn them upon us. After which our Commander spoke some words to encourage the men, and every one went to his station.

⁴⁰ The use of oars or sweeps was, I believe, confined to fighting ships.

⁴¹ These were placed on both sides of the Steerage, and, in some cases, of the Great Cabin also. (John Smith. *The Seaman's Grammar*, 1692).

⁴² These were intended to be fired like a kind of mine, when the decks were crowded by the enemy.

About 12 of the clock their ship had gott the weather gage of us and came rangeing up our starboard quarter with French colours flying. The enemy being within musquett shott of us, upon our Boatswaines windeing his Call, we beate our Drum and gave them three cheers. They being come nigher abroadside of us, our Master called to him to bear under our stern⁴³ or else he would fire upon him, upon which one from their boltspritt end in a commanding manner called to us to hoist out our boate and come aboard of them. Our Commander replied he should not do that, but if they had any business with us, their boate being out, they might come aboard. After which one from aboard of them in broken English said, 'We'r lound aboard of you.' Our Master replied 'Wellcome, win her and ware her.'

No sooner were these words spoken but they sent a volley of small shott into us, which did little harme, upon which our Master and Mr. Salvey fired twice apiece from the Quarter-deck and went to their close quarters in the Roundhouse, and our men giveing them a volley from the Waste, retired half of them into the Stearidge (according to order) and the other half into the Forecastle, excepting one, being a soldier, who was shott dead entring the Forecastle doore, which was all the enemy see fall of our men.

We being in close quarters, they in the Forecastle brought their aftermost great gun to bear upon the enemys bow, which they fired and see doe execution. Whereupon they run us aboard with their boltspritt in our main shrowds, at which time wee discharged both our Stearidge guns, being loaded with double round and Partridge⁴⁴ shott, which made her salley,⁴⁵ upon which the enemy made a great outcry and veered so far astern that they brought their boltspritt into our mizen shrowds and lashed fast to our chain plates,⁴⁶ by reason of which we could not bring our Forecastle guns to bear upon them.

All this time they continued firing upon us with their great and small guns, as we upon them. After which the enemy commanded his men to enter us, which they seemed eager to doe, by comeing on their boltspritt and others creeping up our side, where they made a halt, which gave us oppertunity as well from our loopholes as otherwise to doe great execution. Some of their men run up our shrowds, endeavouring to cutt down our y.rds, but findeing them slung with chains, they were discouraged. They that went up were either shott down and fell in the sea or else went down on the other side and swam round to their ship, they not dareing to enter upon our Quarterdeck, seeing us traverse our great guns upon them out of the Roundhouse doore. Neither did they dare to board us on our Poop by reason of our powder chest and other provision made there. Their Commander from on board earnestly pressed them to enter us, but they found our ship too hot for them. They still continued firing upon us, their cheif aime being att our Roundhouse, Great Cabbins and Stearidge, through which they fired three great shott, endeavouring to kill our Captain and sett fire to a powder chest, which att the last they accomplished.

Upon its blowing up, the enemy made a great shout and, reasuming courage, entered upon our Poop and with their Poleaxes [endeavoured] to cutt down the Antient Staff.

⁴³ To do this was considered a confession of inferiority or submission. So also it was the duty of the inferior to send his boat to the ship of his superior. When pirates could induce a merchant captain to send a boat aboard, they generally detained the crew and sent the boat back crowded with their own men who, especially if the merchant captain had come with the boat, usually met with no resistance.

⁴⁴ Partridge was some kind of small shot, possibly what is now known as Swan or Duck shot.

⁴⁵ Query, Jump, shiver or shake. The *Oxford English Dict.* has 'burst or leap forth' as one of the meanings of 'sally'.—Ed.

⁴⁶ Plates bolted to the side of the ship, to which the shrouds are fastened.

but our men from our Forecastle and loopholes upon the Quarterdeck fired thick upon them, soe that they obleidged them to desist, and their liveing [i.e., those left alive] instead of cutting into us were employed to dispatch their dead out of our sight, but they left one aboard us thus armed (besides severall guns, pistols, catutch⁴⁷ boxes &c. which we took up, the enemy haveing lett them fall when wounded). He had a long Fuzee, 7 foot in the Barrell, 2 Pistolls, one scimeter, one poleaxe, one stinkpott, a catutch box with 23 charges of powder and Bullett for his Fuzee, with lines [ropes] to bind us back to back,⁴⁸ which some of our men heard their Commander from aboard bid them take with them.

Our Master comeing out the Roundhouse into the Great Cabbin to encourage the men received a mortall wound in his groine, and so soone as he returned, which was about two a clock, he received another mortall shott in his right Papp, which came through his back. he dyeing within half an hour afterwards. After which Mr. Salvey, tho' very dangerously wounded, encouraged the men to stand to it, and went not downe to be drest till the enemy putt off, tho' he had received his wound before one of the clock.

About this time [2 o'clock] the enemy struck his ensigne, as we all belived his Captain was then killed and they had received a shott from us between wind and water. They still continued to fire upon us till about 4 a clock, when we brought one of our guns to bear upon them double loaded with double round and Partridge (the other being dismounted), upon the firing of which there was another outcry heard in their ship, att which time they cutt loose from us, their ship being fallen astern. Our Cheif Mate going into the Cabbin to fire att them received his mortall wound [in his head] by a small shott⁴⁹ from the enemy.

We haveing thus cleered ourselves of them, our men gott upon the Poop and beating our Drum bravely, gave them a what cheer ho.⁵⁰ Att which time it began to blow fresh and rain hard, the enemy makeing all the saile they could, when we employed ourselves in mending our rigging, &c., which were much damnified, the enemy haveing shott above a thousand small and great shott into us. They being out of shott of us brought their ship upon the Carine⁵¹ to stop her leak.

All the night we busied ourselves in refitting, outrigging and knocking out our gunroom ports, which were calked up, that if it should prove calme the next day we might be able to run out those guns, by the help of which we did not dout but in a little time to make him yeild or sink, but the next morning, so soon as day broke, we looking out for him (it being calme) found by the help of his oars he was gott so far off that we could but just discerne him from Topmast head, but if it had proved a gale we should have bin able to have given a better account of him, though we had struck down into our holds severall of our great guns. as was usuall in those Latitudes, and he boarded us so advantageously that we could never bring but 3 guns to bear upon him, which with our small arms did much execution. We judge this Rogue to be *Trampoos* the French Pirate, in a ship of about 300 tons and might carry 30 guns, but she played from her larboard side with not above 12 guns upon us. being so nigh that most of their small shott came through us.

Tis judged by all that there were above 250 of those rogues aboard this Pirate, and by computation we killed at least sixty of them; to the number of 20 we see fall and might

⁴⁷ Cartouche or cartridge.

⁴⁸ It was a custom of the pirates to bind men in this way and then to throw them alive into the sea.

⁴⁹ I.e., a musket bullet.

⁵⁰ This is probably an earlier form, if not the original, of 'cheerio,' so often heard nowadays.

⁵¹ I.e., leaning over on one side to expose the hole made by the shot which struck her between wind and water.

have seen more had they not bin to windward of us, which caused the smoke of the guns to hinder our sight.

We lost in this engagement our Commander, Cheife Mate and 6 more with 16 wounded, their names as followeth, John Cribb Commander, John Allen Cheife Mate, John Bristow, John Beneto Sergeant, John Adamson, Moses Jones, William Jones, Tim Rymer [or Trimer] killed, Mr. Richard Salvey, Mr. Benjamin Henry, Mr. Robert Bathurst, Nath. Branguin Purser, Adam Bushell Gunner, Swan Swanson Boatswaine, James Farlee Quartermaster, Thomas Bodey, Has. Fabeen, James James, Richard Booth, Philip Cockram, Henry Godfrey, William Smith, Richard Dragger, Albert Nasbett wounded, of all which Mr. Salvey is most dangerous.

The enemy by the help of the oars being out of sight of us, we reofficered our ship, makeing Mr. Baker Master who was Second Mate, with severall other officers according to their ccourse[seniority] and desert. So God send us to our desired Port in safety. Amen!"

[Note by Mr. Salvey himself.]

" I the writer of this, haveing received besides bruises one shott which went a little below my small ribs and struck downwards towards the neck of my bladder above 5 inches and still [22 October 1687] remains in my body but (blessed be God) I feel little paine except upon change of weatner."

[*Journal of the Charles, Captain John Preston, by Nat. Warren,*
s.d. 17 August 1689. *Sloane MS. 3672*].

XI.

SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF THE *CÆSAR*, 31st OCTOBER 1686.

Towards the end of the 17th century the Buccaneers, who had previously practised their profession in the West Indies and the South Sea, began to find a great diminution in the number and value of their captures. Accordingly they turned their attention to the East. Some sailed across the Pacific to the Philippines and thence through the Straits to the Bay of Bengal, as we shall see in the next Episode (No. XII). Others sailed to the west coast of Africa, where they could obtain rich cargoes of slaves, gold-dust and ivory from the ships of the Royal African Company or, perchance, pick up a fine haul of treasure from an outward bound vessel of the East India Company or an equally valuable prize of India goods from one on its return voyage. It is true that these ships were well found, armed and manned, but the pirates sailed in small fleets and had the advantage of numbers. In the attack on the *Cæsar* it will be seen that the pirates hoisted red or bloody colours and with a little more courage and persistence would probably have been successful.

"True and exact account of an engagement maintained by the ship Caesar, Captain Edward Wright Commander, against five ships (pirates) in sight of the Island St. Jago⁵³ on Sunday the last day of October 1686.

" We presume your Honours were advised of our safe tho' late arrival at St. Jago the 26th October, where having refreshed our men as usually, on Sunday following being the last day of the month by sunrising we were got under sail and had scarce opered the

⁵³ One of the Cape Verde Islands.

weathermost of the Road when we had sight of five ships lying by under their sails, waiting our coming, as we found afterwards, for they no sooner espied us but gave chase, crowding all the sail they could possible make after us. We were upon imag[in]ing the worst, and likewise made sail for the gaining time to put ourselves in the best posture we could for defence, which we did by staving down and heaving overboard everything we imagined might be the least hindrance to us. We lined our Quarters with our men's bedding, slung our yards and distributed all our small arms to the shouldiers, sending some in our tops. We then visited each several ports [? post] to see all things fitted and contrived for our utmost advantage, omitting nothing we could imagine in the least requisite on so pressing an occasion, and now, perceiving they gained on us apace and that we had already done all that men in our condition could possibly do both for defending ourselves and offending the enemy, our Captain, by the advice and consent of us all, commanded our small sailes to be handed, and our maine saile and mizell (*sic*) to be furled, putting the ship right afore the wind (concluding it absolutely the best manner so to engage) and then exhorting our men to be of good courage, telling them what an eternall credit wee should gaine to ourselves and nation by baffling the designs and attempts of soe many and such subtile enemys and on the contrary what a miserable life would be the consequence of falling into the hands of such desperate, pyratieall villains. With such like exhortation all were dismissed to their severall quarters.

"And by this time being about 10 in the morning two of the nimblest were come up with us, haveing (as the rest had) French colours. The headmost firing three or four shott at us and finding wee slighted him, changed his French to bloody colours,⁵³ and then stretching to windward, they lay peckeing at us whilst his companion was doing the same asterne, whom our chase gunns, from the great cabbins, soon brought upon the cairne [? careen], which wee had scarce done, when the other three ships had got our length (having changed their French to bloody colours) firing on us amaine. These were ships of burthen and could not have lesse than between 20 and 30 gunns each and full of men. The Admirall and Vice-Admirall⁵⁴ on the larboard side designing to lay us on board, which the frmer did on our quarter, but we plyed him so warmly with our small shott, which we showered on him like haile from our tops, poop and other posts, that wee heard indeed a voice crying to us in the French tongue to surrender, but say [? saw] none bold enough to try for possession, but were glad to gett cleare of us againe, and falling asterne sunk and cutt away all our boats, which he paid for by the losse of his boltsplite [bowsprit] and abundance of his men. His hull at the same time not being impenitrable to our great shott wee plaid in and thro him. The Vice-Admirall on the bowe had a shortt entertainment and noe better successe, for we spoake some [? soe] much terroure to him from our forecastle and other quarters (he haveing likewise our frequent cheers and hurahs) bore away in affright, and by that means had the luck to receive both our broadsides, which carried away his foreyards and mizin masts, whilst our stern chase (for now we had got our gunroome gunns out) soe gave the rest asterne that after five hours sharpe ingagement they began to beare away to amend and repaier the damage received from us.

"Which questionless was very considerable, there men, at first comeing up, being bold and daring, lay open to our small shott which continued firing for three hours together without

⁵³ In token that they would give no quarter.

⁵⁴ These high titles were in common use even by merchant ships (all armed for defence) when three or more were sailing in company, as they often did for mutual protection.

the least intermission, and there men loading there great guns without board (as is the custome of these West India gunner pyrates) were cut of as fast as they appeared to doe there duty, and this was the reason they fired but few great gunns when they bore down upon us, for which we are beholden unto our small fire armes, and indeed all our men in general behaived themselves like Englishmen and shewed much courage and bravery. But our small armes (we mean your Honours' disciplined shouldiers and there officers, whose example they soe well imitated, we cannot forbear to mention in particular), who fired soe nimbley and with soe much skill and caution of placeing there shott to purpose that wee must acknowledge as there due and meritt a large share of the glory and honour of this days action.

"Wee now brought too to see if wee could save our Barge which wee toed aterne full of water, but finding it not worth our while sent her adrift after the rest of the boats, and then continued our course with an easie saile imag[in]ing nothing else but they would have the other bout with us, but they were all bussie upon the Carine, likeing [? licking] them whole ⁵⁵ as well as they could.

"Finding wee were to have noe more of it, wee now began to examine into the damage already sustained by [from] them and found, as hath already been hinted, all our boats lost, 3000 cwt. of bread hove overboard to cleare our gunroome gunns (and wee had been happy and they unfortunate could wee have plaid our whole gunn deck tyre, but being soe deep wee derstent open never a port between deck save our sterne-chase, which however did us no small kindness) a great shott through our boltsprit, four of our main shrowes cut and much of our running rigging, our sailes full of holes, a shott or two throughour hull and many sticking in our sides.

"They were eager to strike our ancient [ensign] with there gunns seeing they could not do itt otherwayes, and made severall shott for that purpose, but wee, knowing there custome, had ordered it to be seized, [fastened] ⁵⁶ to the head of the staffe, mistrusting [suspecting] should they by any meanes strike our colours it might by encourageing them add to there advantage. Wee found but one man killed, by name Jno. Stiffe, a shouldier, and eight wounded, a wonderfull deliverance. Wee conclude the day with offerings of thanks and prays to Him who had so miraculously preserved us in the midst of soe great danger. This being a moderate account of the days actions, wee have nothing else worth your Honours notice save assurances of our continuall care and circumspection for the discharge of that great trust reposed in us, and wee hope this plaine account will be a lasting testimony and demonstration of the fidelity of

Your Honours

Most faithfull and obedient Servants.

"This is a copy of what wee have sent home to the Company the 3rd day of the following December by a Dutch vessell, &c., &c."

[*India Office Records, O. C. 5537.*]

(*To be continued.*)

⁵⁵ Like a wounded wild beast licking its hurts.

⁵⁶ A little later we find determined commanders nailing the colours to the staff or mast. See below No. XIII.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, B.A.; CALCUTTA.

1.—Mañchapurî Cave Inscription of the time of Khâravêla.

THIS inscription was first edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji as early as 1885 (*Actes Six. Congr. Or. à Leide*, Part III, Sect. II, p. 177f, No. 2 and Plate). In 1912 it was noticed by Prof. Lüders in his *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* (*EI.*, Vol. X, App., No. 1346). Its latest edition and interpretation are by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *EI.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 159-60 and Plate. Recently however, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, p. 366, has proposed certain improvements upon Mr. Banerji's reading and has attempted to interpret it also differently. It is to be noted that Mr. Banerji appears to have generally followed Prof. Lüders, in his edition of the record. Mr. Jayaswal's total disagreement with both these scholars therefore, makes it highly desirable that we should examine the question again and see how far we can agree in his conclusions.

The text as given by Mr. Banerji is quoted here below :—

(1) *Arahanta pasâdâya[m] Kâlingâ[na]m [sama]nânâm lēnam kârītam rājino L[ā] lāka[sa]* (2) *Hathisâhasa-papôtasa¹ dhū[lu]nâ Kâlinga-cha[karatino siri-Khâ]ravêlasa* (3) *agamahisi [r]â kârī[tam]*.

The object of it is to record (according to Prof. Lüders and Mr. Banerji) the establishment of a cave (*lena*) for the Kâlîga (*Kâlinga*) monks (*samana*) in honour of the Arahanta_s (*Arhats*) by the chief queen (*aga-mahisi*) of [Siri-Khâra]vêla, emperor of Kâlîga (*Kâlinga*) and daughter of *râjan* Lâlaka, great-grandson of Hathisinîha (*Hastisinîha*), or Hastisâha or Hastisâhasa (according to Mr. Banerji).—Mr. Jayaswal contends that the queen referred to, has her name mentioned also in the inscription and he claims to have discovered it. On p. 369, foot-note, of *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, he says : “ It is considered that she is unnamed in the inscription. What epigraphists have read as *dhutundâ*, seems to me to be *Dhut[ī]nâ* which would be another Prâkṛit form of *Dhṛishṭi*. She was daughter of Lâlaka (Lâlârka),² who was son of *Hastin*, who again was son of *Haṁsa*. This last has been missed by the editors of the inscription (*EI.*, Vol. XIII, p. 159). It has been erroneously read with the preceding *Hathisa*, from which it is really separated by space. The *anusvâra* on *Ha* is very, very clearly incised. The supposed name *Hathisâhasa* would be absurd, meaning a ‘coward’. The words are to be read (and I read them on the spot) : *L[ā] lakas; Hathisa Haṁsa-papotasa.*” To make the above statement clear it must be said that the word *Dhṛishṭi* to which Mr. Jayaswal refers, as the name of the queen of Khâravêla, and which is transformed to *Dhūi* in the Mañchapurî inscription, has been again found by him in l. 7 of the large inscription of Khâravêla incised on the Hâthigumphâ cave.³ And there, the form is not *Dhuti* but *Dhisi* which would be, according to him, another Prâkṛit form of the original word *Dhṛishṭi*. The possibility of reading the queen's name will be taken up later. First, let us see, whether we could be absolutely certain in regard to the proposed readings. In the place of *Hathisâhasa-papotasa* Mr. Jayaswal reads *Hathisa Haṁsa-papotasa*. Now, on reference to the plate published by Mr. Banerji, it appears that Mr. Jayaswal's reading is

¹ I incline to read *Hathisâhasa papotasa* and look upon *Hathisâha* as the name.

² The Sanskrit equivalent may probably be *Lolârka*, meaning ‘sun’, which occurs, for instance, in the Bangâvan plate of Govindachandra, *EI.*, Vol. V, p. 118, l. 18.

³ *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 377.

quite inadmissible. The *â*-stroke on the *sa* of *Ha thi sa* is very carefully incised, and perhaps too clear to be set aside by any stretch of imagination. But unfortunately, the aforesaid scholar has overlooked even such a bold stroke as this and read the word as *Hathisa*, taking it to be the genitive singular form of *Hastin*. Then again, the *anusvāra* on the *ha* of *ha sa* is according to Mr. Jayaswal 'very, very clearly incised,' but as a matter of fact, however, it is a mere mark, and to hastily read it as *anusvāra* seems to me to be rather hazardous. Mr. Jayaswal reads *dhuti* instead of *dhutu*, thinking apparently, that it would be to his advantage in equating it with *Dhṛishṭi*, the alleged name of Khāravela's queen. But in the first place, the reading of the medial vowel *i* instead of *u* is doubtful, as the letter *ta* itself is a blurred one. And secondly, even admitting Mr. Jayaswal's emendation, both the forms *dhuti* and *dhutu* would be, in the Prākṛit phonetics, easily derivable from *duhitṛi*.⁴ There are also serious philological difficulties in the way of our accepting that the form *Dhṛishṭi* could have been transformed to *dhuti*, to judge from the Prākṛit of the Hāthigumphā inscription. Nowhere in this record does a conjunct *sh/a* change itself to *ta*. In every place it becomes *ṭha*, e.g., *Raṭhika* (*Rāshṛika*) in l. 6, and *aṭhame* (*asṭame*) in l. 7. On the analogy of these and similar other instances I do not think it cogent to hold that *dhuti* or *dhutu* is equivalent to *Dhṛishṭi*. But even if we accept for the sake of argument the readings of Mr. Jayaswal, the inscription would scarcely give any sense.⁵

Turning to the question of interpretation, we find that Mr. Banerji takes *Lālākasa dhutunā* in the sense of '(by) the daughter (of) Lālāka'. *Dhutunā* according to him stands in apposition to *ajamahisinā* in l. 3; and the latter he takes along with *Khāravelasa* in l. 2 which is in the genitive case. The meaning, provided Mr. Banerji's reading is correct, should stand therefore thus: 'by Lālāka's daughter, queen of Khāravela'. Lālāka is again qualified by the expression *Hathisāhasa-papotasa*, i.e., great-grandson of Hathisāhasa. Mr. Jayaswal takes *dhutunā* as instrumental of the word denoting the name of the queen and separates *Hathisa* (*sic.*) from *Haṁsa-papotasa*. The most curious thing to notice here is, that the scholar who does so, *pari passu* holds that, "She was daughter of Lālāka (Lālārka) who was son of Hastin, who again was son of Haṁsa"—a procedure which I fail to understand. Where is the word for 'daughter' we may rightly ask, when once the word *dhutu* is taken in a different sense, and what is the evidence for taking *Hathisa* in the sense of 'son of Hastin', and what purpose again does the genitive case of Lālāka serve? The interpretation as well as the reading of Mr. Jayaswal appears therefore to be purely conjectural.⁶

2.—A Passage in the Inscriptions of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.

The following passage which occurs at the beginning of almost every inscription of the Valabhi dynasty in reference to their first ruler *Senāpati* Bhaṭakka has not yet been adequately explained:—

Maula-bhṛita-mitra-ireṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājyaśrik.

Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* (pp. 167-8) translated it as follows: 'who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends.'

⁴ Cf. *dhitu* (*Et.*, Vol. II, p. 205, No. 23), *dhiti* (*Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 121, No. 19) and *dhutu* (*Notes on Amaravati*, p. 35) occurring in early Prākṛit inscriptions.

⁵ Both Messrs. Banerji and Jayaswal agree in reading *papotasa*. But I do not find the *o*-stroke on the plate published by Mr. Banerji. The reading as it stands, is therefore, open to some doubt.

⁶ Perhaps one of the reasons why he has attempted to read and interpret the passage differently is the fact, that the name of Lālāka's great-grandfather only, and not that of his grandfather, or of his father, appears in the record. This seems strange no doubt, but every inscription is to be interpreted as it is, without doing any violence to grammar.

The translation of Kielhorn is : ' who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (*which consisted*) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts'.⁷ Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganeśgaḍ plates of Dhruvasena I, has translated it as follows : ' who acquired the glory of royalty by the strength of a devoted body of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and friends'.⁸ Dr. Sten Konow has again offered the following translation of it in editing the Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I : ' who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends'.⁹ None of the above translations, however, appears to be satisfactory. The real meaning of the words *Maula*, *Bhṛita*, *Mitra*, *Śreṇī* and *Bala* is quite different from what scholars have hitherto supposed.

The passage in question has now to be interpreted in the light of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. The words mentioned above are all technical terms in Hindu Polity. According to it, *Bala* means ' army ' which consisted of four kinds of troops, viz. *Maula*¹⁰ (i.e. hereditary), *Bhṛita* (i.e. hired) *Mitra* (i.e. allied) and *Śreṇī* (i.e. guild). This is exactly what we get in the *Mahābhārata* :—

*Ādadāta balam rājā maulam mitrabalam tathā
ātavi-balam bhṛitam ch=iva tathā śreṇī-balam prabho.*¹¹

The passage in Kauṭilya also runs to the same effect—" *Sa maula-bhṛita-śreṇī-mitr-ām-tr-ātavi-balānām sārāphalguṭām vidyāt,*" p. 140 (cf. also p. 342).

The expression quoted at the head of this note had therefore been better translated thus, ' who (*king*) acquired the goddess of royalty (i.e. the kingdom) through the army (*consisting of*) hereditary, mercenary, allied and guild soldiers'. It has reference, as has been already said, to Bhṛakka, a *Senāpati*, i.e., general, who founded the Valabhīdynasty. The passage shows that he raised himself to the throne by the army, and it further throws light on the part played by guilds in Ancient India, which have thus an exact parallel to the Italian guilds who also maintained armies.

3.—Sravasti and TarBhari of the Sillimpur Inscription.

This important record has been recently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, p. 283 ff. and Plate by Mr. Radhagovinda Basak. But before it was published in that Journal its contents were already familiar to scholars of Bengal, it being published by him in a Bengali monthly, and discussed by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, in his book called *The Indo-Aryan Races* (1916, pp. 170-71). The passage of the inscription which was the main basis of his discussion runs as follows :—

" Yeshām tasya Hiraṇyagarv(b) bha-vapushaḥ-svāṅga-prasūt-Aṅgiro-
vamśe-janma samāna-gotra-vachan-otkarshô-Bharadvājataḥ |

⁷ *EI.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 322.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 108.

¹⁰ This word occurs also in a Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman (*EI.*, Vol. I, p. 201, l. 23). There, a *Maula* Prithivivarman who is appointed the king's minister, is described to have been an expert in mounting elephants, horses and chariots, and skilled in archery.

¹¹ This passage has been quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 13, n. 19.

tesham=ârya-jan-âbhipûjita-kulam Tarkkâri=ity=âkhyayâ
 Srâvastî-prativa(ba)ddham=asti veditam sthânam punarjjanmanâm ||
 Yasmin=veda-smṛiti-parichay-ôdbhinna-vaitâna-gârhya-
 prâjy-âvṛitt-âhutishu charatâm kirttibhir=vyomni ūbhre |
 vyabhrâjant=ôpari-parisarad-dhōma-dhūmâ dvijânâm
 dugdh-âmbhodhi-prasṛita-vilesach-chhaival-âlî-chay-âbhâ ||
 Tat-prasûtaścha Puṇḍreshu Sakatî-vyavadhânavân |
 Varendrî-manḍanam grâmô Va(Bâ)la-grâma iti śrutah || ---II. 2—4.

The description embodied in the above verses, is of the place where the donee lived. This is a village called Bâlagrâma which was situated in Varendrî, in the Puṇḍra country. It further appears that this village must have had some connection with a place called Tarkkâri which is described as *Srâvastî-prativaddha*, i.e., situated within the limits of Śrâvastî. It should be noted that Tarkkâri is mentioned in the record first, and next comes Bâlagrâma, the latter being qualified by the phrase *tat-prasûta*, i.e., 'born of that' which can only mean offshoot of, or a young colony from, Tarkkâri. The full significance of it becomes clear when we find it described as a well-known (*viditam*) centre of Brahmans who were ever devoted to Vedic rites. The inference seems natural therefore, that the nucleus of the Brahmanic community of Bâlagrâma was a settlement of Brahmans who had emigrated from Tarkkâri. Now this Tarkkâri, as has been stated above, was in Śrâvastî.

But where was this Śrâvastî? Is it the same as the Śrâvastî of the Gonda district, now known as Saheth-Maheth, or a different one altogether? The very fact that there is here recorded a Brahman emigration from Śrâvastî, which we find in other inscriptions too, would seem to indicate that it is identical with the Śrâvastî of the Madhyadesa. But Messrs. Chanda and Basak hold a quite different opinion. They contend that it is to be identified with a Śrâvastî of the *Gaudadisa*, i.e. Bengal, which, according to them, is mentioned in the *Matsya* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas*.¹² Thus the former writes in his *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 170-71: "In this record it is said that a place called Tarkkâri, forming a part of Śrâvastî, was the original home of the Brahmans of the Bhâradvâja gotra. In the Puṇḍra country there was a village called Bâlagrâma which was 'the ornament of Varendrî'. *Between Bâlagrâma and Tarkkâri lay Sakatî*.¹³ Mr. Radha Gôvinda Basak regards Sakatî as the name of a river and places Śrâvastî of the record within Puṇḍra (Varendrî). In the early Sanskrit literature we meet with two cities called Śrâvastî—one founded by Lava, son of Râma (*Râmâyana*, VII) and another by Śrâvasta in Gaudadesa (*Matsya Purāṇa*, XII, 30). Cunningham regarded both the Śrâvastis as identical and identified Gaudadesa with the Gonda District of Oudh. But in all other texts and records Gauda is applied to Varendra in Bengal or to Bengal as a whole. So it seems more reasonable to identify the Gauda of the Purāṇa with Varendra or Bengal, and recognise in the Śrâvastî of Śrâvasta an ancient city in Bengal which was separated from Bâlagrâma of this record by Sakatî."

¹² The reference to the passage in the *Kūrma* is given by Mr. Basak, *ET.*, Vol. XIII, p. 286. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 442. With regard to the meaning of the term *Gauda* see also Prof. Bhândarkar, *Ante*, 1911, p. 22, n. 75 and Grierson, *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹³ The italics are mine.

But let us examine whether the location of Śrāvastī within the Varendra-bhūmi is deducible from the construction of the verses quoted above. Messrs Basak and Chanda say that between Bālagrāma and Tarkkâri lay the river Sakaṭī. This is how they understand the expression *Sakaṭī-vyavadhānavān* which qualifies Bālagrāma. But in accepting this there are certain grave difficulties. In the first place, if the two villages had been situated side by side (the distance between them being only a river), and if it be true that some Brahman families, who had formerly been living on one bank of the stream, now came to settle on the other, it would have been quite out of place to describe their former home in the terms in which Tarkkâri has been described. Were the two places topographically so closely connected, no sensible writer would have ever thought of specifying their separate topographical details, viz., that one of them—Tarkkâri is *Śrāvastī-prativaddha*, i.e., in Śrāvastī and the other—Bālagrāma is in Puṇḍra and Varendrī. Secondly, the expression *Sakaṭīvyavadhānavān* is an adjective of Bālagrāma. Therefore, it cannot have anything to do with Tarkkâri, which word is at a long distance; and the expression cannot be taken to mean that Sakaṭī was the *vyavadhāna* between Bālagrāma and Tarkkâri. The very nature of the compound shows that the *vyavadhāna* is in reference to Bālagrāma alone. I therefore suggest that the natural meaning would be, 'the village of Bālagrāma which had for its boundary, or was bounded by, the river Sakaṭī.'¹¹

It follows therefore, that there is scarcely any real ground for thinking that Tarkkâri was in Bengal. On the other hand, a mass of evidence goes to show that a place called Tarkkârikā or Tarkkâri did exist in Upper India. We learn from epigraphic records that it was a well-known centre of Brahmanic culture and many Brahman families, formerly living there, emigrated to other parts of India. Among these records, the number of which is by no means small, may be mentioned, (1) the Kāṭak copper-plate of the 31st year of Maṇabhaṭṭa-gupta I *EI.*, Vol. III, p. 348, (2) the Kāṭak copper-plate of the 9th year of Mahā-śivagupta, *Ibid.*, p. 353, (3) the Kalas-Badrūkh copper-plate of Bhīllama III (A.D. 1025), *Ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 118, (4) a copper-plate of the Chandella Madanavarman, *Ante*, Vol. XVI, 208, (5) a copper-plate of the Chandella Dhaṅgadeva, *Ibid.* p. 204 and (6) the Māndhātā copper-plates of Devapāla and Jayavarman II, *EI.*, Vol. IX, p. 103 ff. Now to determine whether the Tarkkâri mentioned in these inscriptions was in or outside Bengal, one has to turn attention to Nos. 2 and 3. In the former we have the following adjective-clause appended to the name of a Brahman donee: *Madhyadeśīya-Śrīvallagrāma-ve(vi)nirggatāya Odra-deśe Śrī-Śīlābhāṇjapāti-vāstavyāya | Takkārapūrva-Bhāradvājagotrāya*. It is clear from this that he came out of a village in the Madhyadeśa and belonged to a family of Bhāradvājagotra Brahmans which was formerly in Takkāra. This Takkāra, as

¹¹ As *vyavadhāna* means 'separation' or 'division' (see Monier Williams, s.v.) *Sakaṭī-vyavadhānavān* might as well mean 'having Sakaṭī as *vyavadhāna*' i.e. 'separated' or 'divided' by *Sakaṭī*.

Fleet has shown, is but another form of the original word *Tarkārikā* (*EI.* Vol. III, p. 350, n. 13 and p. 354). The natural conclusion is therefore that Tarkkâra or Takkara was in the Madhyadeśa. This is strongly confirmed by No. 3 which distinctly and unmistakably says that Takkarikâ (Tarkkârikâ), a *bhaṭṭa* village, was situated in the Madhyadeśa—*śrī-Madhyadeśi-āntah-pāti-Takkārikā-bhaṭṭagrāma-vinirggata*. Now as Madhyadeśa did never include Bengal, it naturally follows that Tarkkâri (which was in Madhyadeśa) was outside Bengal.¹⁵ We may therefore, summarise our results as follows:—

- (1) There was a famous place called Tarkkârikâ, in the Madhyadeśa.
- (2) It was a well-known centre of holy Brahmans.
- (3) And thence many Brahman families emigrated to the East and South.

I therefore see no objection to identifying this Tarkkârikâ with the one mentioned in the Silimpur inscription which places it within Śrāvastī, which certainly formed a part of the Madhyadesa.

PAISĀCHĪ PRĀKRIT.

BY THE LATE S. P. V. RANGANATHASWAMI APYAVARAGUN; VIZAGAPATAM.

IN his *Prākṛita-kalpataru*, Rāmatarkavāgīśa-bhaṭṭāchārya mentions the following eleven Pāisāchīs:—

पैशाचिकं केकयदूरतेनराञ्जालगौडप्रभव क्रमेण ।
समागधव्राचडसूक्ष्मभेवं भाषाविशुद्धं मतमर्थशुद्धम् ।
तथा चतुष्पादविशुद्धमन्यदशुद्धमेकादशधा तद्विस्थम् ।¹

What strikes us at first as peculiar is that the author of *Kalpataru* included the mixture of dialects under the Pāisāchī. He arrives at the eleven languages given in the above verses in the following way: He at first divides the Pāisāchī into two great classes, pure (*śuddha*) and mixed (*śrēkīrīa*). Under the first head he included the following seven dialects:

<i>Kekaya</i>	<i>Pāñchāla</i>	<i>Māgadhā</i>	<i>Sūkshma-bheāu</i>
<i>Sīrasena</i>	<i>Gauḍa</i>	<i>Vrāchada</i>	

The mixed dialects he divides into two classes again, viz., pure (*śuddha*) and impure (*aśuddha*), the former of which he again divides into two classes *bhāshā-śuddha* and *pada-śuddha*, which latter he once more divides into two classes, viz., *ardha-śuddha* and *chatushpāda-śuddha*, thus making the mixed dialects four in all. The mixture of dialects in a stanza may take any of the forms given below. The stanza may assume the same form for each of the dialects or one-half of it may be in one language and the other half in another, or again each *pāda* may be in a different language or once more the words in the verses may be of different languages and mixed after the fashion of *tila-taḥlula* as Rāmatarkavāgīśa says. These four classes he respectively designates by the above four names. As an example of the first class may be given the following stanza of

¹⁵ The evidence of the Belāvo copper-plate of Bhojavarman, l. 43, shows that the province of Rāḍha was outside Madhyadeśa. See *EI.*, Vol. XII, p. 41.

¹ These verses are found on folio 1 of the MS. of *Prākṛita-kalpataru* found in the India Office Library, London. No. 1106 of the *Catalogue*).

Râmatarkavâgîśa himself, which he says can be construed as a verse in Sanskrit or any one of the fifty-five dialects treated of in his work (setting aside *Pāñchāla Pāisāchī*).

कमलाकमलोल कमलाकालरामलालीका ? ।

कलिकाल कालकलिलं मुञ्चामो मोहकलोलम् ॥

This stanza is given here as it is found in the MS. of the work found in the India Office Library, but is very corrupt. A similar stanza, quoted in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*² may also be cited and it is said to be identical in form for Sanskrit, Sāurasenī, Prāchyā, Āvantī and Nāgarāpabhraṃśa :—

मञ्जुलमणिमन्त्रीरे कलगंभीरे विहारसरसीतीरे ।

विरसासि केलिकीरे किमालि धीरे च गन्धसारसमीरे ॥

The following stanzas illustrate the second class. The first two are taken from Râmatarkavâgîśa's work, the first of which is his own while the second is quoted by him as belonging to another. The third, on the other hand, is quoted from Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* :—

भारेण विरहसिंहिणो मणीसु सभणैसु कुडिअपाडिणसु ।

कण्ठे केवलसूत्रं विरहिण्याः कण्ठपादद्वयम् ॥

जयति जनताभिवाञ्छितफलप्रदः कल्पपादपो गिरिशः ।³

जअइ मडमारुहन्ती⁴ गिरितणया पणइकप्पलभा ॥

भीष्मप्रोक्तानि वाक्यानि विद्वद्भ्यो शेरते ।

गोसे तिरिञ्छिरिञ्छोली⁵ नल्लतूहे विवलिदा ॥

There seems to be a slip in the MS. of *Kalpataru* belonging to the India Office since there are no verses to exemplify the third and fourth classes. The following verse from *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* may be quoted in illustration of the fourth class :—

अकट गुमटी चन्द्रयोस्नाकलं किल कोइलो ।

लवइ अमुहुर्याम्यो वायुर्निवारय वाइअ ॥

अवि सखि अला रक्तागोकस्तवापि मनो मुवे ।

नकज नकजं मानेनाद्यप्रियं प्रतिजाहुदा ॥

In the above classification Râmatarkavâgîśa-Bhaṭṭāchārya designates the mixture of the dialects to Pāisāchī and we may for our purposes leave them out of account without examining the appropriateness or otherwise of the title and say that he recognised only seven dialects under Pāisāchī. Mārkaṇḍeya, on the other hand, excludes these mixed dialects but his scruples not permitting him, he could not abandon the traditional number eleven and so gives a list of another eleven (differing from the list of *Kalpataru*), including some of the South Indian dialects, to make up that number. But he adds that of these only three, viz., Kekaya, Sāurasena and Pāñchāla were civilised, the rest being of no importance. He considers *Saṅkīrṇa* (or mixed) dialects as an independent class and says⁶ that if those and Sanskrit are taken into account, the number of Prākṛita dialects will be altogether eighteen.

² P. 456, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition.

³ This line is missing in the MS. of *Kalpataru*. It is supplied from *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* of Bhoja.

⁴ *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* reads तमङ्गी तन्ती.

⁵ Should be तिङ्गि तिङ्गिरिञ्छोली. Cf. Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā*, V, 12.

⁶ Cf. संस्कृतसङ्कीर्णभाषां साविता अष्टादशेऽस्मादुः । *Prākṛita-sarvasva*, (edited in the *Grantha-Pradarśanī* of Vizagapatam), XX, 16.

Sir George Grierson in his paper⁷ on *The Home of Literary Pāli* says, "Rāmatarkavāgīśa (? 17th century) knows two Pāisāchikas, one Kāikeya and the other (?) Chaska. He adds that if other Prākṛit dialects, e.g. Māgadhi, are used incorrectly, they become *asuddha* Pāisāchika." From the above exposition of Rāmatarkavāgīśa's classification of Pāisāchī dialects, we confess we cannot accede to what Sir George says in his paper referred to above. There is only one copy of *Prākṛita-kalpataru* (that in the India Office Library) that I know of, and it is in Bengālī characters and is very corrupt, so much so, that it is impossible to make out the meaning of the passages in certain places. The verse about the classification of Pāisāchī languages, as it stands in the MS., is:—

पैसाचिकानि द्विविधानि शुद्धसङ्कीर्णभेदेन पुरोहितानि ।
तत्रादि सप्तकमत्र शुद्धं सङ्कीर्णमन्यन्तु चत्सुक्माहः ॥⁸

The second line of which is evidently very corrupt. As it stands it makes no sense and there is violation of metre too. Here *chaska* is a mistake for *chatushka*, the *tu* being lost. The line should run—

तत्रादि सप्तकमत्र शुद्धं संकीर्णमन्यन्तु चतुष्कमाहः ।

which is quite in accord with the stanza quoted at the beginning of the paper, and the metre of which works out alright. So there is no question there of Chaska Pāisāchī. It was not possible for me to trace the origin of Sir George Grierson's other remark: "He adds that if other Prākṛit dialects, e.g. Māgadhi, are used incorrectly they become *asuddha* Pāisāchika." Probably he derives the information from the following:—

तिलतण्डुलवद्यदा तु भाषाः प्रविशन्तीह बहुप्रकारमुक्ताः ।
तदशुद्धं⁹

but this means what I said above.

There is another short treatise on the Pāisāchī dialects (which, however, it calls *bhūta-bhāṣhā*) in the Deccan College Library, Poona. It is named *Shadbhāṣhā-vārtika*, is in old Kashmiri characters and is Nos. 295-6 of the collection of 1875-76. In this work too the Pāisāchī Prākṛit is divided into two classes, pure (*suddha*) and mixed (*sankīrṇa*) in the following verse:—

प्राकृताज्जायते भूतभाषा सा च द्विधा यथा ।
शुद्धा चैव हि सङ्कीर्णा किञ्चिद्भेदसमन्विता ॥

and he defines the two classes as under:—

शुद्धायां भूतभाषायां भाषा सङ्कुरवर्जिता ।
and सङ्कीर्णभूतभाषायामपञ्चशेन संयुता ।
भूतभाषैव भवति किञ्चिद्भेदसमन्विता ॥

and here too we do not find any class termed Chaska.

Hemachandra, in his grammar treats of six Prākṛits, viz., Prākṛitā, Sāurasenī, Māgadhi, Pāisāchī, Chūlikā-pāisāchī and Apabhramśa, and hence he has only two Pāisāchī dialects. Lakshmīdhara also knows only two Pāisāchīs:—

पिशाचदेशानिबतं पैसाचीद्वितयं भवेत् ।

Sir George Grierson remarks in the same paper¹⁰ that Hemachandra knew three Pāisāchīs. He says "Hemachandra knew three but does not say where they were spoken." I could verify this statement neither in Hemachandra's grammar nor in his *Kāvya-nusāsana*.

⁷ Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917, p. 121.

⁸ Folio 46a of *Prākṛita-kalpataru*.

⁹ Folio 472a, *ibid*.

¹⁰ Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917, p. 122.

MISCELLANEA.

DATE OF KHARAVĒLA.

In connection with the date of Siri-Sātakarpi named in an inscription on the South Gate of Stūpa No. I at Sāñchi, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda of the Calcutta University writes as follows in his recently published Memoir on the "Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sāñchi" (*Memoir A. S. I.*, No. 1, pp. 8-12) —

The date of this Siri-Sātakarpi, and consequently that of the south gateway of stūpa I at Sāñchi, may be approximated by working out the date of the Udayagiri (Hāthigūphā) inscription of Khāravēla in which a Sātakarpi is also mentioned. Bhagavanlal Indraji, who has published what may be called the *editio princeps* of the Hāthigūphā inscription, read and interpreted a sentence in its 16th line to mean that the 13th year of Khāravēla's reign corresponds to the year 165 current and 164 expired of the time of the Maurya Kings. Bhagavanlal was inclined to believe that the era begins with the eighth year of Aśoka, the year in which Aśoka conquered Kalinga, and taking 263 B.C. as the year of Aśoka's accession, placed the accession of Khāravēla in 103 B.C.¹ While accepting Bhagavanlal's reading and interpretation of the sentence, Bühler pushed back the initial year of the Maurya era to the year of Chandragupta's accession. This theory held the field till Fleet questioned the reading and interpretation of Bhagavanlal and declared, herein followed by Luders, that "there is no date in the inscription."² But recently Messrs. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji have published a revised version of the Hāthigūphā inscription with facsimiles and revived the theory of the Maurya era.³ As the sentence has given rise to so much controversy I shall reproduce the different versions :—

BHAGAVANLAL :—

Prākṛit text.—*Panam̐tariya sañhi-vasa-satē rāja-muriya-kālē vōchhinnē cha chōyāṭha agasatikutariyam ch = upādayati.*

Sanskrit.—*Pāñchottarashash'hivarshaśatē Maurya-rājyakālē vichchhinnē cha chatuṣṣha-sh'hya-grāsa-takottarē chotpādayati*

English.—" (He) does (this) in the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of Maurya kings after one hundred and sixty-four years had passed away."

Fleet reads *sacha* for *sañhi* and takes *pana-*
tariyasacha in the sense of *pamnatt-ariyasachcha*, Sanskrit *prajñāptāryasatya*, and referring to texts propounding some Jain *ariyasachchāni*, "sublime truths." After *rāja-Muriya-kālē* Fleet reads and

translates :—*vōchhine cha chōyāṭha a* (or ? *am*) *gasatikutariya ch = upādayati.* *Vōchhinnē* (*vyavachchhinnāni*) *chōyāṭham amga-sattik-antariyam ch = upādayati* : "and he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas."⁴

Mr. R. D. Banerji practically follows Bhagavanlal in his reading and rendering of the sentence. He rejects Fleet's interpretation for two reasons : (1) "The original has *agasatikuturiyam* and not *agasatikutariyam* as supposed by Dr. Fleet The *u* mark is very distinct at the right lower extremity of *ta*. This mark is not so very distinct at the end of the vertical line of *ka* but the chisel mark is plain enough."⁵ But in Pl. IV, attached to Mr. Jayaswal's article, the *u* mark after *t* is not at all distinct, but looks more like a detached dot, and the *u* mark of the *ku* of *Kumāra* in line 14 is longer than the *u* mark of Mr. Banerji's *kuturiya*. The *u* mark of *ka* and *ta* is not recognised by Mr. Banerji's colleague, Mr. Jayaswal, who reads *kaṁtariyam*, (2) Fleet objects to Bhagavanlal's rendering of *vōchhinnē* as *vichchhinnē* (*vichchhinnāyam*) and recognises it as the Jain technical term *vōchchhinne* = *vyavachchhinnāni* applied to the sacred texts which have been "cut off, interrupted," or, in other terms, which have been neglected and lost sight of. Mr. Banerji writes, "The word *vōchchhinnē* need not be taken in that technical sense in which it is used in modern Jain literature," and that as *rāja-Muriya-kālē* "shows that a date has been expressed in the same line," "the only possible translation of the word (*vōchchhinnē*) is "expired," a meaning derived secondarily from its primary meaning "severed" or "cut" (p. 502). The correct Sanskrit rendering of the Prākṛit *vōchhinnā* (*vōchchhinna*) is *vyavachchhinna*, the dictionary meanings of which are, "(1) cut off, rent asunder, torn off; (2) separated, divided; (3) particularised, specified; (4) marked, distinguished; (5) interrupted (Apte)." In a Jain text, the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu,⁶ the word is thus used :—

(1) *Nāyāṣ piṇḍabandhanē vōchchhinnē* (*Jinacharitra*, 127). Sanskrit commentary :—*jñātajē ri Mahā-viravishayē prēmabandhanam vyavachchhinnē truṣṭiḥ*, "having cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for the scion of the Jñātri clan."⁷

(2) *Vōchchhinna-dḍhalā* (*Jinacharitra*, 95) "A pregnant woman whose desires have been fulfilled."

(3) *Avasthā ganaharā niravachchhā vōchchhinnā* (*Sthavirāvali*, 2). "The rest of the Gaṇadhara died leaving no descendants."

¹ *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, IIIe, pp. 147, 177.

² See Luders' List, No. 1345.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 826-27.

⁶ Jacobi's edition, Leipzig, 1879 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, Band, No. 1).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³ *JBORS.*, Vol. III, pp. 425-505, Plates I, II and IV.

⁵ *JBORS.*, Vol. III, pp. 492-93.

Such examples of the use of *vôchhina* as these do not warrant us in holding that *vôchhina* (*vyavachchhinna*) may also be used in the sense of a year being ended. In Indian epigraphic records *gata* or *atita* is used to denote the expired year, but *vyavachchhinna* is nowhere else used in this sense. In the early Brâhmî and Khâroshthi inscriptions of Northern India the date is expressed by *samvatsarâ* or *sabatsarâ*, or briefly by *sâm* or *sa*, and in the Brâhmî inscriptions of Western and Southern India by *vasê*, *varshê*, *samvachchharâ* or its variants, but never by any terms like *râjamuriya-kâlê*. The mention again of both the expired and the current years of the same era side by side is both unique and superfluous. Evidently to avoid this difficulty and to provide the verb *upâdayati* (*upâdayati*) with an object, Mr. Jayaswal proposes to read and translate the second part of the sentence as follows :—

chhê-yathî Argasi ti kantâriyam upâdayati

"The cave (*kantari*, *kandara*), of six poles, called the *arkusi* (Skt. *arkâsîkâ*) is made."

But Plate IV attached to Mr. Jayaswal's article shows that the reading *chhê-yathî* for *chôyathâ* is impossible. As regards the next word *argasi*, in a Prâkrit inscription the language of which is so much akin to Pali, conjunct *rga* is phonetically impossible, and the mark on the left side of *ga* in Mr. Jayaswal's Plate cannot be mistaken for the superscript *r*. The *i*-mark of *sa* also is not visible in the facsimile, and Bhagavanlal and Banerji failed to notice it on the rock.

The reading of the first part of the sentence is even more uncertain. The word between *panatariya* and *râja-Muriya-kâlê* is enigmatical. In the facsimile the letter after *sa* looks rather like *cha* or *chi* and the next letter is evidently *ta* and not *va*, for the lower part of it consists of a semi-circle opening below instead of a circle. The three letters that follow *ta* look like *satato*. But whatever may be the correct reading or meaning of *sachi* (*cha*) *ta sa ta to*, no date can be denoted by this group of letters.⁸

Mr. V. A. Smith works out the date of Khâravêla in a different way. In line 6 of the Hâthigumphâ inscription occurs this sentence :—

Famchamê chadâni vasê Na(m)da-râja-tivasasata-ô(ghî)itum Tinasuliyavâtî panâim nagaram ? parêsa

Dr. Luders translates this sentence thus :—"In the fifth year he had an aqueduct (*panâi*) that had not been used for 103 years since king (*râjan*) Namda (or since the Namda Kings ?) conducted into the city." Mr. V. A. Smith writes, "If we assume 322 B.C. as the end of the Namda dynasty, the fifth year of Khâravêla would be 103 years later, namely 219 B.C. and his accession should be placed about 223 B.C."⁹ But the wide difference in form between the alphabet of the edicts of Aśoka on the one hand and that of the Hâthigumphâ inscription on the other, already noted by Bhagavanlal, renders this estimate of Khâravêla's date quite untenable. The most notable characteristics of the Hâthigumphâ alphabet are :—(1) A considerable number of letters with thick-headed

⁸ Since the above was in type Mr. Jayaswal has published in *JBORS*, Vol. IV, Part IV, a second article entitled *Hâthigumphâ Inscription revised from the Rock* (pp. 364-403), wherein in place of *thambhe patihâpayati* [;] *Pân-amtariya-sâthi-vasa sate Râja Muriya-Kâlê vochhine chheyathê Argasi ti Kantâriyam upadiyati* in line 16, he now proposes to read, *thambhe patihâpayati* [,] *pânatariya sata-sahasêhi* [,] *Muriya Kâlâm vochhinam* (*nam?*) *cha choyathî-agasatikantâriyam upâdayati* [|] (p. 402). (a) The substitution of *sata-sahasêhi* for *sâthi-vasa-sate-Râja* shows that the old reading is very doubtful. But it is also difficult to accept Mr. Jayaswal's new reading, particularly *he* instead of *râja*, as against the impressions published by himself with his first article and against the reading of Bhagavanlal and Mr. R. D. Banerji both of whom examined the rock. The elimination of the term *râja* renders the acceptance of this solitary instance of *Muriya-Kâlâ* as a royal era still more difficult. (b) Mr. Jayaswal's rendering of the expression beginning with *Muriya-Kâlâ* is also open to objection. He translates it, 'He (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted, and being of an interval of sixty-four with a century' (p. 39.). The rendering of *vochhine* as "counted" is even more far-fetched than 'expired'. The particle *cha* after *vochhine* makes it difficult to read it as *vochhinam* qualifying the substantive *Muriya-Kâlâm*. Even if we overlook *vochhine*, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a *prastâti*, for this is how Mr. Jayaswal takes it to be by treating *Muriya Kâlâm* as accusative to *upâdayati*. The root *di* from which Mr. Jayaswal proposes to derive *upâdayati* means 'to perish, die, waste, decay, diminish (Apte)'. So the rendering of *upâdayati* as 'completes' is also very far-fetched. What, again, is the significance of, "He (Khâravêla) completes the Muriya time (era)" ? Khâravêla was not a Muriya (Maurya) but a Cheta (a name not unknown to literature, as Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jâtaka), and it is not clear how a king of one line could complete the era of another.

⁹ Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 2, note 2 (3rd Ed.).

vertical or serif; (2) *ka* with the lower part of the vertical prolonged; (3) invariably rounded *ga*; (4) *chha* of the butterfly type with two loops; (5) *ta*'s having in most cases rounded lower part. These characteristics that the Hâthigumphâ inscription shares, to a considerable extent, with the inscriptions on the Sâñchî gateways, indicate that this epigraph is later in date not only than Aśoka's edicts and the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions, but also later than the Bharhut *tīraṇa* inscription, and the Nânâghat inscriptions of the time of the Andhra King Siri Sâtakarni I. Therefore Sâtakarni mentioned in the Hâthigumphâ inscription, without taking heed of whom Khâravêla sent a large army to the west in the second year of his reign, should also be identified with Sâtakarni II whose reign may be tentatively dated between 75-20 B.C. The rise of Sâtakarni II and Khâravêla probably synchronised with the fall of the Suṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the power of Magadha. Sâtakarni II evidently claimed some sort of suzerainty over the states that lay to the west of Kalinga and consequently Khâravêla's expeditions to the west involved defiance of the Andhra power. Khâravêla probably never again did so after the second year of his reign. His later expeditions were led to the north. In the eighth year Khâravêla raided Magadha and compelled the king of Râjagaha (Râjagriha) to retire to Mathurâ. In the twelfth year he again invaded Magadha and made the Magadha king bow at his feet.

One grave objection to this calculation of the date of Khâravêla based on palæographic considerations is *ti-vasa-sata* in the clause *Namdarâja tivasasata oḅḅitam*. Bhagavanlal reads it as *tivasasatam* and Mr. Jayaswal as *ti-vasa-sata* (*m*?) and evidently Dr. Lüders also does the same and translates it as "103 years". Stems *sata* (hundred) and *sahasā* (1,000) take plural suffixes in the edicts of Aśoka as well as in the Hâthigumphâ inscription when denoting plurality of hundreds or thousands. In the Rock Edict I we have *vahuni pânasatasahasâni*, "many hundred thousand animals"; in the Rock Edict IV, *vahuni vasasatâni*, "many hundreds of years".

Hâthigumphâ inscription :—

L. 4. *panatisâhi satasahasâhi*, "by 3,500,000."

L. 7. *anêkâni satasahasâni*, "many hundreds of thousands."

L. 10. *aḥatisa satasahasâhi*, "by 3,800,000."

If the reading is *ti-vasa satam*, it must denote 103 and not 300. But, as the facsimile shows, there is no anusvâra sign either above or beside the final *ta* of *tivasasata*. The absence of *vibhakti* (suffix) after *tivasasata* is due to the fact that it forms part of a compound word, *Namdarâja-tivasasata-o* (*ghâ?*) *tuam* qualifying *panâdim* (aqueduct). An objec-

tion that may be made to such a construction is that *tivasasata* and *oghâḅita* are not combined according to the rule of Sandhi. But this is not the only instance in which the writer of this epigraph has ignored the rules of Sandhi in writing a compound word. In the first line we have *chaturamṭala-ṭhuna-guṇa-up(ḅ)ḅena*. Bhagavanlal and Jayaswal read *gun-opagatēna*. But in the facsimile the letter after *gu* looks more like *ṇa* than *no*, and the two letters after *na* are *upa* and not *paga*. So here *ṇa* and *u* have not been combined. The non-elision of *a* of *guṇa* and *sata* may be due to the fact that in both cases it is followed by verbs beginning with a vowel. *Tivasasata* as a part of the compound may mean either 300 or 103 years. If we take it in the sense of "300 years," the whole compound denoting, "made by king Namda 300 years before," the historical evidence contained herein agrees well with the indications of palæography. Mr. Banerji proposes to identify this Nandarâja with Nandivardhana, the ninth king of the Śiśunâga dynasty. There is nothing in the Purâṇas, our only sources of information for Nandivardhana, that he ever had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary we are distinctly told in the Purâṇas that when the kings of the Śiśunâga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha, 32 Kalingas, that is to say, 32 kings, reigned in Kalinga in succession synchronously. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahâpadma Nanda, son of Nandivardhana's son Mahanandin by a Śûdra woman, who is said to have brought "all under his sole sway" and "uprooted all Kshatriyas" or the old reigning families. So we should identify Namdarâja of the Hâthigumphâ inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahâpadma Nanda or one of his sons. According to the Purâṇas Mahâpadma Nanda lived or reigned for 88 years and his 8 sons in all reigned 12 years.¹⁰ A total reign of 12 years for eight sons indicates confusion. So it appears more reasonable to identify the Nandarâja of the Hâthigumphâ inscription with Mahâpadma Nanda than with any of his sons. The last Nanda was overthrown by Chandragupta the Maurya in about 321 B.C. Assuming that Mahâpadma Nanda reigned for 50 years—not an inordinately long period for a monarch who reduced all the ancient kingdoms of Northern India to subjection,—we have 321+12+50=383 B.C. as the year of his accession; and further, assuming that the author of the Hâthigumphâ inscription, in putting down "300 years" as the interval between Nanda's rule in Kalinga and the fifth year of Khâravêla has used a round number, we may put down the accession of Khâravêla to about 70 B.C. and that of Sâtakarni II a few years earlier.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

¹⁰ Pargiter's *Purâṇa Texts*, p. 69.

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851.

By S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from p. 205.)

XII.

CRUISE OF THE PIRATE *GOOD HOPE*, 1687.

Amongst the Buccaneers who sailed for the Philippines was one John Eaton. According to James Burney (*Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Seas*) he behaved very cruelly to the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands and took much plunder on the Chinese Coast, but what became of him afterwards I do not know. Probably he died in those parts, for some of his crew managed to get to the Bay of Bengal without him, and arrived at the mouth of the Hûgli. There they found the East India Company's ketch *Good Hope* and, persuading the Mate, Duncan Mackintosh, and some of the crew to join them, carried her off, Mackintosh being elected Captain. Apparently they made good booty after putting the narrator of the cruise ashore, for, from *India Office Records, O.C.*, 5690,⁵⁷ it appears that the *Good Hope* arrived at St. Augustine's in Madagascar with a good store of gold and diamonds but very few men, in May 1689. The cowardice displayed by this gang of pirates in their affrays with the Malays and Japanese was probably due to the smallness of their crew, for it was a maxim of the pirates never to take any unnecessary risks.

"The Right Honble. Company's Ketch *Good Hope* arrived in Ballasore Road, Samuell Herron Commander, brought two Pylotts to carry up the *Rochester* and the *Rebecka* to Hugily [Hûgli]: and May the 2nd was by Sunrising surpriz'd and taken by some of Captain Eaton's men having first bound the Master and myself in the Great Cabbin, and the rest of the men readily assenting to goe and seek their fortunes with them, one George Robinson only excepted. They then cutt the Cable in the hause, made saile for the Nincombarrs [Nicobars], before which it was put to the vote whether they should putt the Master and myself on shoare upon the Andimans Islands inhabited by man-Eaters.⁵⁸ At the Nincombarrs they wooded and water'd their Ketch, then proceeding on their Pyratting designe for the Straights of Mallacca. Of[f] Acheen they took a small Prow bound to the Port, wherein they put the Master, but would not lett me goe with him. One George Robinson aforesaid went into the boat, thinking to leave them, but was hal'd in by the hair of his head and threattned to be murder'd.

"In the sight of Mallacca they came up with a China Junk who had two Portugeze Pylotts on board, one of which with a China Merchant came on board to shew a Dutch pass he had. They detain'd them, mann'd the Junk's boat with their own Rogues, went on board, took her without fireing gunn, great or small, plunder'd her, found noe money in her, shee being laden with Sandalla wood and not answering their expectations, tooke out a chest of silke, some cloaths, then cutt holes in her and sunk her. The two aforesaid Portugeze Pylotts inform'd them that there was a Portugeze shipp gon before, and that if they made the best of their way they mlight come up with her, which fell out accordingly, for in

⁵⁷ Mackintosh when he turned pirate took the name of Thompson.

⁵⁸ This statement is an old error, for the Andamanese have never been cannibals though long reputed to be so.—ED.

the Straights of Pincomporas [? Sincompore, Singapore] they took her under the King of England's Colours, firing at her three gunns. At the first they struck their topgallant sailes, the next their topsailes, and the third and last halled up all, and the Commander with some merchants or gentlemen came on board, who were detain'd as the Chinees had bin before; manning the boat with themselves went on board the shipp, turn'd the major part of the people into the boat, sent her on board the Ketch. As soon as she came, the rest with the Chinees prisoners were put into the boat and turn'd away, first giving them a bag of rice, some pieces of beef with a Totch⁵⁹ to boyle it in, carried the shipp to Pulo Ladure [? Pulo da Ore=Pulo Awar], where, after they had taken out the plate and jewells and sufficiently plunder'd her, they burn'd her and ran away by the light, from whence they went to Pulu Condore to waite the comming of the shipp from the Moneilas [Manila], also two great Junks that yearly goe to Japan, where they remain'd untill the time of the year serv'd for the comming of shipping from China, Japan and Moneilas, then went out a-cruizing to windward, having first made the Ketch a Pink by putting another mast into her.

"Riding at the southermost part of the Island they see a shipp, gave her chase, came up with her, fir'd at her without hailing her, who fought them stoutly, killing them one man. The sea was so great they could not hoard, was forst to lett her goe: after that, below Pulu Ubi they saw a Malaia Prow, mann'd their boat in order to take her. When they came under her sterne commanded them on board the Ketch. The Malais answer'd the Sun was setting. In the morning they would come, which occasion'd one Richard Webb to fire his Fuzee into the Prow, who return'd a volly that kill'd two men and wounded three, so the Piratts turn'd taile. As soon as the Malais saw it, they nimbly stepd into their owne boate and persued them untill they were within gunn shott of the Ketch.

"Some time after, to the windward of the Island they gave chase to a Japan Junk, who finding they could not get clear of the Rogues, boare downe upon them and had run them under water had they not imediatly lett flie the maine sheet. Nere a Rogue of them dare to thro' a Granada into her, but follow'd her from the Island Pulu Condore to Pulu [? Tanjang], where they left her, and while anchor'd there saw another Japan Junk, as was by them suppos'd, gave her chase, could not come up with her, fearing they should fall so deep into the Bay of Syam that they could not turne it up again, left of their chase, turn'd up to Pulu [? Tanjang] and Condore againe, of[f] where they cruiz'd a considerable time.

"Provisions growing scarce, they went to some Islands near the Coast of Borneo, at last came to an Island colled Tymbolan,⁶⁰ which is a dayes saile of Suckadana,⁶¹ where Eaton had bin before. There I laid a designe to cutt them off, perswaded seven or eight soldiers &c. to assent to the conspiracy. That night it was to be put in execution the Carpenter, a Dutchman, one as deeply engaged by oath as anyone in that enterprize, discover'd it; therefore they putt me on shoare, and as many as was willing to goe with me upon an uninhabited Island, four miles distant. About Sunsett it prov'd much thunder, lightning and rain. Wee had nothing to shelter us but the heavenly Canope, from which droped much moisture. In the morning they sent their canoe to fetch us or board again with whom wee would not goe. Therefore they weighed their anchors

⁵⁹ Totch, for totchy = *daght*, a saucepan.—ED.

⁶⁰ Pulo Timbalan (Balance or Requitul Island), a small group of islands lying nearly midway between the E. end of the Straits of Malacca and Borneo.—ED.

⁶¹ Sukadana, W. Coast of Borneo.—ED.

and away they went. Wee made it our business to gett up to Tymbolan by wading up on the corally Rocks, sometimes up to the knees, then at once to the neck in water, bare foot and bare legged. At last by Divine Providence came a Fishing boat that call'd unto us and took us in, carried us unto the said Island, where wee continued six weeks, was kindly used by the inhabitants before wee could get to Roe [? Rhio] in the Straights of Mallacca, where wee continued six months before wee could find an opportunity of goeing thither [? further], by reason they were embroyled in warr with the Dutch and all their neighbouring Princes, from whence they fled to Johore and wee with them.

"A Cessation of Armes hapening, a Dutch sloop came there, upon whom three of us embark'd for Mallacca, where at Johore was left three of our Company whome wee suspected would turn Mallaias or Mussullmen, viz., Thomas Steele, Matthew Curtis, Antony Budart. Ourselves arriv'd safé at Mallacca, viz., H. Watson, George Robinson, Francis Cooke, where found the *Pearle Friggatt*, Captain [James] Peryman Commander, and Mr. [John] Hill,⁶² who had bin Ambassadors to Syam, with whome we went to Fort St. George, where wee, the three last nam'd, gave in our Narrative upon oath to the Honble. Governour [Elihu Yale] and Sir John Bigs &c."⁶³

N.B.—Here follows a list of those of Captain Eaton's men who took the *Good Hope*.

"*Eaton's men.*"

Walter Beard, hanged in Guinea.	Antony Budart.
Nicholas Burton.	Thos. Steele.
Richard Web.	John Linch, died at Johore.
Richard Potter.	Matthew Curtis.
John Dunkston.	Francis Cook.
John Parnell.	Lawrence France, whose wife was hanged
Marcus, killed by Malayars, Carpenter.	at Bombay, killed by Malayars.
George Robertson, an honest man.	Cornelius Patterson, a Dutchman.
Dunkin Mackindas (Captain Heron's mate	Henryk, a Dutchman.
turned rogue) hanged in Guinea.	James Williamson.
	Thos.—killed by the Portuguese."

[Narrative by Charles Hopkins, dated 30 April 1687. *India Office Records, O. C.* 5582 and narrative by John Watson, *ibid.*, *O. C.* 5583.]

XIII.

PIRATE BASE AT ST. MARY'S, MADAGASCAR, 1690-1698.

It has been mentioned that Mackintosh took his ship to St. Augustine's in Madagascar. That island had already become a base for European interlopers and pirates who intended to cruise in the Red Sea or Indian Ocean. Madagascar and the islands round its shores were admirably suited for this purpose, but the ports which were chiefly frequented by the pirates were Port St. Augustine (St. Augustine's Bay), Port or Fort Dolphin (Dauphin) and the Island of St. Mary. As these pirates were chiefly equipped in New

⁶² See *Madras Public Consultations*, 22 August 1687.

⁶³ Sir John Biggs, "lately Recorder of Portsmouth," was appointed Judge-Advocate at Fort St. George in 1687 and arrived at Madras 22 July 1687. (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 493.)

England and the West Indies, some of the merchants who sent them out hit upon the idea of sending ships to Madagascar with provisions, stores, arms and wine, which they sold to the pirates, who, fresh from their raids, were ready to pay any price that might be asked. One of these merchants was Frederick Phillips of New York, who employed as his Agent a retired pirate Adam Baldrige. The latter, having killed a man in Jamaica, found it convenient to absent himself from home until the recollection of his misdeed had somewhat faded. After an absence of nearly ten years he returned to New York and was persuaded by Lord Bellamont to make the following deposition. Interesting as it is, giving us many dates which, without it, would be difficult to ascertain, it seems a pity that he was not in a position to speak more freely.

It is noticeable that he calls the pirates *privateers*, a name which they preferred, and in fact, many of the pirate ships sailed under commissions granted them by different Colonial Governors. It was a slight matter that these commissions were intended to serve against the French. If the Captains who held them were too particular, their crews deposed them.

Amongst the articles for sale to pirates, are mentioned both Bibles and Prayer Books. One might imagine that pirates had no use for such things, but it is a fact that a considerable number amongst them were pressed men, or men, often officers, who, having lost their all when their ships were taken by pirates, had in desperation become pirates themselves. At times such men, horrified at the villainous acts to which they found themselves committed, were stricken with remorse and, remembering the teachings of pious parents, were eager for the consolations of religion. One does not know whether to be disgusted at or to admire the business acumen which made Phillips and his like remember to cater for the requirements of these poor wretches.

Deposition of Captain Adam Baldrige.

(1) *July 17th 1690.*—I Adam Baldrige arrived at the Island of St. Mary's in the ship *Fortune*, Richard Conyers Commander, on the 7th of January 1690/91. I left the ship, being minded to settle among the negroes at St. Mary's with two men more, but the ship went to Port Dolphin and was cast away April 15th 1691, and half the men drowned and half saved their lives and got ashore, but I continued with the negroes at St. Mary's and went to war with [i.e., in alliance with] them. Before my going to war, one of the men died that went ashore with me and the other being discouraged, went on board again, and none continued with me but my prentice George King March the 9th they sailed for Bonnovolo on Madagascar sixteen leagues from St. Mary's, where they stopt to take on rice. After I went to war six men more left the ship, whereof two of them died about three weeks after they went ashore and the rest died since. In May 1691 I returned from war and brought seventy head of cattle and some slaves. Then I had a house built and settled upon St. Mary's, where great stores of negroes resorted to me from the Island Madagascar and settled the Island St. Mary's, where I lived quietly with them, helping them to redeem their wives and children that were taken, before my coming to St. Mary's, by other negroes to the north of us about sixty leagues.

(2) *October 13th 1691.*—Arrived the *Bachelor's Delight*, Capt. George Raynor Commander, burden 180 tons or thereabouts, 14 guns, 70 or 80 men, that had made a voyage into the Red Sea and taken a ship belonging to the Moors, as the men did report, where they took as much money as made the whole share [of the] men about 1,100 lbs. a man. They

careened at St. Mary's, and while they careened I supplied them with cattle for their present spending and they gave me for my cattle a quantity of beads, five great guns for a fortification, some powder and shot and six barrels of flour, about seventy bars of iron. The ship belonged to Jamaica and set sail from St. Mary's November 4th 1691, bound for Port Dolphin on Madagascar to take in their provision, and December 1691 they set sail from Port Dolphin bound for America, where I have heard since they arrived at Carolina and complied[compounded] with the owners, giving them for ruin of their ship three thousand pounds as I have heard since.

(3) *October 14th 1692.*—Arrived the *Nassau*, Capt. Edward Coats Commander, burden 170 tons or thereabouts, 6 guns, 70 men, whereof about 30 of the men stayed at Madagascar, being most of them concerned in taking the *Hackboat* at the Isle of May [Maio, Cape de Verde Is.] Coll. Thrympton owner. The said *Hackboat* was lost at St. Augustin. Capt. Coats careened at St. Mary's, and whilst careening I supplied them with cattle for their present spending, and the negroes with fowls, rice and yams, and for the cattle I had two chests and one jar of powder, six great guns and a quantity of great shot, some spikes and nails, five bolts of Duck [rolls of linen cloth] and some twine, a hogshead of flour. The ship most of her belonged to the Company as they [*i.e.*, the crew] said. Capt. Coats set sail from St. Mary's in November 1692 bound for Port Dolphin on Madagascar and victualled there and in December set sail for New York. Capt. Coats made about 500 lb. a man in the Red Sea.

(4) *August 7th 1693* —Arrived the ship *Charles*, John Churcher Master, from New York. Mr. Frederick Phillips, owner, sent to bring me several sorts of goods. She had two cargoes in her, one consigned to said Master to dispose of and one to me containing as follows:—4 pairs of shoes and pumps, 6 dozen of worsted and thread stockings, 3 dozen of speckled shirts and breeches, 12 hats, some carpenter's tools, 5 barrels of rum, 4 quarter casks of Madeira wine, 10 cases of spirits, 2 old stills full of holes, one worm, 2 grindstones, 2 cross-saws and 1 whipsaw, 3 jars of oil, 2 small iron pots, 3 barrels of cannon powder, some books, catechisms, primers and hornbooks, 2 Bibles and some garden seeds, 3 dozen of hens [?]; and I returned for the said goods [1100 pieces of eight and dollars, 34 slaves, 15 head of cattle, 57 bars of iron. October the 5th he set sail from St. Mary's after having sold part of his cargo to the Whitemen upon Madagascar to Manratan⁶⁴ to take in slaves.

(5) *October 19th 1693.*—Arrived the ship *Amity*, Capt. Thos. Tew Commander, burden 70 tons, 8 guns, 60 men, having taken a ship in the Red Sea that did belong to the Moors [Muhammadans] as the men did report. They took much money in her and made the whole share men [about] 1200 lb. a man. They careened at St. Mary's and had some cattle from me, but for their victuals and sea-stores they bought from the negroes. I sold Capt. Tew and his Company some of the goods brought in the *Charles* from New York. The ship belonged most of her to Bermuda. Capt. Tew set sail from St. Mary's December 23rd 1693 bound for America.

(6) *August 9th 1695.*—Arrived the *Charming Mary* from Barbadoes, Capt. Richard Glover Commander, Mr. John Beckford Merchant and part owner. The most of the ship belonged to Barbadoes, Colonel Russell, Judge Coats and the Nigames [?]. She was burden about 200 tons, 16 guns, 80 men. She had several sorts of goods on board. I bought most

⁶⁴ Manratan, for Mandratan = the Madiatan (Mandritsara) of No. 7, *infra*.—ED.

or them. She careened at St. Mary's and in October she set sail from St. Mary's for Madagascar to take in rice and slaves.

(7) *August 1695.*—Arrived the ship *Katherine* from New York, Capt. Thos. Mostyn Commander and Supercargo. Mr. Fred. Phillips owner, the ship burden about 160 tons, no guns, near 80 [? 20] men. She had several sorts of goods in her. She sold the most to the Whitemen upon Madagascar where she had careened. He set sail from St. Mary's for Madraton [? Mandritsara] on Madagascar to take in his rice and slaves.

(8) *December 7th 1695.*—Arrived the ship *Susanna*, Capt. Thos. Week Commander, burden about 100 tons, 10 guns, 70 men. They fitted out from Boston and Rhode Island and had been in the Red Seas, but made no voyage, by reason they missed the Moors fleet. They careened at St. Mary's and I sold them part of the goods bought of Mr. John Beckford out of the *Charming Mary* and spared them some cattle, but for the most part they were supplied by the negroes. They stayed at St. Mary's till the middle of April, where the Captain and Master and most of the men died. The rest of the men that were left after the sickness carried the ship to St. Augustin, where they left her and went in Capt. Hore's for the Red Sea.

(9) *December 11th 1695.*—Arrived the ship *Amity* having no Captain, her former Captain, Thomas Tew, being killed by a great shot from a Moors ship, John Yarland Master, burden 70 tons, 8 guns as before described, and about 60 men. They stayed but few days at St. Mary's and set sail to seek the *Charming Mary* and they met her at Mauratan on Madagascar and took her, giving Capt. Glover the sloop to carry him and his men home and all that he had, keeping nothing but the ship. They made a new Commander after they had taken the ship, one Captain Bobbington. After they had made the ship they went into St. Augustin's Bay and fitted the ship and went into the Indies to make a voyage and I have heard since that they were trepanned and taken by the Moors.

(10) *December 29th 1695.*—Arrived a Moors ship taken by the *Resolution* and given to Capt. Robert Glover and 24 of his men that was not willing to go a-privateering upon the coasts of India, to carry him away. The Company turned Captain Glover and these 24 men out of the ship, Captain Glover being part owner and Commander of the same and confired prisoner by her Company upon the Coast of Guinea by reason he would not consent to go about the Cape of Good Hope into the Red Sea, the ship very old and would hardly swim with them to St. Mary's. When they arrived there they applied themselves to me and I maintained them in my house with provision till June that shipping arrived for to carry them home.

(11) *January 17th 1696-7.*—Arrived the brigantine *Amity* that was Captain Tew's sloop, from Barbadoes and fitted into a brigantine by the owners of the *Charming Mary* at Barbadoes, Captain Richard Glover Commander and Supercargo. The brigantine described when [? as] a sloop. She was laden with several sorts of goods, part whereof I bought and part sold to the Whitemen upon Madagascar and part to Captain Hore and his Company. The brigantine taken afterwards by the *Resolution* at St. Mary's.

(12) *February 13th 1696-7.*—Arrived Captain John Hore's prize from the Gulf of Persia and three or four days after arrived Captain John Hore in the *John and Rebecca*, burden about 180 tons, 20 guns, 100 men in ship and prize. The prize about 300 tons,

laden with calicos. I sold some of the goods bought of Glover to Captain Hore and his Company as likewise [to] the Whitemen that lived upon Madagascar and Captain Richard Glover.

(13) *June 9th 1697.*—Arrived the *Resolution* Captain Chivers Commander, burden near 200 tons, 90 men, 20 guns. Formerly the ship belonged to Captain Robert Glover, but the Company took her from him and turned him and 24 men of his men out of her by reason they were not willing to go a-privateering into the East Indies. They met with a Mosoune⁶⁵ at sea and lost all their masts and put into Madagascar about ten leagues to the northward of St. Mary's, and there masted and fitted their ship; and while they lay there, they took the brigantine *Amity* for her water-casks, sails and rigging and masts, and turned the hull a-drift upon a reef. Captain Glover promised to forgive them what was past if they would let him have his ship again and go home to America, but they would not except he would go into the East Indies with them. September 25 they set sail to the Indies.

(14) *June 14th 1697.*—Arrived the ship *Fortune* from New York, Captain Thomas Mostyn Commander and Robert Allison Supercargo, the ship burden 150 tons or thereabouts, 8 guns, near 20 men, having several sorts of goods aboard and sold to Captain Hore and Company and to the Whitemen upon Madagascar.

(15) *June 1st 1697.*—Arrived a ship from New York, Captain Cornelius Jacobs Commander and Supercargo, Mr. Fred. Phillips owner, burden about 150 tons, 2 guns, near 20 men, having several sorts of goods aboard and sold to Captain Hore and his Company and to the Whitemen upon Madagascar and 4 barrels of tar to me.

(16) *July 1st 1697.*—Arrived the brigantine *Swift* from Boston, Mr. Andrew Knott Master and John Johnson Merchant and part owner, burden about 40 tons, 2 guns, 10 men, having several sorts of goods aboard, some sold to Captain Hore and Company; the rest put ashore at St. Mary's and left there. A small time after his arrival I bought three quarters of her and careened and went out to seek a trade and to settle a foreign commerce and trade in several places on Madagascar. About eight or ten days after I went from St. Mary's the negroes killed about 30 Whitemen upon Madagascar and St. Mary's and took all they or I had. Captain Mostyn and Captain Jacobs and Captain Hore's ship and Company being all there at the same time and set sail from St. Mary's October 1697 for Madagascar to take in their slaves and rice having made a firm commerce with the negroes on Madagascar. At my return I met with Captain Mostyn at sea sixty leagues of St. Mary's. He acquainted me with the negroes' rising and killing the Whitemen. He persuaded me to return back with him and not proceed any further for there was no safe going to St. Mary's, all my men being sick. After good consideration we agreed to return and go for America.

The above mentioned men that were killed by the natives were most of them privateers that had been in the Red Sea and took several ships there. They were chiefly the reason of the natives rising, by their abusing of the natives and taking their

⁶⁵ The South-West Monsoon, which brings in very heavy weather when it "bursts" in June.—Ed.

cattle from them, and were most of them to the best of my knowledge men that came in several ships as Captain Raynor, Captain Coats, Captain Tew, Captain Hore and the *Resolution* and Captain Chivers.

ADAM BALDRIDGE.

Sworn before me in New York 5 May 1699.

True Copy.

BELLAMONT.

[*Colonial Office Records*, 5/1942, No. 30, ii.]

XIV.

THE CRUISE OF HENRY EVERY, 1693-6.

Henry Every (Avery or Ivory) *alias* Bridgman, was the most famous pirate of his day. Mate of the ship *Charles* (Captain Gibson) which had been hired with other ships by the Spanish Government, through Sir James Houblon, to assist in the protection of the Spanish American colonies, he persuaded a part of the crew to mutiny at Corunna⁶⁶ in May 1694 and took possession of the ship. Renaming her the *Fancy*, he carried her first to the West Indies, where he completed his crew, and then *viâ* Madagascar to the Red Sea. He attempted to fix a base at Perim, but, finding no water, proceeded to St. Mary's in Madagascar, where he built a kind of fort and established friendly relations with the natives, though the stories of his ruling like a king amongst them are probably wild exaggerations, for his total stay in the Indian seas cannot have been longer than some eighteen months.

In 1695 he captured the *Gunsway*, a rich pilgrim ship, on board of which there were many Indian ladies of distinction, who appear to have been very shamefully treated. He is said to have married one of them, a royal Princess, and to have had by her a son who was living in Madagascar in 1720, though the poor lady herself speedily died. The booty taken on this occasion was enormous—it is said to have been more than £200,000! At any rate Every and his crew were now satisfied to go out of business. In April 1696 they arrived at the Island of Providence, in the Bahamas, where they were well received by the Governor, Nicholas Trott. Having divided their booty, they scattered, and a number of them made for England. There some were identified, tried and executed, but Every escaped detection and having been cheated of his booty by the men whom he employed to turn it into cash, died in great poverty at Bideford in the year 1727.

As Every impudently claimed the right to use Captain Gibson's commission, he flew St. George's flag, using the *red flag* only when his victims persisted in resistance. Apparently he never, in the Indian Seas, attacked his own countrymen or, in fact, any but Indian vessels. He is said to have carried the Mughal flag taken on the *Gunsway* to America, where it was flown by the pirate Captain John James of the *Providence Galley* in 1699. Probably James was a former member of his crew.

⁶⁶ Called by English sailors the Groyne.

The damage done to trade by Every and other pirates with whom he associated was so great that it caused a serious quarrel between the Agents of the East India Company and the Mughal Government, the latter holding them responsible for the misdeeds of their countrymen. This made it necessary for the English Government to come to the assistance of the Company, which was unable by itself to free the seas from these dangerous pests.

Narrative of Philip Middleton, a youth belonging to the ship "Charles," alias "Fancy," which was delivered to the Lords Justices, the 4th August 1696.

"The ship *Charles*, Henry Every [Commander], first plundered three English vessels at the Isle of May of provisions only, and nine of their men went on board the said *Charles*, most West Countrymen, vizt. James Gray, Thomas Summerton, Edward Kerwood, William Downe, John Redy, &c.

"Thence to the Coast of Guinea, where took two Danes,⁶⁷ out of which they had a quantity of elephants teeth and divided about eight or nine ounces of gold a man. Fourteen of the Danish crew came aboard them.

"Thence they sailed to Madagascar and to Johanna, where twelve French pirates came aboard them and afterwards took a French pirating junk with about forty men, who had good booty with them. They also joined them, being in all about 170 men, with 14 Danes, 52 French and 104 English.

"From Johanna they sailed into the Red Sea⁶⁸ and got intelligence of two rich ships that were at Mocha bound for Surat, but they passed them in the night, of which they had notice by a small junk they took the next day and made after them. They came up with the smaller first, who made little or no resistance. The same day they took the great ship who fought for about two hours and many of their men were killed, being about 1,300 persons aboard and on the other ship about 700. They kept both ships in their possession two days and all the *Charles's* men, except Every, boarded them by turns, taking out of the said ships only provisions and other necessaries besides treasure, which was very great, though little in comparison to what was on board, for, though they put several to the torture, they would not confess where the rest of their treasure lay. They took great quantities of jewels and a saddle and bridle set with rubies, designed for a present for the Great Mogul. The men lay with the Indian women aboard those ships, and there were several of them by their habits and riches in jewels appeared of better quality than the rest. The great ship was called the *Gonsway*.

"After they had taken these prizes they went to Rajapore to water and so to

⁶⁷ John Dan, in his evidence at the trial of certain of Every's crew at the Old Bailey, says they took the two Danes after a fight at the Isle of Princes. One they took with them and one they burned. (*State Trials*, Vol. 13, p. 451).

⁶⁸ Where, according to Dan, they burnt the town of Meat, because the people would not trade. Later they were joined by two English privateers and later still by three from America. Middleton in his evidence gives the names of three Captains as May, Farrel and Wake.

Mascarenas, [Bourbon] where set on shore all the French and Danes, having first made a division of their booty, which amounted in gold, silver and jewels to 970 lbs. a man.⁶⁹

"Thence they sailed to Ascension, where they turned fifty turtle and found letters of two English ships having been there. This was in March last, and the latter end of April they arrived at Providence, having but two days provisions left.

"They made a present to the Governor there, whose name is [Nicholas] Trott, of twenty pieces of eight a man, besides two chequins⁷⁰ of gold, upon which he permitted them to come ashore, and gave them a treat at his house, at which one of the men breaking a drinking glass, he made him pay for it eight chequins.

"The men presented the Governor also with the ship and all on board her, being some quantity of elephants teeth left in her. Colonel Richard Talliaferro, Deputy Governor, was a sharer with Trott in the booty.

"Every had changed his name to Bridgman, went on shore at Providence and about eighty men, which dispersed themselves to several ports and bought sloops there.

"One called the *Seaflower*, Captain Ferro, bought of Crosskeys and Flavell, in which embarked Every and nineteen other men, vizt. Jno. Down, John——, Nat. Pike, Peter Soames, Hen. Adams, Francis——, Thos. Johnson, Joseph Dawson, Samuel Dawson, James Lewis, James Hammond and Roy, John Sparks, Joseph Goss, Charles Faulkner, Thomas Somerton, James Murrey.

"These landed about a month since at Dunfanahan, twenty miles northward of Lough Swilly, by Londonderry, and thence by land to Dublin. Every took shipping for England at Carrickfergus. Captain Ferro remained at Londonderry with his sloop, which the seamen gave him for a present.

"Another sloop, which one Hollingsworth commanded, was chased into Dublin by a French privateer, on board of which were sixteen more of the *Charles's* men, vizt. Robert Richy, John Miller, John King, Edward Savill, William Phillips, Thomas Joye. These were most Scotchmen and bound thither.

"William May went to Pensilvania.

"Several went to New England.

"Two of the men had been at Jamaica and returned back to Providence.

"Joseph Morris left mad at Providence, losing all his jewels upon a wager.

"Edward Short killed by a shirk [shark].

"Thomas Bolitha met at Dublin, but he came over in some other sloop, for he was not on board either of the two before mentioned.

"Trott took several guns out of the ship, which had 48 mounted, to plant on a platform to secure the Island from the French."

[*India Office Records. Home Series, Miscellaneous, Vol. 36, p. 189.*]

(*To be continued.*)

⁶⁹ Supposing all shared alike this, for 170 men, would make a total of £164,900. Probably the booty amounted to over £200,000.

⁷⁰ Sequins, a coin worth about 9 shillings and three pence.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MALAYAN HISTORY.

By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

[I have had reason on several occasions lately to examine the history of the Malays and have found myself hampered in my studies by the want of any short abstract thereof in English, which could keep a general view of the whole subject before my mind, and serve to help me to conceive its many and necessarily confusing details in something like a practical sequence and in a true proportion to each other. I therefore compiled for my own use a brief sketch of the history of the Archipelago and Peninsula, for which combination the best general name I have yet come across in the literature of the subject is Malaysia. As it may be of use to others, I now print it, without laying any claim to having made it an authoritative or complete document.]

South of Indo-China lies the Malay Archipelago, the most important collection of islands in the world. They are sharply divided geographically between those rising out of deep and shallow water by what is usually called Wallace's Line, being thus in two divisions: the Western or Asiatic in the shallow sea which impinges on the great spit of land jutting out southwards from Indo-China, known as the Malay Peninsula, and the Eastern and Melanesian, which approaches Australia. As in the case of Indo-China itself, the aborigines of the whole area of Malaysia were Negritos, who at some remote period were overlain by a kindred race, the Melanesians, and in much later times, in part, by the Malays, the people with whom we now have to do. The Malays have been generally (and to my mind correctly) looked upon as one of the Indo-Chinese races, but of late they have been by some recognised as a people apart, allied to the Polynesians of the Pacific Ocean further to the East, their immigration into the Archipelago being northwards towards the Asiatic Continent and not southwards away from it. The term "Malay" for the race is from the native name *Malayu*, which is traceable as far back as A.D. 671, when the Chinese traveller I Tsing reported on them as the *Moloyu*, though he actually meant by the expression the people of the Hindu *Menangkabau* kingdom of Sumatra.

The recorded history of the islands is quite recent, except where ancient Indian, Arabian and European trade penetrated. That is to say, except in Java, Sumatra and allied islands, and in the Malay Peninsula, history may be said to commence with the advent of modern European traders in search of spices, just as their ancient forerunners had gone there for pepper and cloves. In Java and Sumatra, ancient Indian Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms were set up, leaving some splendid monuments behind them, to become by the fourteenth century converts to Islam, owing to the proselytising tendencies of Arab and other Muhammadan traders. Nowadays the whole land of the Malays, where not still occupied by primitive animists, may be said to be Muhammadan: that is, the people profess Islam, while they are at heart animists. The quality of the spices that these regions produce in great abundance has throughout historical times been an irresistible attraction to all maritime nations, and has led the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English to battle for the trade. Indeed, it was the high price of pepper in England, created by a Dutch "corner" in that article of commerce at the end of the sixteenth century, that led to the formation of the first English East India Company in 1600, and thus indirectly to the foundation of the British Empire in India.

Except through tradition, as recorded in the native chronicles of Java and Sumatra and to a less extent elsewhere, and through some inscriptions, the only general knowledge that exists regarding the Malays before the advent of the Portuguese in 1508 is that contained in the notes of travellers and geographical writers. Thus, Megasthenes (Greek) writing in India (306–298 B.C.), Pomponius Mela (Roman A.D. 43) and Josephus (Jew, c. 85) knew of the existence of the spice regions, and roughly, their position. About 79, Hippalus, the navigator, demonstrated the use of the trade winds, now known as the “ Monsoons,” which materially altered the capacity for Western discovery. So by the days of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian astronomer-geographer (127–151), knowledge of the Archipelago came to be recorded at first hand, and exploration became possible, bringing about the voyage of the envoys of Marcus Aurelius to Tongking in 166, and later the journeys and records of Cosmas Indicopleustes of Alexandria (c. 530–548). Chinese monkish (Buddhist) travellers also appeared on the scene: Fa Hian in Java (412–414), who found Hinduism flourishing and Buddhism commencing to have influence, and I Tsing in Sumatra in 671 and 688, who first noted the Malays by name. Thereafter the great medieval travellers, Marco Polo (Venetian), Odoric of Pordenone (Italian), and Ibn Batuta of Tangier, are found in Java and Sumatra, respectively in 1293, 1325 and 1345. Others, such as Nicolo de’ Cont (Venetian, 1419–1444), produced personal accounts more or less accurate, chiefly less.

All this while, there had been from very early times (1000–400 B.C.) an ever-increasing coasting trade from Southern India (Dravidian), and afterwards from Greece, Rome, Persia, Arabia, and India generally, which on the decline of Roman power passed into Arab and Persian hands in the seventh century, leading eventually by the fourteenth century to the establishment of Islam in the whole of *Tanah Maláyu*, as the Malays call their own country. So by the time the Portuguese and other Europeans, beginning with Affonso d’Albuquerque in 1511, appeared among the Malays as conquerors in search of the spice trade, a great deal of information as to commercial possibilities had been accumulated in Europe. After the arrival of the Portuguese the story of the Malayan regions takes on a new aspect.

The many recorded traditions of the Malays previous to the advent of the Muhammadans and Europeans, especially in Java and Sumatra, though backed by an immense number of inscriptions and monuments—some of them magnificent—are all disappointing as historical documents. In fact, the most remarkable thing about them is that with so much evidence there should be so little acceptable history. There are points in the early traditions, however, that come out with some certainty.

Malay rulers and ruling families have long delighted in tracing their descent from Sikandar Zu’lkarnain (Alexander the Great), which may fairly be taken to mean that just as Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the Court of Chandragupta (306–298 B.C.), the Mauryan Emperor of India, soon after Alexander’s date (356–323), knew of the Malayan spice trade, so had the fame of Alexander reached the Malays at the same time. Next, the Malays have adopted the distinctive Sâka era of India, starting from A.D. 78, and by the time that Fa Hian is found, as above stated, dwelling for a while in Java (412–414), Hinduism was established and Buddhism commencing to make its way. The Hinduism was of the Śaiva (old animistic) form, and the Buddhism of the Mahâyâna (Hinduised ritualistic) school. These last two facts support the trend of the traditions, which is that the Hinduism came through Sumatra into Java in the first century, A.D., from South India (Dravidian), and the Buddhism from further North a couple of centuries later.

There are traces of ancient Hinduism in Borneo up to the fifth century, which should perhaps be connected with Châmpâ (Cochin-China) or Kambûja (Cambodia).

Chronicles in Java exhibit for what they may be worth a continuous series of dates, which still require collating to settle their real value, onwards from their year one (A.D. 74), when there arrived their first hero, Aji Śāka from India. They then record the gradual spread of Hinduism over the whole country till 269, and the building of the first temple (Chândi Máling) in 285. The process of settlement continued till 417, by which time, in 384, a dynasty had been established at Astina, which in its alternative form of Astina Púra is closely reminiscent of Hastinápura, the Delhi of legend. This line of Astina lasted till 662. During this time Hinduism had given place to Buddhism, and the splendid monument of Boro Búdúr was raised before 656 by the Mahârâjâdhirâja Adityavarma, probably Parikísit (617-649) or Udiána (649-662) of Astina. It entirely covers a hillock one furlong square and 100 ft. high, and is an object lesson by means of sculpture in Mahâyâni Buddhism.

The Astina Dynasty was succeeded by the Maláwa Páti (662-672) after which came that of Mendang Kamúlan or Brambánan (Parambánan, 732-892), the builders of the wonderful groups of temples of a greatly Hinduised Mahâyâni type (Parambánan and Chândi Séwu). This Dynasty, a member of which was Aji Jáya Báya (774-830), who wrote a Chronicle and attacked Cochin-China (Châmpâ) in 774 and 787, was followed by the better remembered lines of Jangála (892-1158), which produced Pánji (c. 1130-1158), the great hero of Javan story, and Pajajáran (with Korípan, 1158-1295). The country now tended to revert to Śaiva Hinduism of a distinctly South Indian (Dravidian) type: so that in speaking of a "Hindu" dynasty in Java at this period a highly Hinduised form of Buddhism is indicated. Of the line of Pajajáran, Munding Sári (1184-1195) is, as Háji Púrwa, said to have been the first royal convert to Islam in 1193. In 1295, two years after Kublai Khan's invasion (1293), the Pajajáran Kings were followed by the great line of Majapáhit (1295-1477), grown out of a local dynasty at Tumápel (1232-1275). They were Hindus and extended the power of the Javanese Malays, grown by degrees more and more powerful since the time of Háji Púrwa, who set up a kingdom at Demák and Pájang (1477-1606), which ruled all Java.

In their time two notable events happened. Firstly, in 1508 the Portuguese appeared in Sumatra, and in 1511 took Malacca, starting at once explorations into the Archipelago generally. Secondly, in 1551 the Matárem family came to the front and afterwards produced Panambáhan Sénapáti (1614-1624), the last independent native ruler in Java. He set up his throne at Matárem and was succeeded by Sultán Séda Krápiah (1624-1636), in whose days the Dutch and English appeared as conquerors. Hinduism did not of course die easily and the Portuguese found Hindu communities in Bantam on their arrival there in 1511.

While the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms had been developing in Java, a similar process had been going on in Sumatra at Menangkábau in the hills of the modern Pádang, of which unfortunately hardly any record had survived, though it attained such fame among the Malays as to make many of them consider it to be the cradle of their race. Hindu and Buddhist temples are numerous, and there is a notable inscription of A.D. 656; but it is said that it was not till 1160 that the kingdom was sufficiently consolidated to be able to create colonies and spread abroad beyond the Island. Like the Javan

Hinduised Buddhists, the Menangkábaus succumbed to Islam in the fourteenth century. There is nothing of prominent historical note in pre-Islamic days elsewhere in the land of the Malays.

Malay history now enters on its last phase, the struggle between the maritime nations of Western Europe for the spice trade and the power necessary to secure it. The Portuguese came first into Sumatra in 1508, when Malacca, on the Peninsula hard by, was the chief port for pepper. In 1511 Affonso d'Albuquerque occupied Malacca, and sent out a party of explorers into the Archipelago. This led to the discovery of the Philippines by one of them, Francisco Serrão, who after being wrecked, accidentally made his way to Mindanao in 1514. In the same year the Portuguese established themselves in Ternate. In 1519 the Spaniards sent an expedition under Ferdinand Magellan to claim the Moluccas and thus discovered Borneo. By 1529 the spheres of the rival powers were settled, the Spaniards getting the Philippines and the Portuguese governing the Moluccas from Ternate. In 1546 Francisco de Xavier, the Spanish missionary (1506-1552), appeared on the scene, and the subsequent attempts to forcibly Christianise the people led to a bitter animosity against the Portuguese, who thus contributed to their own ultimate downfall. Finally, from 1530 to 1640 Portugal and Spain were united under the latter.

Meanwhile, the French pirates from Dieppe between 1527-1539 and English competitors under Drake (1579), Lancaster (1591), and Middleton (1604) began to dispute the trade with Portugal and Spain, and in 1595 the Dutch arrived, partly to revenge themselves on the Spanish for their misdeeds in the Netherlands, and partly to break the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in the spice trade and to "corner" pepper. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed, and by 1604 it was already stronger than the Portuguese on the seas, enabling its representatives to force the Portuguese to an armistice in 1608. In 1609 Pieter Both was the first Governor-General with his capital at Jákatra (1611), which was named Batavia in 1619.

In 1600 the English East India Company arose, and the acute rivalry thus created with the Dutch purported to end in the Treaty of Defence (1620) by which the Dutch and English Companies arranged to co-operate. This arrangement was never properly kept, and the Dutch "massacred" the English at Amboyna in 1623, an act which roused ill-feeling for a long while and was not redressed till 1654 under Oliver Cromwell. The Treaty lapsed in 1637, and thereafter for various reasons Dutch power steadily increased, until the English retired from all points, except Benkulen in Sumatra, in 1684.

The Dutch East India Company was now completely in the ascendant, and ruled the country solely in its own interests. Individual Dutch families became enormously rich at the cost of the Malay population, but in spite of rebellions, which their conduct caused, the Dutch became supreme rulers in the Archipelago by 1740. The gravest abuses, however, continued, until, because of them and of English competition in the spice trade from India, the Company was brought down in 1798, and superseded by a Council of the (Dutch) Asiatic Possessions.

The Napoleonic wars induced the English in 1810 to conquer Java and much of the Archipelago, and Sir Stamford Raffles became administrator of the Dutch Malay Possessions under the British East India Company (1811-1816), carrying out many much-needed reforms. In 1816 they were ceded back under the Treaty of Vienna (1814). This led to the formation of the British Settlements in the Straits: Singapore in 1819, Malacca finally in 1824, and

Penang, which, however, had been established as early as 1786. By 1824 the English were recognised as supreme in the Malay Peninsula. The Straits Settlements were ruled by the East India Company till 1867, when they became a Crown Colony. In 1874 and subsequent years, Perák and a number of other native states were added by "Protection," and are now known as the Federated Malay States. In 1909 yet others were added by the treaty with Siam, those still remaining in the Peninsula being under Siamese suzerainty. All British possessions in the Peninsula are governed from Singapore.

(To be continued.)

THE PANAMALAI ROCK-TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF RÂJASIMHA.

By K. G. SANKARA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.; TRIVANDRUM.

THIS small paper is substantially the reproduction of a letter dated 8th September, 1918, written by me to Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, who discovered the Panamalai inscription, regarding its correct reading and interpretation. Panamalai is a village in the Villuppuram Taluk of the South Arcot District in the Madras Presidency. Round the base of the rock-temple in that village, there is engraved in a single line an inscription in Grantha-Pallava alphabet, which Dr. Dubreuil has edited and translated in his *Pallava Antiquities* (l. 11-23). Concerning the condition of the inscription, he writes, "The beginning and the end of the inscription are concealed by a structure of bricks built in front of the temple. So a portion of the first sentence, and the whole of the last part of the inscription are missing. The letters have been preserved excellently well except towards the middle wherefrom a stone which contained some letters has been removed." He adds that he published in July 1915 a tentative translation of the inscription. As this seemed to be insufficient, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the author of *Ancient India*, gave him a more correct translation from his reproduction of the inscription in Plate I, which we add below for comparison and reference :—"Droni, famed for the might of his arm, was born a (minor) incarnation of Siva. From him of the name Droni, pure by the performance of great penance, there appeared, as the sciences of the Vedânga from the Veda, the ruler of the earth named Pallava. From whom (did descend), as the floods of the Ganges from the moon, the great family of the Pallavas, sanctified by treading in the path (of righteousness), holy and so worthy of great esteem. A dynasty of paramount sovereigns, made pure by the frequent baths at the conclusion of the (numerous) horse sacrifices performed by them. The chief of this family, the like of which did not exist before, and which belonged to the most holy tribe (*gotra*) of Bharadvaja; whose fame had spread over the circle of the world which was taken forcible possession of (conquered) by the undiminished prowess of his arm; who, (born) from him (who bore) the title Ekamalla, as Guha (Subrahmanya) from God Paramesvara, shone with the prowess of his arm; who was known by the name Râjasimha of sanctified reputation, radiant in warlike pride made firm by his own strength; who was king of lions by the destruction of the elephants, the enemy kings; who was destroyer of the crowd of hostile kings and maker of all things auspicious; His mind purified by the unremitting hold of devotion (to God), having given always . . . To whom Siva of the deer-spotted (moon) crest . . ."

It seems to me that both the published text and translation of this inscription are capable of improvement. Neither Dr. Dubreuil, nor Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar seem to have

noticed that the inscription is in verses. Dr. Dubreuil's reference to the first *sentence* confirms this inference. I found that the inscription was made up of the major part of the fourth quarter of a *Sragdharâ* verse, almost the whole of two other *Sragdharâ* verses, the first three quarters of a *Vasantatilaka* verse, an *Indravajrâ* verse, and the major part of the first two quarters of a fourth *Sragdharâ* verse. The first three quarters and the first three syllables of the fourth quarter of the first *Sragdharâ* verse, syllables 17 to 19 of the second quarter and 5 to 7 of the third quarter of the second *Sragdharâ* verse, the fourth quarter of the *Vasantatilaka* verse, and the first six syllables of the first, the fourteenth and fifteenth syllables of the second, and the whole of the third and fourth quarters of the fourth *Sragdharâ* verse are missing. I give below my reading of the inscription rearranged as verses, and omissions supplied enclosed in small, and doubtful readings in big, brackets.

Text.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 [नो] दपादि प्रथितभुजबन्तो श्रेणिरंशः पुरारेः ॥
 [अश्वत्था] म्नोय तस्मान्निचितगृहत्तपो निम्मलादाविरासीत्
 आम्नायादङ्गविद्याविसर इव महीवल्ल (भःपल्ल) वाख्यः ।
 यस्मादथ (स्सदाद्ये) पथिविहितपशत् पावने माननीयो
 मंदाकिन्याः प्रवाहः शशिन इव महानन्वयः पल्लवानां ॥
 संशजामश्वमे[धा]वभृतविरजसांभूभुजां पल्लवानां
 अस्पृष्टापल्लवानां विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानां ।
 केतोरक्षी[ण]बाहुद्विणहतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्त्ति
 द्यौ देवादेकमल्लाद्गृह इव परभू[भृ] इ [वी]णावभासी ॥
 सस्वोर्जि[तः]समरदृ[स-दृ?]महाप्रभाव[ः]
 यो राजसिंह इति विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्त्तिः ।
 उ[द्धृ]त्तशत्रुपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः
 — — — — —
 हतीद्विषदुर्गसमुच्छ्रयाणां कर्ता च कल्याणपरंपराणां ।
 चित्ते सदा [सं]भूतभक्तिपूते धत्ते [पदं]वस्य मृगा[हृ] कर्मा[लिः] ॥
 [वेः] संलंकुसुमकृतक्रांतिमालंबमानाः
 सद्भुत्तांभोनिषेकैर्दुम इव स[दृ]...तप्तेसिधर्मै ।
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

I may state here that Dr. Dubreuil, and the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao were in substantial agreement with me as regards the reading of the text. I will now give my rendering of this inscription, and then discuss the proper reading and interpretation of individual words and phrases.

Translation.

Farfamed for the strength of his arm, was born (Asvatthaman), the son of Drona (the preceptor of the Kauravas and the Pandawas), an embodiment of (Siva), the destroyer of the (three) cities (of the Asuras, i.e., dæmons; Siva is aptly the original of Asvatthaman who destroyed the embryos of the Pândavas in revenge for his father's death caused by a false report of his own death by Yudhishthira in the Bhârata war).

Then from that pure Aśvatthaman, there came out into men's view, the lover of the spacious earth, named Pallava, who had accumulated great penance, as from the Vedic collection (sprang forth) the auxiliary sciences (of the Veda).

From whom this great family of the Pallavas which is worthy of honour, because of its (constant) treading in the (ancient) holy path (of righteousness), (spread continuously out), as, from the haremarked (moon), the continuous flow of the celestial Ganges (Mandâking is a distinctive term for the celestial course of the Ganges before it falls on earth).

From Ekamalla Deva (the sole strong—*lit.* combatant-lord) whose fame was published throughout the circle of the spacious earth won by the undiminished prowess of his arm, and who was the banner of the Pallava (race) of universal sovereigns and enjoyers of the earth who were purified of their sins (of conquest) by the closing baths of the horse-sacrifice (which can be performed only after letting loose the sacrificial horse to wander freely for a year and conquering all kings who seek to restrain its movements), who were untouched by the least particle of danger, and who were sprung from the most pure family of Bharadvāja (a Vedic seer). From him (was born), like Guha (Subrahmanya, so called because of his secret birth among the reeds—*cf.* शरवणभट्ट-; as God of war, he is compared with Râjasimha), he, who shone by routing (?) other (rulers of earth);

Who was mighty in his strength; who (was endowed with) great valour (proud with victory in—seen in?) battle; who (lived in) well-known and auspicious fame as Râjasimha; who was (verily) a Râjasimha (lion of kings) by his having uprooted the elephants, *i.e.* the enemy kings;

He took away the elevations (in power and fame) of the tribe of hostile (kings). He was also the doer of an (unbroken) succession of auspicious deeds; and, in his mind, purified by constantly-fostered devotion, (Siva), who wears on his crest the deermarked (moon), holds (his foot). (The moonspot is variously imaged as the hare, the deer, etc).

(The remaining lines, as they stand, are obscure.)

We will now note and discuss the differences in reading and interpretation between ourselves and Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

His उ in उपादि is not supported by the plate. The metre, moreover, requires here a long vowel like 'ओ' in our नो. His द्रोणि न is wrong for द्रोणिनी, for the metre requires a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant after द्रो, the name is not द्रोणि but द्रोणिः, and the plate distinctly reads ना, and the Sanskrit for 'name' is नाम. Plate I reads तस्मान्नि and not तस्माङ्नि and तस्मात् + नि = तस्मान्नि. The Sanskrit for 'Veda' is आम्नाय and its ablative is आम्नायात् and not आम्नयत्, and metre also requires both these vowels to be long. The plate also reads them as long. पञ्चवाक्यः is wrong for पञ्चवाख्यः. The अ between ल् and वा is an obvious omission. And the plate as also the Sanskrit for 'named' requires आख्यः for आक्यः. Mr. Krishnaswami suggests emendation of पावने to पावना wrongly construing it with अन्वयः instead of with पाथि. The genitive of सच्चाद् is सच्चाज् and not सच्चाजं, and the plate also reads as I do. पञ्चवाना before विमलतर is obviously a mistake for the genitive पञ्चवानां. Metre requires six long vowels in भुजद्रविणविभासि. So we should read भू, वी, and सी. The plate is clear as to स at the end. I take सत्त्वोर्जित to qualify वा, and add a final *visarga*. But Mr. Krishnaswami

takes it to qualify *वर्ष* implied in *वृष* which is impossible, for *समरवृष* means, not 'warlike pride', but 'proud with battle'. In any case he should at least have read a final *anusvāra*, and, if the reading is really *वृष्ट*, his construction is clearly impossible. *महप्रभव* should obviously be *महाप्रभावः* as the metre requires and, except for the final *visarga*, as the plate clearly reads. The final *visarga* is required by sense, syntax, and metre. Mr. Krishnaswami emends *प्रभाव* into *सुभव*, thereby making the passage meaningless. Metre requires an initial long vowel or short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant in *उद्धृत*, and so does the meaning. So I read *उद्धृतः*. *समुच्चयानां* is wrong for the plate reading *समुच्छ्रयानां* which the meaning also requires. *कल्याणपरंपरानां* is an obvious mistake for *कल्याणपरंपराणां*. *सभृत* and *सधृत* are both meaningless mistakes for *संभृत* as the sense and metre require, though we have to add an *anusvāra* to the plate reading. The plate reads a *visarga* between *के* and *सल*, and *मल्लं* not *मलं*, as the metre also requires. Metre requires *मानाः* for *मनाः*. The plate distinctly reads *सदृत्ताभो* and not *सदृत्तापे*, also *तसेसिधर्म* and not *तसीसिधर्म*.

प्रथित means not merely 'famed', but 'farfamed'. By translating 'was born a minor incarnation of Siva', Mr. Krishnaswami has taken *अंशः* with *उदिपाद*, though a term like *इव* is wanting, instead of with *द्रोणिः*. He has failed to bring out the comparison implied in *पुरारे*. He omits to translate *अथ*. *निचित* means 'accumulated', not 'performed'. He has wrongly taken *चित्तगुरुतपो* with the ablative *निम्नलात्* instead of the nominative *महीवल्लभः*. He has translated *अङ्गविद्याः* by 'sciences of the Vedāṅga' instead of 'the Vedāṅga sciences'. He has failed to bring out the force of the purposeful use of *विसर* and *प्रवाहः*. He omits *एषः*. He has failed to note the distinctive use of *मंसाकिनी* for the celestial course of the Ganges (cf. *मंसाकिनी विद्यङ्गा*-Amara). The Pitris, i.e., the spirits of the dead are said to bathe in its waters, to be purified of their sins, and, since they abide in the moon, the *मंसाकिनी* was perhaps imagined to flow from the moon. The repeated use of *पल्लवानां* is not explained by Mr. Krishnaswami. He, unauthorised, makes the *Asvamedhas* numerous, and the baths at their conclusion frequent. He omits *भूभुजाः*. He takes *अदृष्टा* with *अन्वयः*, and as identical with *अदृष्ट*, whereas the one means 'invincible', and the other 'unseen'. And *अदृष्टा* is feminine, while *अन्वयः* is masculine. So I read it as *अस्पृष्ट + आपल्लवानां*. He has paraphrased *केतोः* into 'chief' instead of rendering it as 'banner'. *विमल* means 'pure' and not 'holy'. *वंश* means neither 'gotra', nor 'tribe', but 'family'. *उद्भवानां* means 'sprung from', not 'belonged to'. The passage *केतोः कीर्तिः* he applies to *Râjasimha*, instead of *Ekamalla Deva*, as the ablative indicates. The metre does not allow the reading of any syllable between *पर* and *भू*, and so, this inscription, at any rate, does not permit any reference to the name of the father of *Râjasimha* or *Guha* as Mr. Krishnaswami suggests, but this inscription clearly proves that *Râjasimha* was a devotee of Siva, a fact which both Dr. Dubreuil and Mr. Krishnaswami have failed to note, and which Mr. Krishnaswami's translation fails to bring out. He takes *देवात्* with *पर . . .*, and not with *एकमल्लान्* as the ablative indicates. The knowledge from other sources that the name of *Râjasimha*'s father was *Paramēśvaravarman I*, and that consequently, 'Ekamalla' must have been only one of the latter's titles, has apparently influenced Dr. Dubreuil to seek for his name itself in this inscription, and so he suggests that, after *गृह इ* we should read *परमाश्वराशविरासीन् . . . भुजशक्तिवभासी*. But this reading assumes that nearly the whole of a *śloka* has to be filled up, and there is no gap in this part of the inscription that would justify us in supplying a whole *śloka* here. So the suggested reading is untenable. *विख्यात* means not 'spread', but 'published'. The passage 'who bore the title' of the translation has nothing corresponding to it in the

text. He has rendered महाप्रभावः as 'radiant', and not 'of great valour.' He takes पुण्यकीर्तिः with Râjasimha instead of with विभूत and यः उद्धृत means not merely 'destroyed', but 'uprooted'. He has interpreted राजसिंहः as 'king of lions' instead of 'lion of kings'. 'King of lions' would mean that he himself was literally a lion, and that he had only literal lions for his subjects. 'Lion of kings', on the other hand, would mean that he was a king, but, among kings, what a lion is to the beasts of the forest, i.e., their king. It is a synonym for 'king of kings'. If the engraver of the inscription had meant 'king of lions', he would have written सिंहराज. Mr. Krishnaswami translates समुच्छ्रयानां हति as merely 'destroyer'. He has rendered 'वर्ग' by 'crowd' instead of 'tribe'. He has rendered परंपरा by 'all'. He has not understood the penultimate śloka properly. He confuses धत्ते='holds' with दत्त्वा='having given', and संभृत='fostered' with सभृत or सभृत which, in themselves, are meaningless, but which he takes to mean 'unremittingly holding'. वस्य he translates as 'to whom' instead of 'of whom', and मृगांक he takes to mean 'deerspotted' instead of 'deermarked'.

In conclusion we may note that the only king, among the Pallavas, who had the characteristic surname of Râjasimha, was Narasimhavarman II (A.D. 685-712), that therefore the Panamalai inscription was engraved in his time, and that this inscription proves that, at the time of Râjasimha, different kinds of alphabets were used, and that a difference in the stage of evolution of the letters does not at all indicate a difference in the ages.

MISCELLANEA.

SAMĀJA.

The demonstration by Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*ante*, Aug. 1918, p. 221) that in the *Kāmasūtra*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Jātaka*s the word *samāja* has the technical meaning of 'theatre', in the various senses of that word, is conclusive. His article throws welcome light upon Asoka's Rock-edict I. It may be useful to supplement it by noting that the Cambridge translators of the *Jātaka*s completely misunderstood the passages cited by Mr. Majumdar. In *Jātaka* No. 318 (transl., Vol. III, p. 41) they render *samajjam karontā* by 'the actors gathered

a crowd about them', and *samajja mūḍale* as 'in the midst of the people.' 'Giving a performance' and 'on the stage' would render the true sense.

The second passage quoted by Mr. Majumdar from Fausböll's text (vi, 277), *Passa malle samaj-jasmin*, etc., is part of *Jātaka* No. 545, and is Englished by the Cambridge translators (vol. vi, p. 135) 'See the wrestlers in the crowd striking their doubled arms.' The words 'in the ring' or 'on the stage' should be substituted for 'in the crowd'.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

BOOK-NOTICE.

SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY: Selected and Edited for the University of Madras by S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology. University of Madras. 1919.

This is just such a book as the Professor of Indian History at an Indian University ought to produce and both the writer and the University are to be congratulated on its production. The true way to compile real History is to have the original sources at hand without alteration. Only then can the historian judge for himself and not merely reproduce the story through another's spectacles, and it is only historical data collected in this way that are of intrinsic value.

Mr. Sewall in his *Forgotten Empire* did invaluable service to the History of Southern India by

compiling his pioneer work from such original sources as were available to him, and the fundamental nature of his method has already been proved by the number of volumes and tracts on points of detail which have been published since, all based or purporting to be based on original documents, and culminating in this most important work.

It is important because it gives us the *ipsissima verba* of the authorities on which the historian has to rely (final judgment on their individual and relative value must come later), and because by seeking them out and collecting them together, while not pretending to be exhaustive, its author cannot but

fire others qualified for the purpose to do likewise.

Prof. S. K. Ayyangar has further benefited the present-day reader by giving him the advantage of his great personal knowledge of the subject in his introduction and his abstracts of the quotations.

A word as to the method adopted in producing the book. A University Research Student, Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, has been employed to make a "systematic collection of passages in both Telugu and Sanskrit literature bearing upon the History of the Empire of Vijayanagar." This is entirely right.

It shows the rising generation of University men the right path in the first place, and it collects casual references to current political events and stories in the ordinary literature of the day. Such references are more likely to have no partizan or other reason for hiding the truth *as known to the writer* than are set histories or chronicles. Whether the writer knew the truth is another question which can only be solved by the collection of all such references as are available. In this view the value of the method pursued by Prof. Ayyangar comes clearly before us, and I cannot help hoping that the example he has set will encourage his University to continue the task in every direction open to it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUNNEE, DATED GOLD MOHAR.

Peter Mundy (*Travels*, Hak. Soc. ed. vol. II, p. 310) makes, in 1633, the following remarks on money in Surat in his day :—

"Coyne is of good gold, silver, Copper, etts., vizt—Of gold there is only Mohores or Sunnees and half ones ditto, the whole one worth about 5 nobles English, sometymes more or lesse."

The term "Sunnee" is usually explained as a gold mohar and derived from *sonā*, gold. But if the old writers meant *sunī*, they would have written "soonee" or something similar, and if "sunnee" was a common term for the gold mohar 300 years ago, it is odd that no form like *sonī*, *sohanī*, *sunī*, *sunni*, is to be found now. The more reasonable explanation seems to be that *sanī*, *sanhi*, *sanīyā*, *sanhiyā*, were vernacular forms meaning a dated mohar (from *san*, *sanh*, a year), one which deteriorated in value as the date became old, as in the case of *sanat* or dated (sonaut) rupees. Hence the importance of rapid sale as is shown by the following quotations :—

6 Feb. 1628. "'Sunneas' are not worth above Rs. 13 each." (Foster, *English Factories*, 1624–1629, p. 235.)

16 March 1628. "Cannot get rid of the 'sunneas' sent up, except at a loss." (*Ibid.*, p. 270.)

4 July 1636. "Have sent . . . 30 'sunnees' for trial." (*Ibid.*, 1634–1636, p. 272.)

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

15. Punishment for Coining.

13 May 1717. *Consultation at Fort St. George*. The President acquainting the Board that he has got a black fellow nam'd Peremaul [Perumāl] in the

Cockhouse, whom he confin'd upon a discovery which the Shroffs [*ṣarrāf*, money-changer] made of his bringing bad Fanams [small silver coins] to be chang'd, which the said Peremaul upon examination confess'd to him as Follows—That his brother Moorta [? *Mūrtī*] a Malabar Madrāsī [East or West Coast at that time] Goldsmith, Inhabitant of St. Thoma, gave him 18 fa. to bring to Madras to buy silver with of the Shroffs, which silver he was to carry back to his brother in St. Thoma for coining of more Fanams. The said Peremaul was sent for in, and being re-examin'd confess'd the Fact to the board in manner before-mention'd, which affair being debated, and the discredit our Mint may be brought into (which is at present in the greatest repute of any in the Mogull's [Delhi Emperors and Deccan Sovereigns] dominions) consider'd, the board think it highly necessary that the said Peremaul should be made a publick example for being accessory to his brother's knavery (there having at times crept in from St. Thoma several parcels of bad Fanams, but this is the first person that could ever be discover'd); according[ly], the Following resolutions are agreed upon.

That the Choultry [Court House] Justices do meet at the Choultry on Fryday next between nine and ten a clock in the morning, to direct the said Peremaul to be put in the Pillory where he is to Stand two hours, after which to have both his ears cut off, and be whip'd out of the Hon. Company's bounds, never to set his Foot therein again under penalty of being sent a Slave to the West Coast upon his being discover'd. (*Madras Public Consultations*, vol. 87).

R. C. TEMPLE.

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S.A.L. stands for the Supplement, Dictionary of the South Andaman Language, pp. 1—84.

*G.D. stands for the Supplement, Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval Geography of India,
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GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL INDIA.

By NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.

Preface to the Second Edition.

IN the present edition, considerable additions have been made to the names and accounts of places in the light of later researches, and blemishes of the previous edition removed as far as possible. The arrangement of names of places has been made strictly alphabetical in view of its greater convenience for reference, and authorities supplied for statements that were in want of such support.

The materials for the work have been, I need hardly add, compiled from a variety of sources—Sanskrit, Pali, etc., including, of course, works of many European writers interested in Indian antiquities.

Ancient Geography is an essential adjunct to history, and the usefulness of a compendium of such geographical information for a full and just appreciation of the latter hardly needs any mention, specially when time has mutilated or obscured the ancient names of places that usually figure in the historical narratives. Indian history, ancient or mediæval, and the documents upon which it is principally based, are full of these names; and unless they are elucidated in a systematic way as far as possible, the path of the historian and, for the matter of that, of the ordinary readers of history, will continue uneasy for this difficulty alone.

A study of the words in this *Dictionary* will show that time has mutilated many original names almost out of recognition. The restoration of the altered derivatives to their genuine originals is not, however, an impossibility in view of the fact that most of the changes are found not to have taken place haphazardly. Barring names displaced by new ones by some cause or other, they appear in most cases to be governed by the rules of Prākṛit grammars, except where the peculiar brogue of a particular place has checked or modified the application of the rules. I give below some of the principal rules illustrating them by words from the toponymy of this *Dictionary* :—

AFFIXES.

Adri is changed into **ar**, as Gopâdri, Goaliar (Gwaliar) ; Charaṇâdri, Chunar.

Bhukta is changed into **hut**, as Tîrabhukta, Tirhut.

Bhukti is changed into **huti**, as Jejâkabhukti, Jejahuti.

Dhâtugarbha is changed into

(a) **Dhâpa**, as Śîla-dhâtugarbha, Śîla-dhâpa.

(b) **Dîpa**, as Śîlâ-dhâpa, Śîlâ-dîpa.

(c) **Dîa**, as Vetha-dhâtugarbha (= Vethadhâpa = Vethadîpa), Betha-diâ.

(d) **iâ**—Bethiâ.

Dvîpa (pronounced **Dîpa**) is changed into

(1) **dîa**, as Navadvîpa, Nadiâ.

(2) **wâ**, as Kâṭadvîpa, Kâṭwâ.

Gîri is changed into

(a) **ger**, as Mudgagîri, Munger.

(b) **gu**, as Kolagîri, Kodagu (Koorg).

Grāma is changed into **gāon**, as Suvarṇagrāma, Sonārgāon ; Kalahagrāma, Kahalgāon.

Griha is changed into

(a) **gir**, as Rājagriha, Rājgir.

(b) **ghira**, as Kubjagriha, Kajugbira ; Jahṇugriha, Jahngghira.

Haṭṭa is changed into **het**, as Śrīhaṭṭa, Silhet (Sylhet).

Kshetra is changed into

(a) **chhatra**, as Ahikshetra, Ahichhatra.

(b) **chechhatra**, as Ahikshetra, Ahichchhatra.

Nagara is changed into

(a) **nār**, as Kuśīnagara, Kuśīnār ; Girinagara, Gīrnār.

(b) **ner**, as Jīrṇanagara, Jooner.

Pallī is changed into

(a) **bal**, Āśāpallī, Yessabal.

(b) **poll**, as Trīśīrapallī (=Trishṇāpallī), Trichinopoll.

(c) **oli**, as Ahalyāpallī, Āhiroli (also Ahīārī).

Pattana is changed into

(a) **paṭṭana**.

(b) **paṭam**, as Śrīraṅgapattana (=Srirangapaṭṭana), Seringapatam.

Prastha is changed into **pat**, as Pāṇiprastha, Panipat ; Śoṇaprastha, Sonpat ; Bhāga-prastha, Bāgpat.

Pura, where it does not retain the original form **pur**, is changed into

(a) **wār**, as Purushapura, Peshawār ; Nalapura, Narwār ; Matipura, Madwār ; Śālwapura, Alwār ; Chandrapura, Chandwār.

(b) **ura** or **ur**, as Māyāpura, Mayura ; Siṃhapura, Siṅgur ; Jushkapura, Zukur.

(c) **or**, as Traipura, Teor ; Chandradītyapura, Chaindor.

(d) **ora**, as Ilbalapura, Ellora.

(e) **ore**, as Lavapura, Lahore.

(f) **ola**, as Āryapura, Aihola.

(g) **ār**, as Kusumapura, Kumrār.

(h) **aur**, as Siddhapura, Siddhaur.

(i) **oun**, as Hiranyapura, Hindoun or Herdoun.

Purī is changed into

(a) **oli**, as Madhupurī, Maholi.

(b) **aurī**, as Rājapurī, Rājauri.

Rāṣṭra is changed into

(a) **rāṭhā**, as Mahārāṣṭra, Marāṭhā.

(b) **rāṭ**, as Mayarāṣṭra (=Mayarāt), Mirāt.

Śthana is changed into

(a) **ṭhan**, as Pratishṭhāna, Paṭhan.

(b) **tan**, as Purāṇādhisṭhāna, Pandrentan.

Śthala is changed into **thal**, as Kapisthala, Kaithal.

Śthalī is changed into **thalī**, as Vāmanasthalī, Banthalī ; Pūrvasthalī. Parthalis (of the Greeks).

Sthāna is changed into

- (a) **thān**, as Śrī-sthānaka, Thān ; Sthānvīśwara, Thāneswar.
- (b) **stān**, as Darada-sthāna, Dardistān.
- (c) **tān**, as Mūlasthāna, Multān ; Śakasthāna, Sistān.

Vana is changed into

- (a) **muna**, as Lodhravana, Lodhmuna.
- (b) **un**, as Kumāravana, Kumāun.
- (c) **ain**, as Buddhavana, Budhain.
- (d) **en**, as Yashtivana, Jethiān.

Vatī is changed into

- (a) **auti**, as Lakshmanāvatī, Lakhnauti ; Champāvatī, Champauti.
- (b) **bal**, as Charmanvatī, Chambal.
- (c) **oi**, as Darbhavatī, Dabhoi.
- (d) **oti**, as Amarāvatī, Amroti.
- (e) **wā**, as Vetravatī, Betwā.

L.—ELISIONS.

Many of the aforesaid changes, which are formed by a process of contraction, may be accounted for by the application of the well-known rule of elision of the Prākṛita grammars: the consonants *k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* when non-initial and not compounded are elided.¹ I give only a few illustrations:—

- Elision of *k*, as Kauśikī, Kusi ; Sūrpāraka, Supāra ; Aparāntaka, Aparānta ; Śākambharī, Sambhār.
- „ „ *g*, as Bhṛigu-kachchha, Bharu-kachchha, Baroach ; affix nagara, nār ; Trigartta, Tahora.
- „ „ *ch*, as Chakshu, Akshu, Oxus ; Achiravatī, Airāvatī ; Chakshuṣmatī, Ikshumati.
- „ „ *j*, as Bhojapāla, Bhopāl (Bhūpāl) ; Ajiravatī, Airāvatī ; Tuljabhavānī, Tulābhavānī-nagar.
- „ „ *t*, as Kuluta, Kulu ; Jyotirathā, Johita ; Yayātipura, Jāipur.
- „ „ *d*, as Meghanāda, Megnā ; Arbuda, Ābu ; Achchhoda-sarovara, Achchhāvat.
- „ „ *p*, as the affix pura, ur ; Purushapura, Peshāwār ; Gopakavana, Goa ; Gopādri (=Gopālādri), Goālior (Gwalior) ; Māyapura, Mayura.
- „ „ *y*, as Ayodhyā, Āudh ; Nārāyaṇasara, Nārānsar ; Ujjayinī, Ujjainī ; Sañjayantī, Sañjān.
- „ „ *v*, as Yavananagara, Junāgar ; Yavanapura, Jaunpur ; Karna-suvarṇa, Kānsonā.

Besides the above, the following letters are often elided:—

- (1) Final *a*, as the affixes Pura, Pur ; Nagara, Nagar ; Grāma, Grām ; sometimes initial *a*, as Apāpa-puri, Pāpa.
- (2) *i*, as Iraṇa, Ran or Runn of Cutch ; Irāvatī, Rāvi ; Tālikaṭa, Talkāda.
- (3) *u*, as Udaṇḍapura, Daṇḍapura.
- (4) *th*, as Mithilā, Miyul.
- (5) *n*, as Pratishthāna, Pratishthā ; Kuntalapura, Kauttalakapura ; Kuṇḍagrāma, Kotigām ; Kaṇṭakadvīpa, Kātwā ; Baruṇā, Bārā ; Anamā, Aumi.

¹ *Ayuktasyāndau kapaḥajataḍapayavān prāyolopah* (Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-prabhāṭa*, II, 1, 3).

- (6) Non-initial m, as Ârâmanagara, Ârâ ; Kumâri, Kuârî.
 (7) Compoundr,² including ri, as the affix Grâma, Gâma ; Gayâsirsha, Gayâsisa ; Varendra, Barendra ; Lodhravana (Kânana), Lodhmuna ; Trikalînga, Tilînga ; Prithûdaka, Pihoâ, Pehoâ.
 (8) l, as Mudgala-giri, Mudga-giri ; Châtâla, Chatta-grâma ; Kolâhala, Kalhuâ.
 (9) The sibilants ś, sh, s, especially when compounded with another consonant, as Śâlwapura, Âlwar ; Śûkarakshetra, Ukhalakshetra ; Peshthapura, Piṭhâpur ; Kâshthamanḍapa, Kâṭmânḍu ; Pushkara, Pokhrâ ; Mânasa-sarovara, Mânsarovara ; the affixes Shthâna, Sthala, Sthâna becoming Thâna, Thala, Thâna, respectively ; Skhalatika-parvata, Khalatika-parvat ; the affix Râshṭra, Rât ; Hastisomâ, Hâtsu ; Pâraskara, Thala Pârakara In some cases of elision of the compound sibilants the preceding vowel is lengthened.
 (10) h, as Varâha-kshetra, Bâramula ; Hushkapura, Uskur ; Hastakavapra, Astakavapra ; Hrishîkeśa, Rishikes ; Hûnadeśa, Undes ; Praṇahîta, Praṇitâ.

II.—CHANGE OF CONSONANTS.

- (a) (1) Tenuis change into corresponding mediæ :—

k = g, as Śâkala, Sâgala ; Kilkilâ, Kilgila.

ch = j, as Achiravatî, Ajiravatî ; Achinta, Ajanta.

ṭ = ḍ, or d, as Lâṭa, Lâḍa (Larika of the Greeks).

t = d, as Tâmlipta, Dâmalipta ; Nâtikâ, Nâdikâ ; Bâtâpî-pura, Bâdâmi ; Timîṅgila, Dîṅdigala ; Airâvatî, Irâvadi.

p = b (v), as Goparâshṭra, Govarâshṭra ; Pârṇasâ, Barṇasâ ; Pâpa, Pâvâpurî ; Rantipura, Rintambur.

- (2) Mediæ change into corresponding tenuis :—

g = k, as Nava-Gândhâra, Kandahar.

j = ch, as Nilâjan, Nîlânchan (nasalized).

ḍ = ṭ, as Kuṇḍagrâma, Koṭigâma.

d = t, as Poudanya, Potana ; Samedâ-giri (Samâdhi-giri), Samet-śekhara, Tripadî, Tirupati.

b (v or w) = p, as Pâvâ, Pappaur ; Varusha, Polusha.

- (3) Unaspirated surds are aspirated :—

k = kh, as Kustana, Khotan ; ūkarakshetra, Ukhalakshetra ; Pushkara Pokhrâ.

ch = chh, as Vichhigrâma in its Sanskritised form is evidently Bṛishika-grâm

ṭ = ṭh, as Ashṭa (Vinâyaka), Âṭh (eight) ; Yashṭivana, Jeṭhian.

t = th, as Stambha-tîrtha, Thamba-nagara (Cambay) ; Śrâvasti, Sâvatthi ; Pâtharghâṭa from Prastarghâṭa ; Hastakavapra, Hâthab.

p = ph, as Surpâra, Sophir, Ophir of the Bible.

- (4) Aspirated surds are unaspirated :—

kh = k, as Khamba (Stambha-tîrtha), Cambay ; Khetaka, Kaira.

chh = ch, as Kachh, Kach (Cutch) ; Bhṛigukachchha, Broach.

ṭh = ṭ, as Bhurîśreshṭhika, Bhursuṭ ; Pîṭha, Piṭa-sthâna ; Kâshṭhamanḍapa, Kâṭmandu ; Purânâdhishṭhâna, Pandritan.

th = t, as Sakasthâna, Sistan ; affix Prastha, Pat by elision of s ; Mûlasthâna, Multan.

ph = n, as Phenâ, Pain-Gaṅgâ.

² Sarvatra lovarâm (Prâkrita-Prakâśa, III, 3)

(5) Unaspirated sonants are aspirated :—

g = gh, as Śrīṅgagiri, Singheri; Kubjagṛiha, Kajughira; Jahṇugṛiha.
Janghira; Śrīraṅgam, Seringham; Nagarahara, Nanghenhara.

j = jh, as Jejabbhukti, Jajhoti.

ḍ = ḍh, as Puṇḍarikapura, Pāṇḍharpur.

d = dh, as Varadâ, Wardhâ; Nishâda, Nishâdha-bhūmi.

b (v or w) = bh, as Vidiśâ, Bhilsâ; Bâgmatî, Bhâgvatî; Avagâna, Abhagana
(Afghanistan).

(6) Aspirated sonants are unaspirated :—

gh = g, as Meghanâda, Megnâ; Ghargharâ, Gagrâ.

h = ḍ, as Vasâdhya, Besâd.

dh = d, as Sudhâpura, Sunda; Samadhigiri, Samedagiri; Sairindha, Sarhind.

bh = b (v or w), as Bhushkara, Bokhara; Bhalansaḥ, Bolan; Sâbhramatî,
Sâbarmati; Surabhi, Sorab; Bhadrâ, Wardhâ; Alambhika, Âlavi;
Bhâgaprastha, Bâgpat; Kubhâ, Kabul.

(7) Dentals change into corresponding cerebrals :—

t = ṭ, as the affix Pattana, Paṭṭana; Kustana, Khoṭân; Rohitâśwa, Roṭas.

th = ṭh, as Kapisthala, Kâpishṭhâla.

d = ḍ, as Tilodaka, Tilâdâ.

dh = ḍh, as Virûdhaka, Virûḍhaka.

n = ṇ, as Mahânadi, Mahâṇai.

CHANGE OF NASALS.

(b) ṁ = m, as Śrīṅgagiri, Simhâri.

ṇ = (1) ḍ, as Gaṇa-muktesvara, Gaḍa-muktesvara.

(2) ṭ, as Kṛishnapura, Kṛishṭapura.

(3) t, as Tṛishnâ, Tîstâ.

n = (1) t, as Maulisnâna, Multân.

(2) ṇ, as Mahânadi, Mahâṇai.

(3) ḍ, as Gonanda, Gonardda.

(4) r, as Nirañjanâ, Nirañjarâ.

m = (1) b or v, as Mañjulâ, Bañjulâ; Yamunâ, Jabunâ; Narmadâ, Narbudâ.

(2) n, as Tamasâ, Tonse.

(3) p, as Sumha, Suppa(-devi).

CHANGE OF SEMI-VOWELS.

(c) y = (1) i, as Rishikulyâ, Rishikuilia; Subrahmanya, Subrahmanja

(2) u, as Pândya, Pându.

(3) p, as Pâriyâtra, Pâripâtra.

(4) bh, as Sarayu, Sarabhu.

(5) l, as Yashṭivana, Lâṭṭhivana.

(6) j,³ as Yayâtipura, Jâjpur; Yavanapura, Jaunpur; Yavadvîpa, Java.

r = l,⁴ (see Interchangeables).

³ Yasya jah (Prākṛita-prakāśa, II, 31).

Rolâṭ (Pāṇini).

l = (1) n, as Kulinda, Kuninda.

(2) r, (see *Interchangeables*).

(3) ḍ, as Kolagiri, Kodagiri.

v is changed into its cognate vowels

(1) u, as Lavaṇa, Luni ; affix vana, un : Kumâravana, Kumâun.

(2) o, as Vakshu, Oxus ; Deva, Deo ; Valabhî, Ollâ ; affix vatî, otî.

(3) au, as Yavanapura, Jaunpur ; Navadevakula, Nauai (Nawal).

(4) b, (see *Interchangeables*).

(5) l, as Mâlava, Malla-deśa ; Malâbâr, Mallâra.

ś = (1) ch, as Śrikaṅkâlî, Chikâkole ; Triśtrapalli, Trichinopoli ; Śitambara, Chidambara.

(2) k, as Syenî, Ken.

(3) ksh, as Śiprâ, Kshiprâ ; Śûdraka, Kshudraka ; Oxydrakai.

(4) kh, as Khaśa, Khakha.

(5) s, as Śiprâ, Siprâ ; Sûkarakshetra, Soron.

sh = (1) k, as Vṛishabhânupura, Bṛikabhânupura (Varshân).

(2) kh, as Naimishâraṇya, Nimkhâravana ; Tushâra, Tukhâra.

(3) s, as Naimishâraṇya, Nimsar.

s = h, as Sapta Sindhu, Hapta Hendu ; Rasa, Ranha (in the Zend and in the dialect of Eastern Bengal).

h = (1) bh, as Sumha, Sumbha ; Vaihâra-giri, Baibhâra-giri.

(2) gh, as Bâlu-bâhini, Bâghin (Bâgin).

(3) dh, as Ahichhatra, Adhichhatra.

III.—OTHER CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

(a) k = (1) gh, as Kumbhakona, Kumbhaghona.

(2) l, as Kuṭikâ, Kuṭilâ.

(3) ch, as Kerala, Chera.

g = (1) ch, as Bâgmatî, Bâchmatî (perhaps through its intermediate form Bâkmatî).

(2) y, as Urâgapura, Uraiur ; Âpagâ, Âpayâ ; Tagara, Tayer (Ter) ; Śrigalî (=Śrikâlî), Siyâlî ; Śâgala (=Śâkala), Siyalkot (Sialkot).

(3) s, as Urâgâ, Urasâ.

(4) h, as Vegavati, Vaihâyasî.

gh = k, as Bṛitraghnî, Vatrak ; Vyâghrasara, Baksar (Buxar).

j = (1) y, as Vâñijagrâma, Vâniyâgâma.

(2) r, as Ujen (=Ujjayinî), Urain.

ṭ = (1) ḍ, as Talikata, Talkad ; Medapâta, Mewad.

(2) th, as Surâshṭika, Sulathika.

(3) r, as Khetaka, Kaira ; Karṇâta, Kânârâ ; Ketalaputra, Kerala ; Lâta, Lâra.

ḷ = ḍ, as Udra, Udisya (Orissa).

ḍ = r, as Udisya, Orissa ; (Khetaka) Khedaka, Kaira ; Kodaṅgalura, Granganore ; Kodagu, Coorg.

dh = (1) ṭ, as Râdha, Lâta.

(2) ḍ, as Râdha, Râḍ ; Lâdha, Lâḍ.

- t = (1) kh, as Stambha-tīrtha, Khāmbhāt (Kambay).
 (2) ch, as Śānti, Sāñchi.
 (3) th, as Petenika, Potana, Paiṭhan.
 (4) ḍ, as Revavanti, Revadāṇḍa ; Matipura, Mādwar.
 (5) m, as Vatsya, Vamsa ; Vitastā, Vitamśā.
 th = (1) t, as Prasthala, Pāṭiālā (Pāttiala).
 (2) ḍ, as Pārtha, Pārada.
 d = (1) d, as Tilodaka, Tilādā.
 (2) ḥ, as Udakhaṇḍa, Ohind.
 v = m, as Lodhravana, Lodhmuna.

CHANGE OF ASPIRATES.

- (b) The following aspirates are changed into h : —⁵
 gh, as Videgha, Videha ; Baghelkand, Bahela.
 dh, as Madhupurī, Maholi ; Madhumati, Mohwar.
 bh, as Kubha, Kuhu ; Tirabhuktī, Tirhūt.

CHANGE OF COMPOUND LETTERS.

- (c) chchh = chh, as Kachchha, Kachh ; Machchheri, Machheri.
 kt = tth, as Śuktimatī, Sothhivati.
 ksh = (1) kh, as Kshîragrāma, Khîragrāma ; Lakshmaṇāvatī, Lakhnautī.
 (2) kkh, as Dakshiṇa, Dakkhiṇa (Dekkan).
 (3) ch, as Baloksha, Beluchistān.
 (4) chchh, as the affix Kshetra, Chchhatra ; Ahikshetra, Ahichohhatra.
 (5) chh, as the affix Kshetra, Chhatra ; Ahikshetra, Ahichhatra.
 tt = t, as Mārttandā, Maṭan.
 ts or tsy = (1) chchh } as Matsyadeśa, Machchheri, Machheri.
 (2) chh }
 dy = (1) j, as Vidyānagara, Bijanagar.
 (2) jj, as Udyānaka, Ujjānaka.
 dhy = jjh, as Madhyadeśa, Majjhimadeśa.
 st = (1) t, as Suvāstu, Swat [see II, (7) ; I, (9)].
 (2) tth, as Śrāvastī, Sāvatthi.
 śm = sv, as Āsmaka, Asvaka.
 sv = ss (by assimilation), as Asvaka, Assaka.

THE INTERCHANGEABLES.

- (d) n and l, as Nīlājana, Lilājana ; (Lavanā =) Luni, Nun-nadī ; Kulinda, Kuninda ; Potana, Potali ; Kuṇḍinapura, Kuṇḍilyapura ; Lichohhavi, Nichohhavi ; Pāṭaliputra, Pāṭnā.
 n and ṇ, as Mahānadī, Mahāṇai ; Suvarṇagrāma, Sonārgāon.
 r and l, as Korkai, Kolkai ; Muchalinda, Muchirim ; Chera, Chela ; Nalapura, Narwar ; Chola, Chora.
 v and b, as Vardhamānā, Puṇḍrabardhana ; Veṭhadwīpa, Bethia ; Pārvatī, Parba ; Vālhika, Balkh.
 ś and s, as Śiprā, Siprā ; Śūrpāraka, Sūrpāraka.

⁵ *Khaghatadhavām haḥ (Prākṛita-prakāśa, II, 27).*

IV.—CHANGE OF VOWELS.

- a** = (1) *â*, as Arbuda, Âbu ; Yayâtipura, Jâjpur.
 (2) *i*, as Loha, Rohi ; Rantipura, Rintambur.
 (3) *u*, as Karatoy, Kuratî ; the affix *vana*, *un* (by assimilation) ; Kuramu, Krumu.
 (4) *ai*, as Achiravatî, Airâvatî ; Urâgapura, Uraiyr.
 (5) *o*, as Karura, Korura ; Saravatî, Solomatis of the Greeks ; Madhumatî, Modhwar.
- â** = (1) *a*, as Tâmrâlipta, Tamâlipta.
 (2) *i*, as Karatoyâ, Kuratî.
 (3) *u*, as Tamâlikâ, Tamluk ; Kaira-mâli, Kaimur.
- i** = (1) *u*, as Trimalla, Tirumalla ; Tripadî, Tirupadi ; Kulinda, Kulu ; Tamâlika, Tamluk.
 (2) *e*, as Prithûdaka, Pehoa ; Pinâkinî, Penâr ; Trikalînga, Telînga.
 (3) *ai*, as Tripura, Traipura.
- u** = (1) *â*, as Tripura, Tipârâ ; Pûrvasthalî, Parthalis of the Greeks ; Purâli, Pâralia of the Greeks ; Puṇḍarîka-kshetra, Pâṇḍupura ; Gehamura, Gahmâr.
 (2) *i*, as Udupa, Udîpa ; Mañjulâ, Mânjirâ (Manjera).
 (3) *o*, as Suvarṇagrâma, Sonârgâon ; Śuktimatî, Sotthavati ; Chitrakot, Chitrakot ; Udakhaṇḍa, Ohind ; Uḍra, Odra.
 (4) *e*, as (Puṇḍarîkapura=) Pâṇḍupura, Pâṇḍerpur ; Purushapura, Peshâwar.
 (5) *au*, as Udumvara, Audumvara ; Śûkara-kshetra, Śaukara-kshetra.
 (6) *v*, as Utpalâvatî, Vypar ; Suvâstu, Svât (Swat).
- ri** = (1) *i*, as Rîshipattana, Isipattana ; Rishigiri, Isigili ; Prithûdaka, Pihôâ (Pehoa).
 (2) *ar*, as Bhrîgukachchha, Bharukachchha.
 (3) *âr*, as Mrîttikâvatî, Mârttikâvata.
- e** = (1) *u*, as Eraṇḍî, Uri.
 (2) *ai*, as Telîngana, Tailaṅga ; Vegavatî, Vaigâ ; Venâ, Waingâṅgâ.
 (3) *o*, as Eraṇḍî, Or.
- ai** = (1) *i*, as Airâvatî, Irâvadi ; Sairindhra, Sarhind ; Sairishaka, Sirsa.
 (2) *e*, as Vaisâlî, Vesâlî (Besâr).
- o** = *u*, as Dâmodara, Dâmodâ ; Gomatî, Gumti.
- au** = (1) *o*,⁶ as Sauvîra, Sovir ; Paudanya, Potana ; Kausâmbi, Kosam.
 (2) *u*, as Kausîkî, Kusi.

V.—DISSEVERANCE OF COMPOUND LETTERS.

Compound letters are frequently dissevered :—

dm = dam, as Padmapura, Padampur ; Pâmpur, d being elided.

tn = tan, as Ratnapur, Ratanpur.

bhr = bhar, as Sâbhramatî, Sâbharmatî, Sâbarmatî.

rv = rav. as Pûrvasthalî, Puravsthalî, Parthalis by syncopation of *v* and *s*.

⁶ Aut ot (*Prâkrita-prâkâśa*, I, 41).

VI.—TRANSPOSITION OF LETTERS.

Sometimes letters are transposed, as Dehalt, Delhi; Bârâṇasî, Benares; Tâmrâ, Tâmor; (Mahârâshṭra =) Mâhrâṭṭa, Mârhâṭṭâ; Mataṅga-liṅga, Maltaṅga.

VII.—SYNONYMS.

Synonyms are frequently used for names of places, as Hastinâpura, Gajasâh-vyayanagara, Nâgapura; Kumârasvâmi, Kârttikasvâmi, Subrahmaya; Gaṇḍaki, Gallakî; Uragapura, Nâgapura; Goratha Parvata or Godhana-giri, Bâthâni-kâ-pâhâr; Mṛigadâva, Śaraṅganâtha (Sârṇath); Kusumapura (Kumrâr), Pushpapura; Mataṅga-âsrama, Gandha-hasti stûpa; Pradyumnanagara, Mârapura.

VIII.—ABBREVIATIONS.

Sometimes names are formed by the clipping of a member of a compound word, as Kârttika-swâmi, Svâmi-tîrtha; Bhîma-rathâ, Bhîmâ; Tuljâ-bhavânî, Tuljâpur or Bhavânînagar; Bâlu-bâhini, Bâgin; Kṛishṇa-veṇwâ, Kṛishṇâ or Veṇwâ; Ahichhatra, Chhatrâvatî; Dhanushkoṭi Tîrtha, Dhanu-Tîrtha or Koṭi Tîrtha; Rishya-śrîṅgagiri, Śrîṅgârî; Tâmrachuda-kroṇa, Karura; Pañchâpsarâ Tîrtha, Pañcha Tîrtha; Bikrama-ilâ-saṅghârâma, Śilâ-saṅgam.

IX.—COMPOUNDING OF LETTERS.

Disconnected letters, especially *r*, are compounded by the elision of the middle vowel, as Pârâli-grâma (or pura), Pârli-gâon, Palu-gâon; Pârasya, Pârsia (Persia).

The rules of phonetic changes given above cannot but remain tentative so long as they are not confirmed by a fuller induction; but they may be of some help in tracing the history of a word from its ancient form to its present structure through the several mutations or transformations it has undergone in its passage from place to place, climate to climate, or one zone of influences to another. A complete set of established rules considered along with the testimony of authoritative records, traditions, events, and superstitions, is calculated to be the criterion of both past and future identifications of names of places, and the labour devoted to this subject can never be labour pent in vain.

My cordial thanks are due to my nephew, Mr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar and author of *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, Promotion of Learning in India*, etc., for the help I have received from him.

The system of transliteration followed in this work is the same as that of Sir Monier Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* with only this difference that *b*, *v*, and *w* have been used as interchangeables.

The map appended hereto is the same as that used in the first edition. Though the ancient names of places added in this edition have not been shown on the map, yet it may help the reader to make a rough idea of their locations with reference to those that do appear.

NUNDOLAL DEY.

Chinsurah, 1918.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Anc. Geo.	..	..	Ancient Geography of India, by Sir Alexander Cunningham.
App.	..	..	Appendix.
Arch. Rep.	..	..	Archæological Survey Report.
Arch. S. Rep.	..	..	" " "
Arch. Surv. Rep.	..	..	" " "
Asia. Res.	..	..	Asiatic Researches.
Ava. Kalp	..	..	Kshemendra's Bodhisattvâvadâna-Kalpalatâ.
Avadâna Kalpalatâ	..	..	" " "
Ayodh.	..	..	Ayodhyâ.
Bk.	..	..	Book.
Bom. Br.	..	..	Bombay Branch.
Bomb. Gaz.	..	..	Bombay Gazette.
C.	..	..	Canto.
Ch.	..	..	Chapter.
Class. Dic.	..	..	Garrett's Classical Dictionary of India.
Corp. Ins. Ind.	..	..	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CR.	..	..	Calcutta Review.
Drav. Comp. Gram	..	..	Dravidian Comparative Grammar, by Dr. Caldwell.
Ed.	..	..	Edition.
Ep. Ind.	..	..	Epigraphia Indica.
Geo.	..	..	Geography.
HV.	..	..	Harivaṃśa.
Hist.	..	..	History.
Ind. Alt.	..	..	Indische Alterthumskunde, by Prof. Lassen.
Ind. Ant.	..	..	Indian Antiquary.
Jât.	..	..	Jâtaka.
JASB.	..	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBTS.	..	..	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JRAS.	..	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K.	..	..	Kāṇḍa.
K. Ch.	..	..	Kavikaṅkaṇa Chandi, by Mukundaram Chakravartti.
Kh.	..	..	Khaṇḍa.
Mack. Col.	..	..	Prof. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection.
MAI.	..	..	Führer's Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions.
Mahâbh.	..	..	Mahâbhârata.
Mbh.	..	..	"
Mâhât.	..	..	Mâhâtmya.
Mârkand P.	..	..	Mârkandeya Purâṇa.
MB.	..	..	Manual of Buddhism, by Spence Hardy.
MIB.	..	..	Manual of India Buddhism, by Dr. Kern.
P.	..	..	In connection with the Mahâbhârata it means Parva. In connection with the name of a Purâṇa, it means Purâṇa.
Prâ. Pra.	..	..	Vararuchi's Prâkṛita-Prakâśa.
Pt.	..	..	Part.
Q. V.	..	..	Quod Vide.
RWC.	..	..	Beal's Records of Western Countries.
Râm	..	..	Râmâyana.
SBE.	..	..	Sacred Books of the East.
S. I. Palæo.	..	..	South Indian Palæography, by Dr. Burnell.
U. P.	..	..	United Provinces.
V.	..	..	Verse.

Other abbreviations, being easily intelligible, have been omitted in this list.

PART I.

ANCIENT NAMES.

A

Âbhîra—The south-eastern portion of Gujarat about the mouths of the Nerbudda was called Âbhîra,—the Aberia of the Greeks. McCrindle states that the country of the Âbhîras lay to the east of the Indus where it bifurcates to form the delta (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 140; *Vishṇu P.*, ch. 5). The *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* (ch. 6) also says that the Indus flowed through the country of Âbhîra. According to the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ Parva, ch. 31), the bhîras lived near the seashore and on the bank of the Sarasvatî, a river near Somnâth in Gujarat. Sir Henry Elliot says that the country on the western coast of India from the Tapti to Devagadh is called Âbhîra (Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 3). Mr. W. H. Schoff is of opinion that it is the southern part of Gujarat, which contains Surat (*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 39, 175). According to Lassen, Âbhîra is the Ophir of the Bible. The *Târâ Tantra* says that the country of Âbhîra extended from Konkana southwards to the western bank of the river Tâpî (see Ward's *History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. 1, p. 559).

Abhisârâ—Same as **Abhisâri** (*Padma Purâṇa*, Âdikhaṇḍa, ch. 6).

Abhisâri—Hazara (country), the Abisares of the Greeks: it forms the north-western district of the Peshawar division. It was conquered by Arjuna [(*Mahâbhârata*), Sabhâ-Parva, ch. 27; *JASB.* (1852) p. 234]. But Dr. Stein identifies the kingdom of Abhisârâ with the tract of the lower and middle hills between the Vitastâ (Jhelum) and Chandrabhâgâ (Chenab) including the state of Rājāpurī (Rajauri) in Kāśmīra.

Abimukta—Benares (*Śiva-Purāṇa*, Sanatkumârasamhitâ, ch. 41; *Matsya Purāṇa*, chs. 182–184).

Acesines—The river Chenab in the Panjab: it is the corruption of Asikni of the *Rig-Veda* (x, 75).

Achchhoda-Sarovara—Achchâvat in Kāśmīra, described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Kâdambarī* (see also Bilhana's *Vikramânka-devacharita*, xviii, 53). It is six miles from Mârttaṇḍa. The Siddhâsrama was situated on the bank of this lake (*Bṛihat-Nâradiya Purāṇa*, ch. 1).

Achinta—Ajanta, about fifty-five miles to the north-east of Ellora in Central India. In the Achinta monastery resided Ārya Saiga (perhaps Asaṅga), the founder of the Yogâchârya school of the Buddhists (S. C. Das's *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*). It is celebrated for its caves and *vihâras*, which belong to the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. An inscription there shows that the caves were caused to be excavated by a Sthavira named Achala.

Achiravatî—The river Rapti in Oudh, on which the town of Śrāvastî was situated (*Varâha P.*, ch. 214; *Tevijja-sutta* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI). It was also called Ajiravatî and its shortened form is Airâvatî. It is a tributary of the Sarayu.

Adârsâvalī—The Aravali Mountains (Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 380): see *Āryāvartta*.

Adhichhatra—Same as **Ahichchhâtra** (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 243 note).

Adhirāja—Same as **Karusha**: the country of Rewa. It was the kingdom of Dantavakra who was killed by Kṛishṇa in Mathura (*Padma P.*, Pâtāla, ch. 35). It was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the five Pāṇḍavas (*Mahābhārata*, Sabhā P., ch. 30).

Adikota—Another name for **Ahichchhatra**.

Agalassia.—See **Angalaukika**.

Agastya-śrama—1. Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Nasik, now called Agastī-puri: it was the hermitage of Rishi Agastya. 2. Akolha, to the east of Nasik, was also the hermitage of Agastya (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*, ch. 11). 3. Kolhapur in the province of Bombay. 4. Sarai-Aghat, forty miles south-west of Itah and about a mile to the north-west of Sankisa in the United Provinces (*Führer's Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*). 5. Agastya Rishi is still said to reside, as he is believed to be alive, at the Agastya-kūṭa mountain in Tinnevely, from which the river Tāmraparṇī takes its rise (Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar*, Introduction, p. 118, Bhāsa's *Avimāra*, Act iv). See **Tāmraparṇī** **Malaya-giri** and **Kârâ**. 6. About twelve miles from Rudra-prayāga in Garwal is a village called Agastyamuni which is said to have been the hermitage of the Rishi. 7. On the Vaidūrya-Parvata or Satpura Hill (*Mahābh.*, Vana, ch. 88). 8. See **Vedāranya**. Agastya introduced Aryan civilisation into Southern India. He was the author of the *Agastya-Saṃhitā*, *Agastya-Gīta*, *Sakalādhikāra*, &c., (Rām Rāja's *Architecture of the Hindus*; O. C. Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*, p. 4).

Aggalava-chetiya—It is about 350 miles to the north of Sankāśya in Sugana somewhere near Khalsi where Buddha passed his sixteenth *vassa*. Ālavaka Yakkha resided at this place. Fa Hian's *Travels*, xvii; *JRAS.*, 1891, pp. 338, 339). See **Ālavi**.

Agnipura—Same as **Māhishmatī**: the town was protected by Agni, the god of fire (*Mahābh.*, Anuśāsana, ch. 25; *Jaimini-Bhārata*, ch. 15).

Agravana—Agra, one of the *vanas* of Vraja-maṇḍala. It is called Agravana, as the first starting point for a pilgrim on his circumambulation of Vraja,—the holy scene of Kṛishṇa's adventures. According to Vaishṇava authorities, it was covered by forests for many centuries, before Rūpa and Sanātana, the celebrated followers of Chaitanya, came here for the purpose of starting on the exploration of Vṛindāvana. Buhlol Lodi founded the new city of Agra and towards the close of the fifteenth century, his son Secunder Lodi removed the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, and fixed his residence on the opposite side of the present city on the bank of the river Jamuna, where also resided Ibrahim Lodi and Baber, the founder of the Mughal dynasty (*CR.*, vol. 79, p. 71,—Keene's *Medieval India*). Baber died in 1530 and was interred at the garden called Charbagh which was afterwards called Rambagh by Akbar's courtiers: his remains were subsequently removed to Kabul. The fort built by Akbar contains one of the most beautiful palaces in India, especially that portion of it called the Saman-Buruj (Jasmine Tower) which was constructed by Shah Jahan.

Ahichchhatra—Ramnagar, twenty miles west of Bareilly, in Rohilkhand. The name of Ahichchhatra is at present confined to the great fortress in the lands of Alampur Kot and Nasratganj. It was the capital of North Pāñchāla or Rohilkhand (Dr. Führer, *MAI.*, and Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 359). It was also called Chhatravatī (*Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parva*, ch. 168). It is Adhichchhatra of the inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 432,

note by Dr. Führer). It is also called Ahikshetra (*Mahābhārata*, Vana P., ch. 252). In Jaina works, Ahichhatra is said to be the principal town of the country called Jāngala which therefore was another name for North Pañchāla (see Weber's *Indische Studien*, xvi, p. 398).

Ahichhatra—Same as Ahichehhatra.

Ahikshetra—Same as Ahichehhatra.

Ahobala-Nṛsiṃha—A celebrated place of pilgrimage at a short distance to the east of Cuddapah in Sirvel Taluk in the district of Karnul in the province of Madras: the image of Nṛsiṃha is in the cavern of a hill called Gaḍurādri. It was visited by Śaṅkarāchāryya and Chaitanya. Three temples stand on the hill—one at the foot, one halfway up, and one at the top; they are considered to be very sacred (*Śaṅkara-vijaya*; *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, Madhya, ch. 9; *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 368; III, 240).

Airāvati—1. The river Ravi. 2. The Rapti and Irawadi also are contractions of this name. The Rapti is a river in Oudh, on the south bank of which Sahet-mahet (ancient Śrāvastī) is situated. It is a contraction of Achiravati (see Achiravati).

Ajamati—The river Ajaya in Bengal: the Amystis of Megasthenes. It falls into the Ganges near Katwa. It is mentioned by Arrian. The *Gālava Tantra* mentions it as Ajaya. The great poet Jayadeva was born on the bank of the Ajaya near Kenduli in the district of Birbhum in Bengal.

Ajiravati—Same as Achiravati (*Avadāna-Kalpalatā*, ch. 76).

Ajitavati—The little Gandak river [on the north of Kuśinagara (Kasia) where Buddha died. The river is also called Hiraṇyavati].

Ākaravanti—Malwa, Ākara being East Malwa and Avanti West Malwa (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 36 note; see *Ind. Ant.*, vii., 259; *Ram.*, Kish, ch. 41). It is mentioned as Ākaravenāvantika in the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, ch. xiv.

Akhaṇḍa—Dildārnagar, twelve miles south of Ghazipur.

Akshalinagara—See Anumakuṇḍapura.

Alaka—Same as Amaka.

Alakānanda—A tributary of the Ganges,—the united stream of the Vishṇugaṅgā (called Dhavala-Gaṅgā or Dhauli) and Sarasvatī-Gaṅgā; it is also called Bishengāṅgā above its confluence. The river has been traced by Captain Raper (*Asia. Res.*, xi) a little way beyond Badrinath, having for its source a water-fall called Vasu-dhârâ (*Skanda P.*, Vishṇu kh., III, 6). Śrīnagar, the capital of Gaḍhwāl, is situated on the bank of this river.

Ālambhika—See Alavi.

Alasanda—Alexandria, see Alexandria and Hupian. It is said to be the capital of Yona country (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 166).

Ālavi—Airwa, an ancient Buddhist town, the A-le of Fa Hian who travelled in India from A.D. 399 to 413, twenty-seven miles north-east of Itwah. Ālavi has been identified by General Cunningham and Dr. Hoernle with Newal or Nawal—the Navadevakula of

Hiuen Tsiang, 19 miles south-east of Kanouj (*Arch. S. Rep.*, I, 293; XI, 49; *Uvāsagadasāo*, app., p. 53). It was situated on the Ganges. According to Dr. Kern it was situated between Kosāla and Magadha; it contained a monastery called Aggalava-chetiya (*MIB.*, p. 37 n.). It is the Âlabhi of the Jainas, from which Mahāvîra made his missionary peregrinations (Rhys Davids' *Vinaya Texts*, *Chullavagga*, *Vaṅgisa* or *Nigrodha Kappa Sutta*, Pt. vi, ch. 17; *Sutta Nipāta*, *Âlavaka Sutta* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X). It is the Âlambhika of the *Kalpasûtra* (Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 91). Buddha passed his sixteenth *vassa* (*Varsha*) at this place. For the places where Buddha passed his *vassas* in different years after attaining Buddhahood, see *JASB.*, 1838, p. 720.

Alexandria—1. Uchch, a town built by Alexander the Great near the confluence of the five rivers of the Punjab. 2. Hupian (*see* **Hupian**). 3. An island in the Indus, where, in a village called Kalasi, Menander, the Greek king, was born (*SBE.*, XXXV, p. 127—the *Questions of King Milinda*). It was 200 *yojanas* from Sākala. 4. According to some authorities, Alexandria ad Caucasum of the Greeks is Beghram, 25 miles north of Kabul, which contains the extensive ruins of an ancient town; and according to others it is Bamian (*Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India under Beghram*).

Ali-madra—The district of Mardan (Hoti-Mardan) or in other words, the Yusufzai country to the north-east of Peshawar, containing many Buddhist and Græco-Bactrian remains (*Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 49).

Âmalakagrāma—*See* **Âmalitala**.

Âmalitala—On the north bank of the river Tāmraparṇî in Tinnevely, visited by Chaitanya. It is mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. It appears to be the same as Âmalakagrāma of the *Nṛisimha Purāṇa*, which has been highly extolled in Chapter 66; it is also called Sahya-Âmalakagrāma, being situated on the Western Ghats.

Amarakaṇṭaka—It is a part of the Mikul (Mekala) hills in Gondwana in the territory of Nagpur, in which the river Nerbuda and Sone have got their source (*Padma Purāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa (Âdi). ch 6; Wilson's *Meghdûta* or the *Cloud Messenger*); hence the Nerbuda is called in the *Amarakosha*, the daughter of the Mekala mountain. It is the Âmrakûṭa of Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta* (I, 17). Its sanctity is described in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Revâ Khaṇḍa, ch. 21). The first fall of the Nerbuda from the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain is called Kapîladhârâ in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Kapîla is said to be an affluent of the Nerbudda (ch. 21). The *Vishṇu-saṁhitâ* (ch. 75) recommends Amarakaṇṭaka and a few other places as being very efficacious for the performance of the Śrâdh ceremony.

Amaranātha—A celebrated shrine of Śiva in a grotto in the Bhairavaghâti range of the Himalaya, about sixty miles from Islamabad, the ancient capital of Kaśmîra. The cave is situated at a considerable altitude on the west side of a snowy peak, 17,307 feet in height, locally called by the name of Kailâsa. A little stream known as Amargaṅgâ, a tributary of the Indus, flows by the left side of the cave over a white soil with which the pilgrims besmear their body to cleanse away their sins, though no doubt it serves to keep off cold. The path to the cave lies along the side of the Amargaṅgâ stream. The cave is naturally arched, 50 feet in breadth at the base and 25 feet in height. The *Liṅga* or phallic image is about 20 or 25 feet from the entrance and is at the inner extremity of the

cave. The grotto is rightly said to be "full of wonderful congelations" (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 418 note), and according to Dr. Stein, the *Linga* which is an embodiment of Siva Amareśvara is "a large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock" (Dr. Stein's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol II, p. 409), which is evidently a dolomite rock. There is something very wonderful and curious about the formation of the *Linga*. The pedestal of the *Linga* is 7 or 8 feet in diameter and 2 feet in height. The *Linga*, which is 3 feet in height, rises from the centre of the pedestal with the figure of a serpent entwining it. The peculiarity of the entire formation is that it has got some connection with the moon, as it is gradually formed from day to day commencing after the day of the New Moon till it attains its full height on the day of the Full Moon: the process of forming and dissolving goes on every day, and on the day of the New Moon no sign of the image exists at all. On both sides of the *Linga* there are two columns of ice formation which are called *Devīs*. Every year in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, the pilgrims start from Mārttaṇḍa (Mārtan or Bhavan) for Amarnāth escorted by the officers of the Mahārāja of Kāśmīra (*JASB.*, 1866, p. 219). On the last day of the visit, one or two or sometimes four pigeons are said to appear, gyrating and fluttering over the temple, to the amazed gaze of the pilgrims who regard them as Hara and Pārvatī.

Amarāvati—1. Nagarhāra, about two miles to the west of Jallalabad: a village close to it is still called Nagarak,—the Na-kie of Fa Hian. 2. The Amarāvati *stūpa* is about 18 miles to the west of Bezvada and south of Dharaṇikoṭa, on the south or right bank of the Krishna river about sixty miles from its mouth in the Krishna district, Madras Presidency. The Amarāvati Chaitya is the Pūrvasaila Saṅghārāma of Hiuen Tsiang (Dr. Burgess' *Buddhist Stupas of Amarāvati*, p. 101). Amarāvati is the *Diamond Sands* (*Dipal dinne*) of the *Daladā Vamśa*: it was situated in the kingdom of the Nāga Rāja (see Turnour's translation in *JASB.*, vi., p. 856). The Amarāvati tope was built about A.D. 370 or 380, by the Andhras or the Andhra-bhṛitya kings who were Buddhists (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 1; for its description see *JRAS.*, III, 132).

Amareśvara—On the opposite side of Oṃkārnāth, on the southern bank of the river Nerbuda (*Śiva Purāṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 38; *Skanda Purāṇa*-Revākhaṇḍa), thirty-two miles north-west of Khandwa and eleven miles east of Martoka Railway station (Caine's *Picturesque India*, p. 397). In the *Bṛīhat-Śiva P.* (Pt. II, chs. 3 and 4) Amareśvara is placed in Oṃkāra or Oṃkāra-kshetra. The twelve great *Lingas* of Mahādeva are:—Somanātha in Saurāshṭra, Mallikārjuna in Śrīsaila, Mahā-kāla in Ujjayinī, Oṃkāra in Amareśvara, Kedāra in the Himalayas, Bhīmaśaṅkara in Dākini, Viśveśvara in Benares, Tryambaka in Gomati (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Chitābhūmi, Nāgeśa in Dwārakā, Rāmeśwara in Setubandha, and Ghuśrīneśa in Sivālaya (*Śiva Purāṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 38).

Ambalatthikā—1. A park half way between Rājagṛha and Nālandā (*Dīgha Nikāya: Brahmajāla Sutta*). 2. A park situated in the village of Khānumata in Magadha (*Kūṭadanta Sutta*).

Ambaligrāma—Arail, a village on the opposite side of Allahabad, across the Yamunā (*Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, Pt. II; *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. V, p. 65).

Ambara—The country of Jaipur, so called from its ancient capital of that name now called Āmer, which is said to have been founded by Ambarīsha, son of Māndhātā (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. 2), and hence Āmer is a corruption of Ambarīshanagara. During the reign

of Akbar, Man Singh made the Dilaram garden on the bank of the Tal Kautara Lake at the foot of the Amer palace or fort. Within the latter is the temple of the goddess called Jasareswari Kâlî taken away by Man Singh from Jessore after subjugating Pratâpâditya.

Ambasaṇḍa—This village was evidently situated on the present site of Giriyeḥ. See **Indrasila-Guhā** and **Giriyeḥ** (*MB.*, p. 298).

Ambashṭha—The country of the tribe of Ambutai of Ptolemy: they lived on the northern part of Sindh at the time of Alexander and also on the lower Akesines (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 155).

Ami—Eleven miles east of Chhapra containing the temple of Bhavâni, which is one of the 52 *Pīṭhas*, where a fragment from the body of Satî is said to have fallen. According to the *Tantra-Chûḍâmaṇi*, the *Pīṭhas* where the dissevered limbs of Satî are said to have fallen, are 52. According to the *Śivacharitra*, they are 51; according to the *Devî-Bhâgavata* there are altogether 108 *Pīṭhas* (Pt. vii, ch. 30). The *Upa-Pīṭhas* or minor *Pīṭhas* are 26 (*Kâlikâ-Purâṇa*, chs. 18, 50, 61).

mrakûta-Parvata—It has been identified with Amarakantaka (*Meghadûta* and Mahâmahopâdhyâya Haraprasâd Śâstrî's *Meghadûta-Vyākhyâ*, p. 3).

Anahila-Pattana—Virawal-Pattana or Pattana, called also Anihilwâr in Northern Baroda in Gujarat, founded in Samvat 802 or A.D. 746, after the destruction of Valabhi by Banarâja or Vaṃsarâja. The town was called Anahilapattana after the name of a cowherd who pointed out the site (Merutuṅga Āchâryya's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, ch. 1; Merutuṅga's *Therâvali*, ed. by Dr. Bhau Daji). Hemchandra, the celebrated Jaina grammarian and lexicographer, flourished in the Court of Kumârapâla, king of Anahilapattana (A.D. 1142–1173), and was his spiritual guide: he died at the age of 84 in A. D. 1172, in which year Kumârapâla became a convert to Jainism (Bhau Daji's *Brief Notes on Hemachandra*) but according to other authorities, the conversion took place in A.D. 1159 (Tawney's *Intro.*, *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. iii). After the overthrow of Valabhi in the eighth century, Anahilapattana became the chief city of Gujarat or Western India till the fifteenth century. For the kings of Anahilapattana, see R. C. Ghosh's *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp. 138 to 140; *JRAS.*, XIII, p. 158. It was also called Anahillapura.

Anamala—Same as **Anoma**.

Ānandapura—Vaḍnagar in northern Gujarat, seventy miles south-east of Sidhpur (St. Martin, as cited in McCrindle's *Ptolemy*), but there is still a place called Ānandpur, fifty miles north-west of Valabhi. It was anciently called Ānarttapura (see the two copper-plate inscriptions of Ālinâ of A.D. 649 and 651). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang (Burgess' *Antiquities of Kathiawad-Kachh*, p. 84). Ānandapura or Vaḍnagar is also called Nagara which is the original home of the Nâgara Brâhmanas of Gujarat. Kumârapâla surrounded it with a rampart (Dr. Bühler, *Ep. Indica*, vol. 1, p. 295). Bhadrabâhu Svâmi, the author of the *Kalpasûtra*, composed in A.D. 411, flourished at the court of Dhruvasena II, king of Gujarat, whose capital was at this place (see Dr. Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra: Preface*).

Ananta-Nâga—Islamabad, the ancient capital of Kâśmîra on the right bank of the Jhelum.

Ananta-Padmanâbha—Anantapur, in Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, containing the celebrated temple of Padmanâbha, which was visited by Chaitanya and Nityânanda (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*). It is also called Padmanâbhapur (Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 129). See **Ananta-sayana**.

Ananta-sayana—Padmanâbhapur, in Travancore, containing the celebrated temple of Vishnu sleeping on the serpent (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 74; Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 129). See **Ananta-Padmanâbha**.

anarta—1. Gujarat and part of Malwa: its capital was Kuśasthalî or modern Dwârka (*Bhâgavata P.*, ch. X., p. 67). 2. Northern Gujarat: its capital was Ânarttapura (*Skanda P. Nâgara Kh.*, ch. 65), afterwards called Ânandapura, the modern Vadnagar (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I., Pt. 1, p. 6, note 2).

Ânarttapura—Same as **Ânandapura**. See **Ânarta**.

Anavatapta—Same as **Anotatta**.

Andha—The river Andhilâ or Chândan,—the Andomatis of Arrian. see **Chandravati** (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, Bk. 8, ch. 11).

Andhanada—The river Brahmaputra (*Bhâgavata P.*, ch. 5, ślk. 9).

Andhra—1. The country between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ including the district of Kistna. Its capital was Dhanakataka or Amarâvatî at the mouth of the Krishnâ. Veṅgî, five miles to the north of Ellur, was according to Hiuen Tsiang, its ancient capital (*Garuda Purâṇa*, ch. 55). 2. Telingana, south of Hyderabad. According to the *Anargharâghava* (Act vii, 103), the Sapta Godâvarî passes through the country of Andhra, and its principal deity is the Mahâdeva Bhîmesvara. The Pallava kings of Veṅgî were overthrown by the Chalukya kings of Kalyânapura, and succeeded by the Chola kings who, in their turn, were conquered by the Jaina kings of Dharanîkoṭa. The Andhra dynasty was also called Sâtavâhana or Sâtakarnî dynasty; their ancient capital was at Sri Kâkulum now diluviated by the Krishnâ.

Ânga—The country about Bhagalpur including Mongyr. It was one of the sixteen political divisions of India (*Ânguttara I.*, 4; *Vinaya Texts*, ii, 146; *Govinda Sutta* in *Dîgha-nikâya*, xix, 36). Its capital was Champâ or Champâpuri. The western limit of its northern boundary at one time was the junction of the Ganges and the Sarajû. It was the kingdom of Romapâda of the *Râmâyana* and Karna of the *Mahâbhârata*. It is said in the *Râmâyana* that Madana, the god of love, was burnt to ashes by Mahâdeva at this place, and hence the country is called Ânga, Madana being thenceforth called Anaṅga (*Bâlakâṇḍa*, Canto 23, vs. 13, 14). See **Kama-âsrama**. According to Sir George Birdwood, Ânga included also the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad. According to some authorities, it also included the Santal Parganas. It was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisâra in the sixth century B.C. (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 166). His son Kunika or Ajâtasatru became its viceroy, his head-quarters being at Champâ. Mahana, the maternal grand-father of Kumaradevî, wife of king Govindachandra of Kanauj (1114–1154), was king Râmapâla's viceroy in Ânga (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1908), the country having come under the sway of Gopâla, the founder of the Pâla dynasty, in the eighth century A.D. The celebrated places of antiquity and interest in the province of ancient Ânga are:—Rishyaśringa-âsrama at Rishikund, four

miles to the south-west of Bariarpur, one of the stations of the East India Railway; the Karpagaḍ or the fort of Karṇa, four miles from Bhagalpur; Champā or Champāpuri, the ancient capital of Aṅga and the birth-place of Vāsupujya, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas; Jāhnu-āśrama at Sultanganj; Modāgiri or Mongyr; the Buddhist caves at Pātharghātā (ancient Silā-saṅgama or Vikramasilā-saṅghārāma) in the Kahalgāon sub-division, referred to by Hiuen Tsiang and by Chora Kavi in the *Chora-pañchāsikā*; and the Mandara Hill at Bansi, thirty-two miles to the south of Bhagalpur (see *Champāpuri* and *Sumha*). The name of Aṅga first appears in the *Atharva-saṃhitā* (Kāṇḍa V, Anuvāka 14). For the history of Aṅga, see my "Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur" in *JASB.*, 1914, p. 317.

Aṅgalaukika—The country of the Aṅgalaukikas who were most probably the Agalassians of Alexander's historians (see McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, p. 285) and neighbours of the Sivis, was situated below the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines (*Brahmaṇḍa*, P. 149).

Añjana-Giri—The Suleiman range in the Panjab (*Varāha P.*, ch. 80).

Anomā—The river Aumi, in the district of Gorakhpur (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 423). It was crossed by Buddha after he left his father's palace at a place now called Chandāuli on the eastern bank of the river, whence Chhandaka returned with Buddha's horse Kaṇṭhaka to Kapilāvastu (Āśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-Charita*, Bk. V). But Carleyle identifies the river Anomā with the Kudawa Nadi in the Basti district of Oudh (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXII, p. 224 and Führer's *MAI.*). Carleyle identifies the stūpa of Chhandaka's return with the Mahā-thān Dih, four miles to the north-east of Tameswar or Maneya, and the Cut-Hair Stūpa with the Sirasaraḥ mound on the east bank of the Anomā river in the Gorakhpur district (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 11, 15).

Anotatta—It is generally supposed that Anotatta or Anavatapta lake is the same as Rāwan-hrad or Langa. But Spence Hardy considers it to be an imaginary lake (*Beal's Legend and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. 129).

Antaragiri—The Rājmaḥal hills in the district of Santal Pargana in the province of Bengal (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113, v. 44; Pargiter's *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 325, note).

Antaraveda—The Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā (*Hemakoṣha*; *Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa*, Pt. III, ch. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, p. 197).

Anumakuṇḍapattana—Same as **Anumakuṇḍapura**.

Anumakuṇḍapura—Warrangal, the ancient capital of Telingana (Rudradeva inscription in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 903, but see Prof. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 76). It was the capital of Rājā Rudradeva identified with Churang or Choragaigā. The town was also called Anumakuṇḍapattana (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 901). The Kākatiyas reigned here from A.D. 1110 to 1323. According to General Cunningham, Warrangal is the Korunkola of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Another name of Warrangal, according to the same authority, is Akshalinagara, which in the opinion of Mr. Cousens is the same as Yeksilanagara (*List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Nizam's Territories*). See **Benākataka**.

Anupadesa—South Malwa. The country on the Nerbuda about Nimar. Same as **Haihaya**, **Mahisha** and **Mahishaka** (*Śiva Purāṇa*, Dharma-saṃhitā, ch. 56; *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 5, 33, 112, 114). Its capital was Māhishmatī (*Raghuramāya*, canto VI, v. 43).

Anurâdhapura—The ancient capital of Ceylon. The branch of the celebrated Bo-tree (Pipal-tree) of Buddha-Gayâ was brought and planted here by Mahinda and his sister Saṅghamittâ, who were sent by their father Aśoka to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon. The tree still exists in the Mahâ-vihâra. The left canine tooth of Buddha which was removed from Dantapura (Puri) in the fourth century to Anurâdhapura, existed in a building erected on one of the angles of Thuparamaye (Thupârâma) Dagoba (a corruption of Dhâtugarbha), which was built by Devânâmpiyatissa about 230 B.C., as a relic shrine of either the right jaw-bone or the right collar-bone of Buddha. See **Dantapura**. The town contains also the “Loya Maha Paya” or Great Brazen Monastery and the “Ruanwelli” Dagoba described in the *Mahâvaṃśa*. The latter was built by the king Duṭṭhagâmini in the second century of the Christian era. The Isibhumanganan was the site of Mahinda’s funeral pile, and in the Ghaṇṭâkara-vihâra the *Alṭha-kathâ* (the commentary of the *Tripitaka*) was translated from Singhalese into Pâli by Buddhaghosha (A.D. 410—432), a Brahmin who came from a village named Ghosha in the neighbourhood of Buddha-Gayâ, during the reign of Mahânâma or Mahâmuni (Gray’s *Buddhaghosuppatti*): he was converted into Buddhism by Revata (Turnour’s *Mahâvaṃśa*, ch. 37).

Aornos—Ranigat, sixteen miles north-west of Ohind in the Peshawar district of the Panjab (Cunningham’s *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 58), but according to Captain James Abbot, Shah Kote on Mount Mahaban, situated on the western bank of the Indus, about 70 miles to the north-east of Peshawar: modern researches have proved the correctness of Abbot’s identification (Smith’s *Early History of India*, p. 68). It is perhaps a corruption of Varāṇa of Pāṇini: there is still a town called **Barana** (*q.v.*) on the western bank of the Indus opposite to Attok (*Ind. Ant.*, I. 22).

Apaga—Afghanistan (*Brahmaṇḍa P.*, ch. 49).

Āpaga—1. The Ayuk-nadî to the west of the Ravi in the Panjab. 2. A river in Kurukshetra (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 36, *Padma P.*, Svarga; ch. 12). See, however, **Oghavatî**. It still bears its ancient name. It is evidently the Āpayâ of the *Rig-Veda* (III, 23, 4) frequently mentioned with the Sarasvatî and the Drishadvatî.

Apâpauri—Same as *Pâpâ* [*Śabdakalpadruma*—*s.v.* Tîrthaṅkara; Prof. Wilson’s *Hindu Religion* (Life of Mahâvîra)]. See **Pâpâ**.

Aparananda—Same as *Alakânandâ*: see **Nandâ** (*Mahâbh.*, Vana, ch. 109; *Brahmaṇḍa P.*, ch. 43).

Aparanta—Same as **Aparântaka**.

Aparântaka—Koṅkan and Malabar (*Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, ch. 58): it is the Ariake of Ptolemy, according to whom it extended southward from the Nerbuda. In the *Raghuvamśa* (IV, v. 53) Aparânta is said to be on the south of the Muralâ. According to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, Ariake extended southwards from the gulf of Cambay to the north of Âbhîra. Ptolemy’s Ariake is the contraction of Aparântaka, but that of the *Periplus* is the contraction of Âranyaka. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Aparânta was the northern Koṅkan, the capital of which was Surpâraka (modern Supara) near Bassein. Aśoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Yona-Dhammarakkhita in 245 B.C. According to Bhagvanlal Indraji, the western seaboard of India was called Aparântika or Aparântaka (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 259, 263). Bhaṭṭa Svāmî in his commentary on Kauṭilya’s *Arthasâstra* (Koshâdhyaṅga, Bk. ii) identifies it with Koṅkana.

See also *Brahma Purāṇa* (ch. 27, vol. 58) which includes Surpāraka in Aparānta-deśa. According to Kālidāsa, it was situated between the Sahya (Western Ghats) and the sea (*Raghuvamśa*). It extended from the river Mahi to Goa (*Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 36, note 8).

Apara-Videha—Rungpur and Dinajpur (*Lalita-vistara*, Dr. R. L. Mitra's trans., p. 52, note)

Āpaya—Same as **Apagā** (*q.v.*)

Aptanetravana—It has been identified with the ruins near Ikauna in the Bahraich district in Oudh (Führer's *MAI.*). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

Āraba—Arabia. See **Banāyu**.

Ārāmanagara—Arrah in the district of Shahabad. Dr. Hoey, however, supposes that the ancient name of Arrah was Arāda; and Arāda Kālāma, the teacher of Buddha, was a native of this place (*JASB.*, vol. LXIX, p. 77), but see *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III, p. 70.

Aranya—1. The nine sacred Aranyas or forests are:—Saindhava, Daṇḍakāraṇya, Naimisha, Kurujāṅgala, Upalāvṛita (Utpalāraṇya?), Araṇya, Jambumārga, Pushkara, and Himālaya (*Devī Purāṇa*, ch. 74). 2. See **Āraṇyaka**. 3. Same as **Bana**.

Āraṇyaka—A kingdom situated on the south of Ujjain and Vidarbha (*Mahābhārata*, Sabhā, ch. 31). It is called Araṇya in the *Devī Purāṇa*, ch. 46. It is the Ariaka of the *Periplus*. According to DaCunha, Ariaka (Ārya-kshetra) comprised a great part of Aurangabad and southern Konkana. Its capital was Tagara, modern Doulatabad (DaCunha's *History of Chaul and Basscin*, p. 127).

Aratta—The Panjab, which is watered by the five rivers (*Mahābhārata*, Droṇa Parva, chs. 40—45; *Karna P.*, ch. 45; Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, Pt. ii, ch. 30). It was celebrated for its fine breed of horses. Its Sanskritized form is Ārāṣṭra.

Aravālo—The Wulur or Volur lake in Kaśmīra (Turnour's *Mahāvamśa*, p. 72). The Nāga king of Aravālo was converted into Buddhism by Majjhantika (Madhyantika), the missionary, who was sent by Aśoka to Kaśmīra and Gāndhāra. It is the largest lake in the valley of Kaśmīra, and produces water-nuts (*siṅgāḍḍā*) in abundance, supporting considerable portion of the population, the nuts being the roots of the plant *trapa bispinosa* (Thornton's *Gazetteer*).

Arbuda—Mount Abu in the Aravali range in the Siroh State of Rajputana. It was the hermitage of Rishi Vasiṣṭha (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 82; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 11). The Rishi is said to have created out of his fire-pit in the mountain a hero named Paramāra to oppose Viśvāmitra while he was carrying away his celebrated cow Kāma-dhenu. Paramāra became the progenitor of the Paramāra clan of Rajputs (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 224). Mount Abu contains the celebrated shrine of Ambā Bhavānī. It contains the celebrated Jaina temples dedicated to Rishabha Deva and Neminātha: it is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, which are Satruñjaya, Samet Sikhar, Arbuda, Gīrnar, Chandragiri (*Ind. Ant.*, II, 354). For the names of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, see **Śrāvastī**.

Arddhagaṅgā—The river Kāverī (*Hemakośha*; *Harivamśa*, I, ch. 27).

Ariana—That portion of Central Asia (mentioned by Strabo) which was the original abode of the Aryan race and which is called Airyan-vejo (Ārya-vīja) in the *Acosta*. From its description as a very cold country and its situation on the north of India as it appears from the *Vedas*, it is considered to have been situated to the west of Belurtagh and Mustagh (or Snowy Mountain) and near the source of the Amu and Syhun, including the Pamir. Sections of the Aryan race migrated to the west and settled themselves in Europe at different periods. Those that remained behind migrated subsequently to the south and settled themselves in Iran and the Punjab. Differences of opinion about agricultural and religious reforms, especially the introduction of the worship of Indra as a principal god to the lowering of Varuṇa, who always held the highest position in the hierarchy of the gods even from the time when they all resided in Central Asia, split up the early Aryan settlers of the Punjab into two parties, and led to the dissension which brought about a permanent separation between them. The party which opposed this innovation migrated to the north-west, and after residing for some time at Balkh and other places, finally settled themselves in Iran: they were the followers of Zarathasthura and were called Zoroastrians, the ancestors of the modern Parsis. The other party, the ancestors of the Hindus, gradually spread their dominion from the Punjab and the bank of the Sarasvatī to the east and south by their conquest of the aboriginal races (Max Müller's *Science of Language*).

Ariṣṭhapura—The Sanskritized form of Ariṭṭhapura, the capital of the country of Śivi (*q.v.*). It has not yet been identified: perhaps it is the same as Aristobathra of Ptolemy on the north of the Punjab.

Ariṣṭhala—Same as **Kuṣasthala**: see **Pāṇḍraprastha**.

Arijikiya—The river Bias (Vipāśā) [*Rig-Veda*].

Arjunī—The river Bâhudâ or Dhabalâ (*Hemakoshu*).

Arkakshetra—Same as Padmakshetra: Konârak, or Black Pagoda, 19 miles north-west of Puri in Orissa, containing the temple of the Sun called Koṇâditya. It is also called Sûrya-kshetra (*Brahma Purâṇa*, ch. 27). See **Konârka**.

Aruṇa—One of the Seven Kosis (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 84). See **Mahâkaṇṭika**.

Aruṇa—A branch of the Sarasvatī in Kurukshetra (*Mahâbhârata*, Salya, ch. 44): it has been identified by General Cunningham with the Mârkaṇḍa. Its junction with the Sarasvatī three miles to the north-east of Pehoa (Prithûdaka) is called the Aruṇa-saṅgama (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV, p. 102).

Aruṇâchala—1. Same as **Aruṇagiri**. See **Chidambaram**: it contains the *tej* or fire image of Mahâdeva. 2. A mountain on the west of the Kailâs range (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51).

Aruṇagiri—Tiruvannamalai or Trinomali in the South Arcot district in the province of Madras (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 240). It is called Aruṇâchala in the *Skanda P.* (Aruṇâ. Mâhât., Uttara, ch. 4). It contains the temples of Aruṇâchalesvara and Arddha-nârîśvara Mahâdeva (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 191).

Aruṇoda—Garwal, the country through which the Alakânandâ flows (*Skanda P.*, Avanti Kh., Chaturasîtilûga, ch. 42). Its capital is Śrinagar.

Âryaka—Ariake of Ptolemy who wrote his *Geography* about A.D. 150 (*Bṛihat Samhitâ* ch. 14). See **Aparāntaka** and **Âranyaka**.

Âryapura—Ahiolē, the western capital of the Chālukyas in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., in the Badami Taluka of the Bijapur district. It is the Ayyābole of the old inscriptions (*Arch. S. Rep.*, 1907-8, p. 189).

Âryāvartta—The northern part of India which lies between the Himalayas and the Vindhya range (*Manu-Samhitâ*, ch. 2, v. 22). At the time of Patañjali, Âryāvartta was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Pāriyātraka, on the west by Âdarśāvali (Vinaśana according to the *Vāsisṭha Samhitâ*, I, 8), and on the east by Kālakavana (Rajmahal hills). See **Kālakavana**. According to Rājasekhara, the river Nerbuda was the boundary between Âryāvartta and Dakṣiṇāpatha (*Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act VI; Apte's *Rājasekhara: his Life and Writings*, p. 21).

Âsāpalli—Ahmedabad; same as *Yessabal* or *Âsawal* (Alberuni's *India*, p. 102).

Aser—Asingarh, eleven miles north of Burhanpur in the Central Provinces (*Prithvirāj Rāso*). Aser is a contraction of Âśvatthama-giri (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. IX).

Ashṭāvakra-Âsrama—Rāhugrāma (now called Raila), about four miles from Hardwar, near which flows the Ashṭāvakra-nadi, a small river, perhaps the ancient Samaṅgā. The hermitage of Rishi Ashṭāvakra is also pointed out at Pauri near Śrinagar in Garwal, the mountain near which is called Ashṭāvakra-parvata.

Ashṭapāda—See **Kailāsa**.

Ashṭa-Vinayaka—The eight Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) temples are situated at Ranjangāon at the junction of the Bhimā and Mūtha-mula, Mārgāon, Theur, Lenādri and Ojhar in the Poona district, at Pāli in the Pant Sachiv's territory, at Madh in the Thana district and at Siddhatek in the Ahmednagar district in the Bombay Presidency (*Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 3). See **Vināyaka-tīrthas**.

Âstigrāma—Rāval in the district of Mathurā, where Rādhikā was born at the house of her maternal grandfather Surbhānu and passed the first year of her infancy before her father Bṛishabhānu who dwelt at this place removed to Varshaṇa (*Adi Purāṇa*, ch. 12 and Growse's "Country of Braja" in *JASB.*, 1871 and 1874, p. 352). See **Barshāna**.

Asī—A river in Benares. See **Barāṇasī** (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma, ch. 9).

Asikni—The river Chenab (Chandrabhāgā) [*Rig-Veda*, x, 75].

Asiladurga—Junagar (Tod's *Rājasthān*).

Âsmaka—According to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Pūrva, ch. 48) Âsmaka is one of the countries of Southern India (Dākṣiṇātya), but the *Kūrma Purāṇa* mentions it in connection with the countries of the Punjab; the *Bṛihat-Samhitâ* (ch. 14) also places it in the north-west of India. Auxoamis which has been identified by Saint Martin with Sumi (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*) lying a little to the east of the Sarasvatī and at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea, was considered to be the ancient Âsmaka. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, Âsmaka was the Assaka of the Buddhist period, and was situated immediately to the north-west of Avantī. The Assakas had a settlement on the banks of the Godāvar at the time of Buddha, and their capital was Potana (*Govinda Sūtra* in *Digha-*

Nikāya, xix, 36). It appears, however, from the "History of Bâwari" in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism, Suttanipâta*, and *Pârâyanavagga* (SBE., X, 188) that Asaka (Āsmaka) was situated between the Godâvarî and Mâhissati (Mâhishmatî) on the Nerbuda. It was also called Alaka or Mûlaka and its capital was Pratishthâna (Paudanya (q.v.) of the *Mahâbhârata*) on the north bank of the Godâvarî (see *Pratishthâna*,) called Potali and Potana by the Buddhists (*Jâtakas*, Cam. Ed., vol. III, p. 2). It became a part of the Mahârâshtra country at the time of Āsoka. The *Daśakumâracharita* written in the sixth century A.D., by Daṇḍin, describes it as a dependant kingdom of Vidarbha. It is also mentioned in the *Harshacharita*. It should be remarked that in the *Purâṇas*, Mûlaka is said to be the son of a king of Āsmaka. Bhaṭṭa Swâmî, the commentator of Kauṭilya's *Arthasâstra*, identifies Āsmaka with Mahârâshtra. It is the Āsvaka of the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhishma P., ch. 9).

Āmanvatî—The river Oxus. It is mentioned in the *R̥ig-Veda*, x, 53, 8.

Assaka—See **Āsmaka** (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, xix, 36).

"Astacampra"—Same as **Hastakavapra**, but see **Stambhapura**.

Astakapra—Same as **"Astacampra."**

Āsvaka—See **Āsmaka**.

Āsva-kachehha—Cutch (*Rudradâman Inscription*).

Āsva-tīrtha—1. The confluence of the Ganges and the Kâlinadî in the district of Kanouj (*Mbh.*, Anuśâsana, ch. 4; Vana P., ch. 114; and *Vâmana P.*, ch. 83). 2. The Āsva-krântâ mountain in Kâmakhyâ near Gauhati in Assam (*Yoginî Tantra*, Uttara Kh., ch. 3).

Āṭṭahâsa—On the eastern part of Lâbhapur in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. It is one of the Pīṭhas (*Kubjikâ Tantra*, ch. 7; *Padma P.*, Śrīṣṭi Kh., ch. 11). Sati's lips are said to have fallen at this place and the name of the goddess is Phullarâ. It is seven miles from the Amodpur Station of the E. I. Railway.

Ātreyî—The river Atrai which flows through the district of Dinajpur (*Kâmakhyâ Tantra*, ch. VII); it is a branch of the Tistâ.

Audumvara—1. Cutch; its ancient capital was Koteśvara or Kachchheśvara (*Mahâbhârata*, Sabhâ P., ch. 52 and Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, v, p. 155): the country of the Odomboeræ of Ptolemy. 2. The district of Nurpur (or rather Gurudâspur) which was anciently called Dahmeri or Dehmbeori, the capital of which is Pathankot (Pratishthâna) on the Ravi in the Punjab, was also called Uḍumvara (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 14 and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. xiv, p. 116; Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 155). There was another Uḍumbara to the east of Kanouj (*Chullavagga*, pt. xii, chs. 1 and 2).

Aupaga—Same as *Kamboja* (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57).

Āvagâṇa—Afghanistan (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 16). See **Kamboja**.

Avantî—1 Ujin (*Pânini*, iv, 176; *Skanda P.*, Avantî Khaṇḍa, ch. 40): it was the capital of Mâlava (*Brahma P.*, ch. 43). 2. The country of which Ujin was the capital (*Anargharâghava*, Act vii, 109). It was the kingdom of Vikramāditya (see **Ujjayinî**). In the *Govinda Sūtra* (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, xix, 36), its capital is said to be Mâhishmatî. It is the ancient name of Malwa (*Kathâsarit-sâgara*, ch. xix). Avantî has been called Mâlava since the seventh or eighth century A.D. (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 28).

Avantika-Kshetra—Avani, a sacred place in the district of Kolar in Mysore, where Rāmachandra is said to have halted on his way from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā.

Avanti-Nadī—The Sipra. Ujin stands on this river.

Ayodhana—Pāk-Pattana, five miles west of the Ravi and eight miles from Mamoke Ghat in the Montgomery district of the Panjab (Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1785), p. 62; Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, JASB., vi, 190). It was formerly a renowned city referred to by the historians of Alexander the Great. The town is built on a hillock 40 or 50 feet above the surrounding plain. Its old walls and bastions are now crumbling into ruins. It is celebrated for the tomb of the Mahomedan Saint Farid-ud-din Shaheb Shakar Ganj.

Ayodhyā—Oudh, the kingdom of Rāma. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (I, chs. 49, 50,) the southern boundary of Kośala was the river Syandikā or Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges. During the Buddhist period, Ayodhyā was divided into Uttara (Northern) Kośala and Dakṣiṇa (Southern) Kośala. The river Sarayū divided the two provinces. The capital of the former was Śrāvastī on the Rapti, and that of the latter was Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kośala under Prasenajit's father Mahākośala extended from the Himalayas to the Ganges and from the Rāmgangā to the Gandak. The ancient capital of the kingdom was also called Ayodhyā, the birth-place of Rāmachandra. At a place in the town called Janmasthanā he was born; at Chirodaka, called also Chirasāgara, Daśaratha performed the sacrifice for obtaining a son with the help of Rishyaśringa Rishi; at a place called Tretā-ki-Thākur, Rāmachandra performed the horse-sacrifice by setting up the image of Sītā; at Ratnamaṇḍapa, he held his council (*Muktikopanishad*, ch. 1); at Swargadwāram in Fyzabad, his body was burned. At Lakshmaṇa-kuṇḍa, Lakshmaṇa disappeared in the river Sarayū. Daśaratha accidentally killed Saravaṇa, the blind Rishi's son, at Majhaurā in the district of Fyzabad. Ādinātha, a Jaina Tirthaṅkara, was born at Ayodhyā (Führer's *MAI.*). Cunningham has identified the Sugrīva Parvata with the Kālākārāma or Purvārāma monastery of the *Mahāvamśa*, the Maṇi Parvata with Aśoka's Stûpa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, the Kubera Parvata with the Stûpa containing the hair and nails of Buddha (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. i). The Maṇi Parvata is said to be a fragment of the Gandhamâdana mountain which Hanumâna carried on his head on his way to Laṅkā. The sacred places at Ayodhyā were restored by Vikramāditya (evidently a Gupta king), who was an adherent of the Brahmanical faith, in the second century A.D., or according to some, in the fifth century A.D., as the sacred places at Brindâban were restored by Rûpa and Sanâtana in the sixteenth century A.D. Ayodhyā is the Sāketa of the Buddhists and Sagada of Ptolemy (see *Sāketa*).

Ayudha—The country lying between the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Sindhū (Indus). Same as Yaudheya.

B

Bâchmatî—The river Bâgmatî in Nepal. Eight out of fourteen great Tîrthas of Nepal have been formed by the junction of the Bâgmatî with other rivers. The names of the eight Tîrthas are:—Panya, Śânta, Śaṅkara, Râja, Chintâmaṇi, Pramadâ, Śatalakṣhaṇa, and Jayâ. The source and exit of the Bâgmatî are two other Tîrthas. Same as **Bhâgvatî**.

Badarî—The O-cha-li of Hiuen Tsiang. It has been identified by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 494) with Edar in the province of Gujarât; it was, according to him, Sauvîra of the Pauranic period. According to the *Bṛihat-jyotishârnava*, Edar is a corruption of Ilva-durga. It is situated on a river called Hiranyanadî. The name of Badarî is mentioned in the Dhavala inscription at Vasantagaḍ near Mount Abu (*JASB.*, 1841, p. 821).

Badarî—See **Badarikârama**.

Badarikârama—Badrinâth in Garwal, United Provinces. It is a peak of the main Himalayan range, about a month's journey to the north of Hardwar and 55 miles north-east of Śrînagara. The temple of Nara-Nârâyaṇa is built on the west bank near the source of the Bishengangâ (Alakânanda), equidistant from two mountains called Nara and Nârâyaṇa, over the site of a hot-spring called Tapanakunḍa, the existence of which, no doubt, led to the original selection of this spot: it is situated on the Gandhamâdana mountain (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI, article x; *Mahâbhârata*, Śânti, ch. 335). The temple is said to have been built by Śaṅkarâchârya in the eighth century A.D. It was also called Badarî and Bisâlâ Badarî (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 144). For a description of the place, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI, article x.

Badava—Same as **Jvalâmukhî** (see *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 82).

Baggumudâ—Same as **Bhâgvatî**.

Bâgmatî—A sacred river of the Buddhists in Nepal. The river is also called Bâchmatî as it was created by the Buddha Krakuchhanda by word of mouth when he visited Nepala with people from Gauda-deśa. Its junctions with the rivers Maradârikâ, Maṇis-rohinî, Râjamañjarî, Ratnâvalî, Chârumatî, Prabhâvatî and Triveṇî, form the Tîrthas called Śânta, Śaṅkara, Râjamañjarî, Pramodâ, Sulakṣhaṇa, Jayâ and Gokarṇa respectively (*Svayambhu Purâṇa*, ch. v; *Varâha P.*, ch. 215. See also Wright's *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 90).

Bahela—Baghelkhand in Central India. It has been placed with Kârusha (Rewa) at Vindhyâmûla (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 13). Rewa is also called Baghilkhand (*Thornton's Gazetteer*).

Bâhika—The country between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya. It is another name for Vâhika (see *Mbh.*, Sabha, ch. 27, where Vâlheka is evidently used for Vâhika): it was conquered by Arjuna. According to the *Mahâbhârata* (Karna P., ch. 44), the Vâhikas lived generally between the Sutlej and the Indus, but specially on the west of the rivers Ravi and Âpagâ (Ayuk Nadî), and their capital was Śâkala. They were a non-Aryan race and perhaps came from Balkh, the capital of Bactria. According to Pânini and Patañjali, Vâhika was another name for the Panjab (IV, 2, 117; V, 3, 114; *Ind. Ant.* I, 122). See *Takka-deśa*. Bâhi and Hika were names of two *Asuras* of the Bias river after whom the country was called Vâhika. (*Mbh.*, Karna P., ch. 45 and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. V). They lived by robbery. According to the *Râmâyana* (Ayodhyâ K., ch. 78), Vâhika was situated between Ayodhyâ and Kekaya.

Bahudâ—The river Dhabah, now called Dhumela or Burha-Rapti, a feeder of the Rapti in Oudh. The severed arm of Rishi Likhita was restored by bathing in this river; hence the river is called Bahudâ (*Mahâbhârata*, Santi, ch. 22. *Harivamśa*, ch. 12). But in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (Pt. VI., ch. 60), it is said that Gauṇī, the grandmother of Māndhātā, was turned into the river Bâhudâ by the curse of her husband Prasēnajit. It has been identified by Mr. Pargiter with the Ramganga which joins the Ganges near Kanauj (see his *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57). See **Ikshumatī**. But this identification does not appear to be correct, as it is a river of Eastern India (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 87).

Bahulâ—A Śakti Pīṭha near Katwa in Bengal (*Tantrachudâmanī*).

Baibhrāja-Sarovara—Same as **Manasa-sarovara** (*Harivamśa*, ch. 23).

Baidiśa—See *Bidiśā* (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27).

Baidūrya-Parvata—1. The island of Māndhātā in the Nerbada, which contains the celebrated temple of Oṃkāranāth, was anciently called Baidūrya-Parvata (*Skanda P.*, Revā-Kh.). 2. It has been identified by Yule (*Marco-Polo*) with the northern section of the Western Ghats. The Parvata or mountain is situated in Gujarāt near the source of the river Visvāmitrā which flows by the side of Baroda (Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, ch. 14. *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, chs. 89, 120). 3. The Satpura range: the mountain contained Baidūrya or Beryl (cat's eye) mines (*Mbh.*, Vana, chs. 61, 121).

Baidyanātha—1. See **Chitabhūmi**. It is a place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 59). 2. In the district of Kangra in the Panjab. Same as **Kiragrāma** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 122). [Temples of Baidyanātha are:—In Deogaḍh in the Southal Perganas in Bengal (*Bṛhad-Dharma P.*, pt. I., ch. 14). See **Chitabhūmi**. For the establishment of the god and the name of Baijnāth (Vaidyanātha), see Mr. Bradley-Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland*, ch. xi. 2. In Dabhoi, Gujarat (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 21). 3. In Kiragrāma on the east of the Kangra district, 30 miles east of Kot Kangra on the Binuan river (ancient Kandukâ-binduka) in the Panjab (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 97)].

Baidyuta-Parvata—A part of the Kailāsa range at the foot of which the Mânasa-sarovara lake is situated. It is evidently the Gurla range on the south of lake Mânasa-sarovara; the Saraju is said to rise from this mountain (*Brahmârṇava P.*, ch. 51). As Mânasa-sarovara is situated in the Kailāsa mountain (*Râmâyana*, Bâla-k., ch. 24), Baidyuta mountain is a part of the Kailāsa range.

Baihāyasī—Same as **Begavatī** (*Devī-Bhāgavata*, VIII, ch. 11; *Mack. Col.*, pp. 142, 211).

Baijayantī—Banavâsī in North Kanara, the capital of the Kadambas. Same as **Krauñchapura**. It is mentioned as Vijayanta in the *Râmâyana* (Ayodhyâ K., ch. 9). It has also been identified with Bijayadurg by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 33).

Baikāṇṭha—A place of pilgrimage about 22 miles to the east of Tinnevely visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*). It is situated on the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevely. It is also called Śrīvaikāṇṭham.

Bairantya-Nagara—Where Bhāsa places the scene of his drama *Avimāraka*. It was the capital of a king named Kuntī-Bhoja (*Ibid*, Act VI). It is mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* (ch. vi) as the capital of Rantideva. See **Kuntī-Bhoja** and **Rantipura**.

Bairâta-Pattana—The capital of the old kingdom of Govisana, visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. It has been identified with Dhikuli in the district of Kumaun (Führer's *MAI.*, p. 49).

Baisâlî — Besâd in the district of Mazaffarpur (Tirhut), eighteen miles north of Hâjipur, on the left bank of the Gaṇḍak (General Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 443 and *Râmâyana*, Âdikâṇḍa, ch. 47). The *Râmâyana* places Bisâlâ on the northern bank of the Ganges and the *Ava. Kalp.* (ch. 39) on the river Balgumati. The Pergana Besârâ, which is evidently a corruption of Bisâlâ, is situated within the sub-division of Hâjipur. Baisâlî was the name of the country as well as of the capital of the Vrijjis (Vajjis) or Lichchhavis who flourished at the time of Buddha. The southern portion of the district of Muzaffarpur constituted the ancient country of Vaisâlî. The small kingdom of Vaisâlî was bounded on the north by Videha and on the south by Magadha (Pargiter's *Ancient Countries in Eastern India*). It appears from the *Lalitavistara* that the people of Vaisâlî and the Vajjis had a republican form of government (see also *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*). Buddha lived in the Mahâvana (Great Forest) monastery called Kuṭâgârasâlâ or Kuṭâgâra hall, rendered as "Gabled Pavilion" by Rhys Davids (*Chullavagga*, ch. v, sec. 13 and ch. x, sec. 1; *SBE.*, vol. XI), which was situated on the *Markaṭa-hrada* or monkey-tank near the present village of Bakhra, about two miles north of Besâd, and near it was the tower called Kuṭâgâra (double-storeyed) built over half the body of Ânanda. About a mile to the south of Besâd was the Mango-garden presented to Buddha by the courtesan Âmrâdârikâ called also Ambapâlî. Châpâla was about a mile to the north-west of Besâd, where Buddha hinted to Ânanda that he could live in the world as long as Ânanda liked, but the latter did not ask him to live. The town of Baisâlî, which was the capital of Videha at the time of Buddha and Mahâvîra, consisted of three districts: Baisâlî or Beâlî proper, Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagâma (the birth-place of Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth or last Tîrthâṅkara of the Jainas), and Bâniyagâma, occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern, and western portions of the city (Dr. Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao*, p. 4 n.; *Âchârâṅga Sûtra*, and *Kalpa Sûtra* in *SBE.*, vol. XXII, p. 227 f.). The second Buddhist Synod was held at the Bâlukârâma-vihâra in 443 B.C., but according to Max Müller in 377 B.C., in the reign of Kâlâsoka, king of Magadha, under the presidentship of Revata who was one of the disciples of Ânanda (Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, ch. iv). Baisâlî, however, has been identified by Dr. Hoey with Chidâṇḍ, seven miles to the east of Chapra on the Ganges (see **Chidâṇḍ** in Pt. II). At Beluva (modern Belwa, north-east of Chidâṇḍ), Buddha was seized with serious illness (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch. ii). Châpâla (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch. ii) has been identified by Dr. Hoey with Telpâ (or Talpâ, a tower) to the east of the town of Chapra, which was built for the Mother of the Thousand Sons. Titariâ, west of Sewan, has been identified by him with the forest, the fire of which was extinguished by the *Titar* or partridge. The name of Satnarnâlâ has been connected with the seven (*sapta*) princes who were prepared to fight with the Mallas for the relics of Buddha. Bhâta-pokhar (Bhakta-Pushkara) is shown to be the place where Droṇa divided the relics among the seven princes. The country to the east of the river Dahan near Sewan was the country of the Mallas. The river Shi-lai-na-fa-ti (Suvarṇavatî) of Hiuen Tsiang has been identified with the river Sondî. Dr. Hoey identifies Besâd with the town of the Monster Fish, *Vasâṭhya* (really porpoise) [*JASB.*,

vol. LXIX—"Identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other Places" and my article on "Chidân in the district of Saran" in *JASB.*, vol. LXXII. The places where Buddha resided while in Vaiśâlî are Udena-Mandira, Gautama-Mandira, Saptambaka-Mandira, Bahuputraka-Mandira, Saranda-Mandira, and Châpâla-Mandira (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch. 3; Spence Hardy's *MB.*, p. 343). For the names of other places in Baisâlî where Buddha resided, see *Divyâvadâna* (Cowell's ed., chs. xi, xii).

Baisikya—Same as **Baśyâ** (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27).

Baitaraṇî—1. The river Baitaraṇî in Orissa: it is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* as being situated in Kaliṅga (*Vana Parva*, ch. 113). Jâjpur stands on this river. 2. The river Dantura which rises near Nasik and is on the north of Bassein. This sacred river was brought down to the earth by Paraśurâma (*Padma P.*, Tuṅgâri Mâhâtmya; *Matsya P.*, ch. 113; Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 117, 122). 3. A river in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, *Vana*, ch. 83). 4. A river in Garwal on the road between Kedâra and Badrinâtha, on which the temple of Gopeśvara Mahâdeva is situated.

Bākātaka—A province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri-saila hills, south of Hyderabad in the Deccan. The Kailakila Yavanas reigned in this province and Vindhyâsakti was the founder of this dynasty (*Vishnu P.*, IV., ch. 24; Dr. Bhau Daji's *Brief Survey of Indian Chronology*). See, however, **Kilkila**.

Bakresvara—Bakranâth, one of the Śakti Pīṭhas in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. It derives its name from Bhairava Bakranath, the name of the goddess being Mahishamardini. There are seven springs of hot and cold water (*Tantra-chudâmaṇi*).

Bakresvari—The river Bākâ which flows through the district of Burdwan in Bengal.

Bakshu—The river Oxus (*Matsya P.*, ch. 101; cf. *Chakshu* in *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 51; see *Sabdakalpadruma* s.v. Nadi) Wuksh, the archetype of Oxus, is at a short distance from the river (Ibn Huakul's *Account of Khorasan* in *JASB.*, XXII, p. 176).

Balabhi—Wala or Wallay, a seaport on the western shore of the gulf of Cambay, in Kathiawad (Gujarat), 18 miles north-west of Bhaonagar (*Daśakumâra-charita*, ch. vi; *JRAS.*, vol. XIII (1852), p. 146; and Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 316). It is called Vanukapura by the inhabitants. It became the capital of Saurâshṭra or Gujarat. It contained 84 Jaina temples (*JRAS.*, XIII, 159), and afterwards became the seat of Buddhist learning in Western India in the seventh century A.D., as Nâlandâ in Eastern India (Itsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, p. 177). The Valabhî dynasty from Bhaṭârka to Śilâditya VII reigned from cir. A.D. 465 to 766. For the names of kings of the Valabhî dynasty, see Dr. Bhau Daji's *Literary Remains*, p. 113; *JASB.*, 1838, p. 966 and Kielhorn, "List of Insects of N. India," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, App. Bhartṛihari, the celebrated author of *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*, flourished in the court of Śrīdharasena I, king of Valabhî, in the seventh century. Bhadrabahu, the author of the *Kalpasûtra*, flourished in the court of Dhruva Sena II (see Dr. Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra: Preface*). See **Ānandapura**.

Bāhika—1. The country between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya (*Rāmāyaṇa* Ayodhyā, ch. 78). The *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣha* mentions that Vālhika and Trigarta were the names of the same country (see **Trigarta**). The *Mahābhārata* (Karna Parva, ch. 44) says that the Vāhikas lived on the west of the Ravi and Âpagâ rivers, i.e. in the district of Jhang (see **Bāhika**). The Madras whose capital was Śākala (Sangala of the Greeks), were also called Vāhikas. Bāhika is the corrupted form of this name. The inscription on the Delhi Iron Pillar mentions the Vāhikas of Sindhu (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 630). See **Bāhika**. 2. Balkh—the Bactriana of the Greeks—situated in Turkestan [*Bṛihat samhitā*, ch. 18 and *JASB.*, (1838) p. 630] About 250 B.C. Theodotus, or Diodotus, as he was called, the governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleucid sovereign Antiochus Theos and declared himself king. The Græco-Bactrian dominion was overwhelmed entirely about 126 B.C. by the Yue-chi, a tribe of the Tartars (see **Sākadvīpa**). Balkh was the capital of Bactria comprising modern Kabul, Khurasan, and Bukhara (James Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I). The palaces of Bactria were celebrated for their magnificence. Zoroaster lived at Bactria in the reign of Vitasa or Gustasp, a king of the Bactrian dynasty of Kāvja, between the sixth and tenth centuries B.C. According to Mr. Kunte, Zarathasthura (Zoroaster) is a corruption of Zarat Tvastrī or "Praiser of Tvastrī," Tvastrī being the chiseller and architect of the gods (Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*, p. 55). From the *Brahma Purāṇa* (chs. 89 and 132), Tvashtā and Viśvakarmā (the architect of the gods) appear to be identical, as well as their daughters Ushā and Saṃjñā, the wife of the Sun. A few heaps of earth are pointed to as the site of ancient Bactria. It is called Um-ul-Bilad or the mother of cities and also Kubbet-ul-Islam (i.e. dome of Islam). It contained a celebrated fire-temple. For the history of the Bactrian kings, and the Græco-Bactrian alphabet, see *JASB.*, IX (1840), pp. 449, 627, 733; for Bactrian coins, see *JASB.*, X, (1842), p. 130.

Ballālapurī—The capital of Âdisūra and Ballāla Sena, kings of Bengal, now called Rāmpāla or Ballālabādī, about four miles to the west of Munshiganj at **Bikramapura** (q.v. in the district of Dacca. The Sena Rājās, according to General Cunningham (*Arch. S. Rep.*) retired to this place after the occupation of Gaur by the Mahomedans (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III, p. 163). The remains of Ballāla Sena's fort still exist at this place. It is said to have been founded by Rājā Rāma Pāla of the Pāla dynasty, and a large tank in front of the fort still bears his name. He was the son of Vighrapāla III and father of Madana-pāla. The five Brahmans who came to Bengal from Kanauj at the request of Âdisūra, are said to have vivified a dead post by the side of the gateway of the fort into a Gajāria tree, which still exists, by placing upon it the flowers with which they had intended to bless the king. It should be here observed that Âdisūra Jayanta or Âdisūra, who ascended the throne of Gour in A.D. 732, caused the five Brahmans to be brought from Kanauj for performing a Putreshṭi sacrifice, and he gave them five villages to live in, namely, Pañchakoṭi, Harikoṭi, Kāmakoṭi, Kaṅkagrāma and Baṭagrāma, now perhaps collectively called Pañchasāra, about a mile from Rāmpāla. Ballāla's father Vijayasena conquered Bengal and ascended the throne of Gaur in A.D. 1072. Ballāla Sena, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1119, is said to have been the last king of this

place. His queens and other members of his family died on the funeral pyre (the spot is still pointed out in the fort,) by the accidental flying of a pair of pigeons carrying the news of his defeat at the moment of his victory over the Yavana chief Bâyâdumba of Manipur, the Bâbâ Âdam of local tradition, who had invaded the town of Bikramapura or as it was called Ballâlapuri, at the instigation of Dharma Giri, the mahanta of the celebrated Mahâdeva called Ugramâdhava of Mahâsthâna, whom the king had insulted and banished from his kingdom (Ânanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballâla-Charita*, chs. 26 and 27). Bâyâdumba or Bâbâ Âdam's tomb is half a mile to the north of Ballâla-bâdi. Vikramapura was the birth-place of Dîpaṅkara 'Sri Jñâna, the great reformer of Lamaism in Tibet, where he went in A.D. 1038, and was known by the name Atîsa. Râmpâia was also the capital of the Chandra and Varma lines of kings.

Bâlmiki-Âsrama—Biṭhur, fourteen miles from Cawnpur, which was the hermitage of Rishi Vâlmiki, the author of the *Râmâyana*. Sîtâ, the wife of Râmachandra, lived at the hermitage during her exile, where she gave birth to the twin sons, Lava and Kuśa. The temple erected in honour of Vâlmiki at the hermitage is situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch. 58). Sîtâ is said to have been landed by Lakshmaṇa, while conveying her to the hermitage, at the Satî-ghât in Cawnpur. A large heavy metallic spear or arrow-head of a greenish colour is shown in a neighbouring temple close to the Brahmâvartta-ghât at Biṭhur, also situated on the bank of the Ganges, as the identical arrow with which Lava wounded his father, Râmachandra, in a fight for the *Âśvamedha* horse; this arrow-head is said to have been discovered a few years ago in the bed of the river Ganges in front of the hermitage.

Baloksha—Beluchistan. The name occurs only in the 57th chapter of the *Avadâna-Kalpalatâ*. From the names of other places and that of Milindra, perhaps the Greek king Menander, mentioned in that chapter, Bâloksha appears to be the country of the "Balokshias" or Beluchis. It is called Balokshi in the *Bodhisattvâvadâna-Kalpasûtra* (Dr. R. Mitra's *Sans. Buddh. Literature of Nepal*, p. 60). Beluchistan was formerly a Hindu kingdom and its capital Kelat or Kalat (which means fort) was originally the abode of a Hindu ruler named Sewâmal, after whom the fort there was called Kalat-i-Sewa, now known by the name of Kalat-wa-Neecharah. One of the most ancient places in Beluchistan is the island called Sata-dvîpa (popularly known as Suîga-dvîpa) or the island of Sata or Astola (Astula or Kâlî), the Asthala of Ptolemy and Sutalishefalo of Hiuen Tsiang (Astulesvara), just opposite the port of Pasânee (Pâshânî) which is evidently the Pâshân of *Bodhisattvâvadâna-Kalpasûtra*. According to tradition, it was once inhabited, but the inhabitants were expelled by the presiding goddess Kâlî in her wrath at an incest that was committed there. Sata-dvîpa is the Karmine of Nearchus, which is a corruption of Kâlyana or the abode of Kâlî. There is still a Hindu temple at Kalat, which is dedicated to Kâlî or Durgâ, and which is believed to have been in existence long before the time of Sewa. Another place of Hindu antiquity in Beluchistan is the temple of Hingulaj (see Hingulâ). Mustang also contains a temple of Mahâdeva (*JASB.*, 1843, p. 473—"Brief History of Kalat" by Major Robert Leech).

Balubahinî—The river Bâgin in Bundelkhand, a tributary of the Jamuna [*Skanda P.*, Âvantya Kh. (Revâ Kh., ch. 4)].

Balukesvara—The Malabar Hill near Bombay, where Parasurâma established a Liṅga called Vâlukesvara Mahâdeva (*Skanda P.*, Sahya Kh., Pt. 2, ch. I; *Ind. Ann.* III, (1874), p. 248).

Bamanasthali—Banthali near Junâgadh.

Bamri—Same as Bâveru.

Bam̐sa—Same as Batsya : (*Jâtakas*, VI, 120).

Bam̐sadhârâ—The river Bam̐sdhârâ in Ganjam, on which Kalingapatan is situated (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57, p. 305; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. *Ganjam* and *Vam̐sadhârâ*).

Bam̐sagulma—A sacred reservoir (kuṇḍa) on the tableland of Amarakaṇṭaka, which is situated on the east (at a distance of about four miles and a half) of the source or first fall of the Narbada (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 85).

Bana—1. The twelve Vanas of Mathurâ-maṇḍala or Braja-maṇḍala are Madhuvana, Tâlavana, Kumudavana, Vṛindâvana, Khadiravana, Kâmyakavana, Bahulâvana on the western side of the Jamunâ; Mahâvana, Vilva-vana, Loha-vana, Bhândîra-vana, and Bhadravana on the eastern side of the Jamuna (Lochana Das's *Chaitanya-maṅgala*, III, p. 192; Growse's *Mathurâ*, p. 54). The *Varâha P.* (ch. 153) has Vishṇusthâna instead of Tâlavana, Kuṇḍa-vana instead of Kumuda-vana, and Bakula-vana instead of Bahulâvana. 2. Same as Aranya (*Śabdakalpadruma*). 3. The seven Vanas of Kurukshetra are :—Kâmyaka, Aditi, Vyâsa, Phalaki, Sûrya, Madhu, and Sîta (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 34). 4. For the Himalayan vanas or forests as Nandana, Chaitranâtha, etc., see *Matsya P.*, ch. 120.

Banapura—1. Mahâbalipura or Mahâbalesvara or the Seven Pagodas, on the Coromandel coast, Chingleput district, 30 miles south of Madras. It was the metropolis of the ancient kings of the race of Pandion. Its rocks are carved out into porticoes, temples and bas-reliefs, some of them being very beautifully executed. The ruins are connected with the Pauranic story of Bali and Vâmana. The monolithic "Rathas" were constructed by the Pallavas of Conjeveram, who flourished in the fifth century A.D. For descriptions of the temples and remains at Mahâbalipura, see *JASB.*, 1853, p. 656. 2. Same as Sonitapura.

Banavâsî—1. North Kanara was called by this name during the Buddhist period (*Hari-vam̐sa*, ch. 94). According to Dr. Bühler, it was situated between the Ghats, the Tuṅgabhadrà and the Baradâ (*Introduction to the Vikramânkadevacharita*, p. 34, note). 2. Same as Krauñchapura in North Kanara. A town called Banaouasei (Banavâsî) on the left bank of the Varadâ river, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrà, in North Kanara mentioned by Ptolemy (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 176) still exists (*Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, p. 188). Vanavâsî was the capital of the Kadamba dynasty (founded by Mayûravarman) up to the sixth century when it was overthrown by the Chalukyas. Âsoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Rakkhita in 245 B.C. Same as Jayantî and Vijayanti. In the *Vanavâsî-Mâhâtmya* of the *Skanda Purâṇa*, Vanavâsî is said to have been the abode of the two Daityas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who were killed here by Vishṇu. The temple of Madhukesvara Mahâdeva at this place was built by the elder brother Madhu (Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*).

Banāyu—Arabia (T. N. Tarakavāchaspati's *Śabdastomamahānidhi*; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi, ch. vi). It was celebrated for its breed of horses (*Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, Bk. II, Aśvādhyaksha). But the ancient name of Arabia as mentioned in the Behistun inscription (*JRAS.*, vol. XV) was Arbaya. It appears from Ragozin's *Assyria* that the ancient name of Armenia was Van before it was called Urartu by the Assyrians. But Armenia was never celebrated for its horses. The identification of Vanāyu with Arabia appears to be conjectural (see Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. I, p. 42 note). Āraba (Arabia) has been mentioned by Varāhamihira who lived in the sixth century A.D. (*Bṛhat sahitā*. XIV, 17). The *Padma P.* (Svarga, Ādi, ch. iii) mentions the Vānāyavas (people of Vanāyu) among the tribes of the north-western frontier of India.

Baṅga—Bengal. "In Hindu geography," says Dr. Francis Buchanan "Baga, from which Bengal is a corruption, is applied to only the eastern portion of the delta of the Ganges as Upabaṅga is to the centre of this territory, and Aṅga to its western limits" (Beveridge's "*Buchanan Records*" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1894, p. 2). According to Dr. Bhau Daji, Baṅga was the country between the Brahmaputra and the Padmā (*Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*). It was a country separated from Puṇḍra, Sumha and Tāmralipta at the time of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā P., ch. 29). Bengal was divided into five provinces: Puṇḍra or North Bengal; Samatāṭa or East Bengal; Karna-suvarṇa or West Bengal; Tāmralipta or South Bengal; Kāmarupa or Assam (Hiuen Tsiang). According to General Cunningham, the province of Bengal was divided into four separate districts after the Christian era. This division is attributed to Ballāla Sena: Barendra and Baṅga to the north of the Ganges, and Rāḍa and Bāgdī to the south of the river (see *JASB.*, 1873, p. 211); the first two were separated by the Brahmaputra and the other two by the Jalingi branch of the Ganges. Barendra, between the Mahānandā and Karotoyā corresponds to Puṇḍra, Baṅga to East Bengal, Rāḍa (to the west of the Bhāgirathī) to Karna-suvarṇa and Bāgdī (Samatāṭa of Hiuen Tsiang and Bhāṅgi of the *Ākbarnāma*) to South Bengal (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 145, and see also Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Ballāla-charitam*, Pūrva-khaṇḍa, vs. 6, 7). Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that Baṅga must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rājshāhī, Pabna and Faridpur ("Ancient Countries in Eastern India" in *JASB.*, 1897, p. 85). At the time of Ādiśūra, according to Devīvara Ghaṭaka, Bengal was divided into Rāḍha, Baṅga, Barendra and Gauḍa. At the time of Keśava Sena, Baṅga was included in Paṇḍravarddhana (see Edilpur Inscription: *JASB.*, 1838, p. 45). The name of Baṅga first occurs in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* of the *Rig-Veda*. According to Sir George Birdwood, Baṅga originally included the districts of Burdwan and Nadia. Baṅga was called Bāṅgālā even in the thirteenth century (Wright's *Marco Polo*). For further particulars, see **Bengal** in Part II of this work. Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra (*Indo-Aryans*, vol. II, ch. 13) gives lists of the Pāla and Sena kings [see also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 305] (Deopārā Inscriptions regarding the Senas); *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 160 (Bādal Pillar Inscription); *Ibid.*, p. 347 (Vaidyadeva Inscription at Benares); *JASB.*, 1838, p. 40 (Edilpur Inscription of Keśava Sena from Bakarganj]. According to the copperplate inscription of Lakshmaṇa Sena found in Sirajganj in the district of Pabna, it appears that the Sena kings were Kshatriyas who came from Karuṣṭa. For the ancient trade and commerce of Bengal, see Mr. W. H. Schoff's *Periplus*; Bernier's *Travels*, p. 408; Tavernier's *Travels*, Bk. III; Mr. N. Law's article, *Modern Review*, 1918. See **Saptagrāma** and **Karnasuvarṇa**.

Bânijagr ma—Same as **Bâniyagâma**.

Bâniyagâma—**Vaiśālī** (or **Besâd**) in the district of Muzaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, **Bâniyagâma** was a portion of the ancient town of **Vaiśālī** (Dr. Hoernle's *Urāsagadasāo*).
See **Kuṇḍagâma**.

Bañji—Same as **Karura**, the capital of Chera or Kerala, the Southern Konkan or the Malabar Coast (Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, 3rd ed., p. 96).

Bañjula—The river Manjerâ, a tributary of the Godâvarī. Both these rivers rise from the Sahya-pâda mountain or Western Ghats (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113). **Bañjula** is mentioned as **Mañjulâ** in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Bhîshma P.*, ch. 9.

Baṅkshu—Same as **Chakshu** (*Bhâgavata P.*, v. 17).

Bârâ—Same as **Baruṇâ** (*Ara. Kalp.*, 99).

Baradâ—1. The river Wardha in the Central Provinces (*Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act V: *Agni P.*, ch. 109; *Mbh.* Vana, ch. 85; *Padma P.*, Âdi., ch. 39). 2. A tributary of the Tungabhadra, on which the town of Vanavâsī, the abode of the two Daityas Madhu and Kaiṭabha, is situated. See **Vanavâsī** and **Vedavati**.

Barâha-kshetra—1. **Barâmûla** in Kâśmîra on the right bank of the Jhelum, where Vishṇu is said to have incarnated as **Varâha** (boar). There is a temple of Âdi-**Varâha** (see **Sûkara-kshetra**). 2. Another place of the same name exists at Nâthpur on the Kuśī in the district of Purnea below the Trivenī; see **Mahâ-Kaustika** (*JASB.*, XVII, 638). It is the **Kokâmukha** of the *Varâha Purâṇa* sacred to **Varâha**, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu (*Vardha P.*, ch. 140). See **Kokâmukha**.

Varâha-Parvata—A hill near **Barâmûla** in Kâśmîra [*Vishṇu-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 85; Institutes of Vishṇu, *SBE.*, vol. VII, p. 256, note].

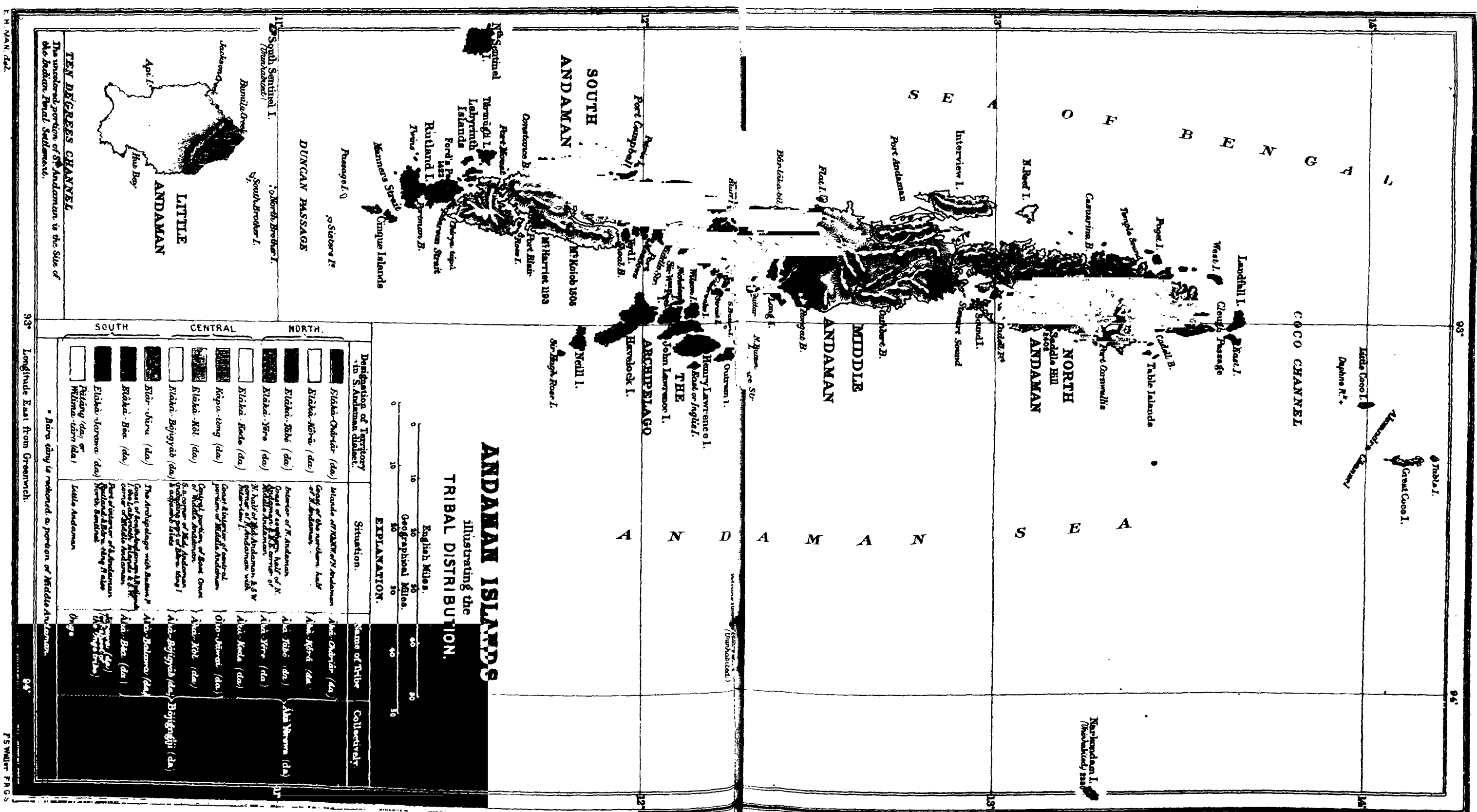
Barapa—1. Bulandshahr near Delhi in the Punjab (Growse, *JASB.*, 1883). This town is said to have been founded by Janmejaya, son of Parikshit and great-grandson of Arjuna (*Bulandshahr* by Growse, in the *Calcutta Review*, 1883, p. 342). At Ahar, 21 miles north-east of Bulandshahr, he performed the snake-sacrifice (*JASB.*, 1883, p. 274). A Jaina inscription also shows that it was called Uchchanagara (Dr. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 375). 2. Same as **Aornos** (*Ind. Ant.*, I, 22).

Barapâ—Same as **Baruṇâ** (*Kûrma P.*, I, ch. 31).

Barpâta—Same as **Parpâtâ**.

Bârâpasī—Benares situated at the junction of the rivers **Barâ** and **Asi**, from which the name of the town has been derived (*Vâmana P.*, ch. III). It was formerly situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gumti (*Mbh.*, Anuśāsana, ch. 30). It was the capital of **Kâśī** (*Bṛhmâyana*, Uttara, ch. 48). At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of **Kâśī** formed a part of the kingdom of **Kosala** (see **Kâśī**). According to James Prinsep, Benares or **Kâśī** was founded by **Kâśa** or **Kâśīrâja**, a descendant of the Pururavas, king of **Pratishthana** (see **Pratishthana**). **Kâśīrâja**'s grandson was **Dhanvantari**; **Dhanvantari**'s grandson was **Divodâsa**, in whose

reign Buddhism superseded Siva-worship at Benares, though it appears that the Buddhist religion was again superseded by Saivaism after a short period. In 1027, Benares became part of Gauda, then governed by Mahîpâla, and Buddhism was again introduced in his reign or in the reign of his successors Sthirapâla and Vasantapâla. Benares was wrested from the Pâla kings by Chandra Deva (1072—1096) and annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj. Towards the close of the twelfth century, Benares was conquered by Muhammad Ghuri who defeated Jaya Chand of Kanauj (James Prinsep's *Benares Illustrated, Introduction*, p. 8; *Vâyû P.*, Uttara, ch. 30). In the seventh century, it was visited by the celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. He has thus described the city and its presiding god Viśveśvara, one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Maṇḍeśvara: "In the capital there are twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combines to shade (the sites), whilst pure streams of water encircle them. The statue of Deva Maheśvara, made of *teou-shih* (brass), is somewhat less than 100 feet high. Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living." The *Padma P.* (Uttara, ch. 67) mentions the names of Viśveśvara, Vindumādhava, Maṇikarṇikâ, and Jñānavâpî in Kâśî (Benares). The present Viśveśvara, which is a mere *Liṅga*, dates its existence since the original image of the god, described by Hiuen Tsiang, was destroyed by the iconoclast Aurangzebe and thrown into the Jñānavâpî, a well situated behind the present temple. There can be no doubt that Benares was again converted into a Buddhist city by the Pâla Râjâs of Bengal, and Śiva-worship was not restored till its annexation in the eleventh century by the kings of Kanauj, who were staunch believers in the Pauranic creed. The shrines of Âdi-Viśveśvara, Venimādhava, and the Bakarya-kunda were built on the sites of Buddhist temples with materials taken from those temples. The temple of Âdi-Kesava is one of the oldest temples in Benares: it is mentioned in the *Prabodha-Chandrodaya Nâṭaka* (Act IV) written by Kṛishṇa Miśra in the eleventh century A.D. The names of Maṇḍeśvara Tilabhāṇḍeśvara and Daśâśvamedheśvara are also mentioned in the *Śiva Purâṇa* (Pt. 1, ch. 39). The Maṇikarṇikâ is the most sacred of all cremation ghats in India, and it is associated with the closing scenes of the life of Râjâ Hariśchandra of Ayodhyâ, who became a slave to a Chândâla for paying off his promised debt (Kshemeśvara's *Chânda-kauśika*; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. viii). The old fort of Benares which was used by the Pâla Râjâs of Bengal and the Rathore kings of Kanauj, was situated above the Râj-ghât at the confluence of the Barṇâ and the Ganges (Bholanath Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo*, vol. I). Benares is one of the Piṭhas where Satî's left hand is said to have fallen, and is now represented by the goddess Annapârnâ, but the *Tantrachudâmani* mentions the name of the goddess as Viśâlākshî. There were two Brahmanical Universities in ancient India, one at Benares and the other at Takshaśilâ (Taxila) in the Punjab. For the observatory at Benares and the names of the instruments with sketches, see Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Vol. I, p. 67. Benares is said to be the birth-place of Kaśyapa Buddha, but Fa Hian says that he was born at Too-wei, which has been identified by General Cunningham with Tadwa or Tandwa (Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch. xxi; *Arch.*



S. Rep., XI), nine miles to the west of Śrāvastī. Kaśyapa died at Gurupāda hill (see Gurupāda-giri). But according to the Aṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosha, Kaśyapa (Kassapa) was born at Benares and died at Mrigadāva or modern Sarnāth (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 796.) In the *Yuvāñjaya-Jātaka* (*Jātakas* IV, 75), the ancient names of Benares are said to have been Surandhana, Sudarsana, Brahmavarddhana, Pushpavatī, and Ramya.

Bârâṇasī-Kāṭaka—Kāṭak in Orissa, at the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Kāṭjuri, founded in A.D. 989 by Nṛipa Keśari, who reigned between A.D. 941 and 953. He removed his seat of government to the new capital. According to tradition, his capital had been Chaudwar which he abandoned, and constructed the fort at Kāṭak called Baḍabāṭi. The remains of the fort with the ditch around it still exist. For a description of the fort (Barabāṭi), see Lieut. Kittoe's "Journal of a Trip to Cuttack" in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 203. The former capitals of the Keśari kings were Bhuvaneśvara and Jāipur (Hunter's *Orissa* and Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 164). Fleet's identification of Vinītapura and Yayātinagara of the inscriptions with Kāṭak appears to be very doubtful. The strong embankment of the Kāṭjuri is said to have been constructed by Markat Keśari in A.D. 1906. The town contains a beautiful image of Kṛṣṇa known by the name of Sākshi-Gopāla (*Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, II, 5).

Bâraṇāvata—Barnawa, nineteen miles to the north-west of Mirat where an attempt was made by Duryodhana to burn the Pāṇḍavas (Führer's *MAI.*, and *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 148). It was one of the five villages demanded by Kṛṣṇa from Duryodhana on behalf of Yudhishṭhira (*Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 82).

Barddhamāna—1. From the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (chs. 24, 25), Barddhamāna appears to have been situated between Allahabad and Benares, and north of the Vindhya hills. It is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati*. 2. Barddhamāna was called Asthikagrāma because a *Yaksha* named Śālapāṇi had collected there an enormous heap of bones of those killed by him. Mahāvīra, the last Jaina Tirthankara, passed the first rainy season at Barddhamāna after attaining Kevaliship (Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE.*, vol. XXII, p. 261). From a copper-plate inscription found at Banskhera, 25 miles from Shah-Jahanpur, it appears that Barddhamāna is referred to as Barddhamāna-koṭi (see also *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 58), where Harshavarddhana had his camp in A.D. 638. Barddhamāna-koṭi is the present Bardhankoṭi in Dinajpur. Hence Barddhamāna is the same as Bardhankoṭi. Barddhamāna is mentioned as a separate country from Baṅga (*Devī P.*, ch. 46). 3. Barddhamāna (Vadhamāna) is mentioned in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 480, as being situated near Danta. 4. The Lalitpur inscription in *JASB.*, 1883, p. 67, speaks of another town of Barddhamāna in Malwa. 5. Another Bardhamāna or Bardhamānapur was situated in Kathiāwād: it is the present Vadvāna, where Merutuṅga, the celebrated Jaina scholar, composed his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* in A.D. 1423: he was also the author of *Mahāpurushacharita*, *Shāḍḍarsanavichāra*, &c. (Merutuṅga's *Therāvali* by Dr. Bhau Daji; *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Tawney's Trans., p. 134, and his *Preface*, p. vii).

Barendra—Barenda (*Devī P.*, ch. 39), in the district of Maldah in Bengal, comprising the Thānās of Gomastapur, Nawabganj, Gajol and Malda : it formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Puṇḍra. It was bounded by the Ganges, the Mahānandā, Kāmrup, and the Karatoyā. Its principal town was Mahāsthāna, seven miles north of Bogra, which was also called Barendra (*JASB.*, 1875, p. 183). See **Puṇḍra-vardhana**.

Barnu—Bannu in the Punjab : it is the Falanu of Hiuen Tsiang and Pohna of Fa Hian. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 84 ; *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 22).

Barshāṇa—Barshaṇ, near Bharatpur, on the border of the Chhāta Parganā in the district of Mathurā, where Rādhikā was removed by her parents Brīshabhānu and Kirat from Rāval, her birth-place. Rādhikā's love for Kṛishṇa as incarnation of Nārāyaṇa has been fully described in the Purāṇas. See **Āshṭigrāma**. Barshāṇ is perhaps a corruption of *Brīshabhānupura*. Barshāṇ, however, was also called Barasānu, a hill on the slope of which Brīshabhānupura was situated.

Barsha Parvata—The six Barsha Parvatas are Nēla, Nishadha, Sveta, Hemakūṭa, Himavān, and Śṛīṅgavān (*Varāha P.*, ch. 75).

Bartraghnī—Same as **Brītaghnī** and **Betravali** 2.

Baruṇā—The river Barṇā in Benares (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma, ch. 9).

Baruṇa-tīrtha—Same as **Salīlarāja-tīrtha** (*Mbh.*, Vana. 82).

Barusha—The Po-lu-sha of Hiuen Tsiang. It has been identified with Shahbazgarhi in the Yusufzai country, forty miles north-east of Peshawar. A rock edict of Aśoka exists at this place.

Basantaka-kshetra—Same as **Bindubāsini** (*Bṛihaddharma P.*, I, 6, 14).

Basāti—The country of the Basatis or Besatæ, a Tibeto-Burman tribe, living about the modern Gangtok near the eastern border of Tibet (*Mbh.*, Sabhā, ch. 51; Mr. W. H. Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 279). McCrindle, on the authority of Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna*, places it between the Indus and the Jhelam (*Invasion of India*, p. 156 note). It comprised the district of Rawal Pindi.

Bāsika—Same as **Basya** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113).

Baśishṭha-āśrama—1. The hermitage of Rishi Vāśishṭha was situated at Mount Abu (see **Arbuda**). At a place one mile to the north of the Ayodhyā station of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. 3. On the Sandhyāchala mountain near Kāmarupa in Aśam (*Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 51).

Baśishṭhī—1. The river Gumti (*Hemakosha*). 2. A river in the Ratnagiri district, Bombay Presidency (*Bomb. Gaz.*, X, pp. 6—8; *Mbh.* Vana, ch. 84).

Bastrāpatha-kshetra—See **Girinagara**.

Basudhārā-tīrtha—The place where the Alakānandā (*q. v.*) has got its source, about our miles north of Badrināth, near the village Manāl.

Basya—Bassein in the province of Bombay. Basyâ is mentioned in one of the Kanheri inscriptions. It was included in Barâlatâ (Barâr), one of the seven divisions of Paraśurâma-kshetra. The principal place of pilgrimage in it is the Bimala or Nirmala Tîrtha mentioned in the *Skanda Purâna*. The Bimaleśvara Mahâdeva was destroyed by the Portuguese (Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*). It was the kingdom of the Śilâhâras from whom it passed into the hands of the Yâdavas in the thirteenth century (*JRAS.*, vol. II, p. 380).

Bâtadhâna—A country mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch. 32) as situated in Northern India: it was conquered by Nakula, one of the Pâṇḍavas. It has been supposed to have been the same as Veṭhadvîpa of the Buddhist period (see *Veṭhadvîpa*): see *JASB.*, 1902, p. 161. But this identification does not appear to be correct, as in the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma P., ch. 9; Sabhâ P., ch. 130), in the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâna*, ch. 57 and in other Purâṇas, Bâtadhâna has been named between Bâlhika and Âbhira, and placed on the west of Indraprastha or Delhi; so it appears to be a country in the Punjab. Hence it may be identified with Bhatnair. Bâtadhâna has, however, been identified with the country on the east side of the Sutlej, southwards from Ferozepur (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 312, note).

Batapadrapura—Baroda, the capital of the Gaikwar, where Kumârapâla fled from Cambay (Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, p. 183).

Batâpi—See Bâtâpipura.

Bâtâpipura—Badami near the Malprabha river, a branch of the Kṛishnâ, in the Kaladgi district, now called the Bijapur district, in the province of Bombay, three miles from the Badami station of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was the capital of Pulakeśi I, king of Mahârâshṭra (Mo-ho-la-cha of Hiuen Tsiang) in the middle of the sixth century A.D.; he was the grandson of Jaya Simha, the founder of the Châlukya dynasty. He performed the Âśvamedha sacrifice. It was Pulakeśi II, the grandson of Pulakeśi I, who defeated Harshavardhana or Silâditya II of Kanauj. There are three caves of Brahmanical excavation, one of which bears the date A.D. 579, and one Jaina cave temple, A.D. 650, at Badami. One of the caves contains a figure composed of a bull and an elephant in such a way that when the body of one is hid, the other is seen (Burgess's *Belgam and Kaladgi Districts*, p. 16). Bâtâpi is said to have been destroyed by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 277). The name of Bâtâpipura was evidently derived from Bâtâpi, the brother of Ilvala (of the city of Manimati—see *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 163, note): Bâtâpi was killed by Rishi Agastya on his way to the south (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 96). See Ilvalapura.

Batasa—Same as Baṭesvaranâtha (*Agni P.*, ch. 109).

Baṭesvaranâtha—Same as Śilâsaigan. The temple of Baṭesvaranâtha is situated four miles to the north of Kahalgâon (Colgong) on the Pâtharghâtâ Hills called also Kasdi Hill. The *Uttara-Purâna* describes the rock excavations and temple of Baṭesvarnâtha

at this place (Francklin's *Palibothra*). The rock excavations and ruins at Patharghâtâ are the remains of the Buddhist monastery named Bikramaśilâ Saṅghārāma (see *Bikramaśilâ Vihāra*).

Batsya—A country to the west of Allahabad. It was the kingdom of Râja Udayana; its capital was Kauśāmbî (see **Kausambi**). At the time of the *Râmâyana* (I, 52), its northern boundary was the Ganges.

Batsyapattana—Kauśāmbî, the capital of Batsya-deśa, the kingdom of Batsya Râja Parantapa and Udayana (*Kathâsarit-sâgara*). See **Kausambi**.

Bedagarbhapurî—Buxar, in the district of Shahabad in the province of Bengal (*Brahmaṇḍa P.*, Pūrva Kh., chs. 1—5 called *Vedagarbha-mâhât*; and *Suanda P.*, Sûta-saṃhitâ, IV, Yajña Kh., 24). The word Buxar, however, seems to be the contraction of Vyâghrasara, a tank attached to the temple of Gaurî-śaṅkara situated in the middle of the town. Same as Viśvāmitra-āśrama, Siddhāśrama, Vyâghrasara and Vyâghrapura.

Beda-parvata—A hill in Tirukkalukkunram in the Madras Presidency, on which is situated the sacred place called Pakshî-tîrtha. See **Pakshî-tîrtha** (*Devî P.*, ch. 39; *Ind. Ant.*, X, 198).

Bedāranya—A forest in Tanjore, five miles north of Point Calimere: it was the hermitage of Rishi Agastya (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VII, 38; Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*, p. 16).

Bedasmṛiti—It is the same as **Bedaśruti**. (*Mbh.*, Bhishma, ch. 9).

Bedaśruti—1. The river Baita in Oudh between the rivers Tonse and Gumti (*Râmâyana*, Ayodhyâ, ch. 49). 2. The river Besulâ in Malwa. The name of Bedaśruti does not appear in many of the *Purâṇas*, only the river Bedasmṛiti being mentioned.

Bedavatî—1. The river Hagari, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadra in the district of Bellary and Mysore [*Skanda P.*, Sahyâdri kh.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXX (Fleet)]. But see *Varâha P.*, ch. 85. The river Baradâ or Bardâ, southern tributary of the Kṛishṇâ, the Baradâ of the *Agni Purâṇa*, CIX, 22 (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 303). See **Baradâ**.

Bedisa-giri—Same as **Bessanagara** (*Oldenberg's Dipavamsa*) and **Bidiśa** or Bhilsa, 26 miles north-east of Bhopal in the Gwalior State.

Begâ—Same as **Begavatî** (*Padma P.*, Sṛishti, ch. 11).

Begavatî—1. The river Baiga or Bygi in the district of Madura (*Śiva P.*, Bk. II, ch. 10; *Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 84; Mackenzie Collection, pp. 142, 211). The town of Madura is situated on the bank of this river. 2. Kâñchipura or Conjeveram stands on the northern bank of a river called Begavatî.

Behat—The river Jhelum in the Punjab.

Beltura—Berul, Yerulâ, Elura, or Ellara in the Nizam's Dominion (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 193; *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, XIV, 14).

Benâ—The river Wain-Gaigâ in the Central Provinces (*Padma P.*, Âdi kh., ch. 3). Same as **Benva**. It is a tributary of the Godâvarî [*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 85; *Padma P Svarga* (Âdi), ch. 19].

Benakataka—Warangal, the capital of Telingana or Andhra. (*Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, p. 107).

Bengi—The capital of Andhra, situated north-west of the Elur lake, between the Godavari and the Krishna in the Kistna district. It is now called Begi or Pedda-Begi (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 99). Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakesi II, founded here a branch of the Chalukya dynasty in the seventh century A.D. (see **Andhra**). Its name is mentioned in the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, VI p. 26 (see Bühler's note in the *Introduction* to this work at p. 35). From the capital, the country was also called Bengi-deśa which according to Sir W. Elliot, comprised the districts between the Krishna and the Godavari (*JRAS.*, vol. IV). It is now called the Northern Circars (Dr. Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, p. 88). Its original boundaries were, on the west the Eastern Ghats, on the north the Godavari and on the south the Krishna (*Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Pt. II, p. 280).

Beni—1. A branch of the Krishna (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 74), same as **Benvâ**. 2. The Krishna itself.

Beni-gaṅgâ—The river Wain-Gaṅgâ : see **Benvâ** (*Bṛihat-Siva P.*, Uttara, ch. 20).

Benkata-giri—The Tirumalai mountain near Tripati or Tirupati in the north Arcot district, about seventy-two miles to the north-west of Madras, where Rāmānuja, the founder of the Śrī sect of the Vaishnavas, established the worship of Vishnu called Venkaṭasvāmi or Bālāji Bīṣvanātha in the place of Śiva in the twelfth century of the Christian era : same as **Tripadi**. See **Śrīraṅgam**. The *Padma Purāna* (Uttara kh., ch. 90) mentions the name of Rāmānuja and the Venkaṭa hill. See **Tripadi**. Benkaṭādri is also called Śeshādri (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 240 ; *Skanda P.*, Vishnu kh., chs. 16, 35). For the list of kings of Venkaṭagiri, see *JASB.* (1838) p. 516.

Benugrama—Same as **Sugandhāvartī**.

Benuvana-vihāra—The monastery was built by king Bimbisāra in the bamboo-grove situated on the north-western side of Rājgir and presented to Buddha where he resided when he visited the town after attaining Buddhahood. It has been stated in the *Mahāvagga* (1, 22, 17) that Venuvana, which was the pleasure-garden of king Seniya (Śrenika) Bimbisāra was not too far from the town of Rājagṛiha nor too near it (see **Girivrajapura**). It was situated outside the town at a short distance from the northern gate at the foot of the Baibhāra hill (Beal's *Fo-Kwa-Ki*, ch. xxx ; *Ava. Kalp.*, ch. 39).

Benva—1. The Benā, a branch of the Krishna, which rises in the Western Ghats. Same as **Beni**. 2. The Krishna. 3. The river Wain-Gaṅgâ, a tributary of the Godavari, which rises in the Vindhyaṭpāda range (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57). Same as **Benā**. It is called Beni Gaṅgâ (*Bṛihat-Siva P.*, Uttara, ch. 20).

Benya—Same as **Benā** : the river Wain-Gaṅgâ.

Bessanagara—Besnagar, close to Sanchi in the kingdom of Bhopal, at the junction of the Besali or Bes river with the Betva, about three miles from Bhilsa. It is also

called Chetiya, Chetiyānagara, or Chetyagiri (Chaityagiri) in the *Mahāvamsā*. It was the ancient capital of Daśārṇa. Aśoka married Devī, the daughter of the chieftain of this place, on his way to Ujjayinī, of which place, while a prince, he was nominated governor. By Devī, he had twin sons, Ujjeniya and Mahinda and a daughter Saighāmitta. The two last named were sent by their father to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon with a branch of the Bodhi-tree of Buddha-Gayā. Aśoka was the grandson of Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra, and reigned from 273 to 232 B.C. A column was discovered at Besnagar, which from the inscription appears to have been set up by Heliodorus of Taxila who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, as *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, in the reign of Antialkidas, a Bactrian king who reigned about 150 B.C. See **Chetiyagiri**.

Bethadīpa—It has not been correctly identified, but it seems to be the modern Bethia to the east of Gorakhpur and south of Nepal. The Brahmins of Bethadīpa obtained an eighth part of the relics of Buddha's body after his death (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, ch. vi). See **Kusinagara**. It seems that the extensive ruins consisting of three rows of earthen barrows or huge conical mounds of earth, about a mile to the north-east of Lauriya Navandgaḍ (Lauriya Nandangaḍ) and 15 miles to the north-west of Bethia in the district of Champaran, are the remains of the *stūpa* which had been built over the relics of Buddha by the Brahmins of Bethadīpa. At a short distance from these ruins stands the lion pillar of Aśoka containing his edicts. Dīpa in Bethadīpa is evidently a corruption of *Dhāpa*, which again is a corruption of *Dāgaba* or *Dhātugarbha* or *Stūpa* containing Buddha's relics [cf. **Mahāsthāna**, the ancient name of which (*Sītā-dhāpa* or *Sītā-dhātugarbha*) was changed into *Sītā-dīpa*]. The change of *Dīpa* into *Dia* is an easy step. Hence it is very probable that from *Betha-dia* comes *Bethiā*.

Betravati—1. The river Betva in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jamunā (*Meghadūta*, Pt. I, 25), on which stands Bhilsa or the ancient Vidiśā. 2. The river Vātrak, a branch of the Sābarmatī in Gujarat (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 53, on which Kaira (ancient Khetaka) is situated [*JASB.* (1838) p. 908]. Same as **Britraghnī** and **Bartraghnī**.

Bhaddiya—It is also called Bhadiya and Bhadiyanagara in the Pāli books. It may be identified with Bhadaria, eight miles to the south of Bhagalpore [see my "Notes on Ancient Aṅga" in *JASB.*, X, (1914), p. 337]. Mahāvira, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, visited this place and spent here two Pajjusanas (rainy-season retirement). It was the birth-place of Viśākhā, the famous female disciple of Buddha (see **Srāvastī**). She was the daughter of Dhanañjaya and grand-daughter of Mēṇḍaka, both of whom were treasurers to the king of Aṅga. Buddha visited Bhaddiya (*Mahāvagga*, V, 8, 3), when Viśākhā was seven years old and resided in the Jātiyāvana for three months and converted Bhaddaji, son of a rich merchant [*Mahāvagga*, V, 8; *Mahā-Panāda-Jātaka* (No. 264) in the *Jātakas* (Cam. Ed.), vol. II, p. 229]. Viśākhā's father removed to a place called Sāketa, 21 miles to the south of Srāvastī, where she was married to Pūrṇavarddhana or Punyavardhana, son of Migāra, the treasurer of Prasenajit, king of Srāvastī. She caused Migāra, who was a follower of Nigrantha-Nāthaputtra, to adopt the Buddhist faith, and hence she was called Migāramātī (*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 51; Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 226). It appears that at the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Aṅga had been annexed to the Magadha kingdom by Bimbisāra, as Bhaddiya is said to have been situated in that kingdom (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 34; Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 166).

Bhadra—It is evidently the Yarkand river on which the town of Yarkand is situated: it is also called Zarafshan (*Vishṇu P.*, Bk. II, ch. 2). It is one of the four rivers into which the Ganges is said to have divided itself (*Bhâgavata P.*, V, 17).

Bhadrakarna—1. Karṇapura or Karnâli, on the south bank of the Nerbada. It contains one of the celebrated shrines of Mahâdeva (*Mahâ-Sîva-Purâṇa*, Pt. 1, ch. 15, and *Mahâ-bhârata*, Vana P., ch. 84). See **Eraṇḍî**. 2. A sacred *hrada* (lake or reservoir) in Trinetraśvara or modern Than in Kathiawad (*q.v.*) (*Kûrma P.*, I, 34; *Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh., Arbuda, ch. 8).

Bhadrâvatî—Bhaṭala, ten miles north of Warora in the district of Chanda, Central Provinces. Bhandak, in the same district and 18 miles north-west of Chanda town, is also traditionally the ancient Bhadrâvatî. It was the capital of Yuvanâśva of the *Jaimini-Bhârata*. Cunningham has identified Bhadrâvatî with Bhilsa (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 364; *JASB.*, 1847, p. 745). Buari, an old place near Pind Dadan Khan in the district of Jhelum in the Punjab, also claims the honour of being the ancient Bhadrâvatî: it contains many ruins (*JASB.*, XIX, p. 537). The *Padma-Purâṇa* (Uttara, ch. 30) places Bhadrâvatî on the banks of the Sarasvatî. In the *Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch. 6, Bhadrâvatî is said to be 20 Yojans distant from Hastinâpura. Ptolemy's Bardaotis has been identified with Bhadrâvatî: he places it to the east of the Vindhya range (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 162), and it has been considered to be identical with Bhârhut (*Arch. S. Rep.*, XXI, p. 92).

Bhadrika—Same as **Bhaddiya** (*Kalpasaûtra*, ch. vi). Mahâvîra spent here two Pajjusanas.

Bhâganagara—Hyderabad in the Deccan.

Bhagaprastha—Bagpat, thirty miles to the west of Mirat, one of the five *Prasthas* or villages said to have been demanded by Yudhishtîra from Duryodhana (see **Pâniprastha**). It is situated on the bank of the Jamuna in the district of Mirat.

Bhâgrathî—Same as **Gangâ** (*Harivaṃśa*, I, ch. 15).

Bhâgvatî—The river Bâgmati in Nepal: Baggumudâ of the Buddhists (*Chullavagga*, Pt. XI, ch. I).

Bhaktapura—Bhâtgâon, the former capital of Nepal. It was also called Bhagatapattana. Narendra Deva, king of this place, is said to have brought Avalokiteśvara or Simhânâtha-Lokeśvara (Padmapâṇi) from Putalakâ-parvata in Assam to the city of Lalitapattan in Nepal to ward off the bad effect of a drought of twelve years. The celebrated Shad-aksharî (six-lettered) Mantra "*Om Mani padme hum*" so commonly used in Tibet is an invocation of Padmapâṇi: it means "The mystic triform Deity is in him of the Jewel and the Lotus," i.e. in Padmapâṇi who bears in either hand a Jewel and a Lotus, the lotus being a favourite type of creative power with the Buddhists.

Bhâṇasaḥ—Bolan (pass). It is mentioned in the *Rigveda* (Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 99).

Bhallâṭa—A country situated by the side of Suktimâna mountain: it was conquered by Bhîma (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30). It is also mentioned in the *Kalki-Purâṇa* as being conquered by Kalki. Bhallâṭa is perhaps a corruption of Bhar-râshṭra. The name does not appear in the other *Purâṇas*.

Bharadvâja-abrama—In Prayâga or Allahabad, the hermitage of Rishi Bharadvâja was situated (*Bâlmâyana*, Ayodhya K., ch. 54). The image of the Rishi is worshipped in a temple built on the site of his hermitage at Colonelganj. The hermitage was visited by Râmachandra on his way to the Daṇḍakâraṇya.

Bharahut—In the Central Provinces, 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad and nine miles to the south-east of the Sutna railway station, celebrated for its *stûpa* said to belong to 250 B.C.

Bhâratavarsha—India. India (Intu of Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India from 629 to 645 A.D.), is a corruption of *Sindhu* (*q.v.*) or *Sapta Sindhu* (*Hafta Hendu* of the *Vendidad*, I, 73). It was named after a king called Bharata (*Linga P.*, *Pûrva Bhâga*, ch. 47; *Brahma P.*, ch. 13), and before Bharata, it was called *Himâhva-varsha* (*Brahmânda P.*, *Pûrva*, ch. 33, *śloka* 55) and *Haimavata-varsha* (*Linga P.*, Pt. I, ch. 49). In the Pauranic period, Bhâratavarsha was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the ocean, on the east by the country of the Kirâtas and on the west by the country of the Yavanas (*Vishṇu P.*, II, ch. 3; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57). Bhâratavarsha represents a political conception of India, being under one king, whereas Jambudvîpa represents a geographical conception.

Bhârgava—Western Assam, the country of the Bhars or Bhors (*Brahmânda P.*, ch. 49).

Bhârgavî—A small river near Puri in Orissa was called *Danḍabhângâ* from the fact that Nityânanda broke at Kamalapura on the bank of this river the *Danḍa* or ascetic stick of Chaitanya and threw the broken pieces into the stream (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, II). It was also called *Bhângî*.

Bhartṛi-sthâna—Same as *Svâmi-tīrtha* (*Padma P.*, *Svarga*, ch. 19).

Bharu—The name of a kingdom of which Bharukachchha was a seaport; see **Bharukachchha**.

Bharukachchha—Baroach, the Barygaza of the Greeks (*Vinaya*, III, 38). Bali Râjâ attended by his priest Sukrâchârya performed a sacrifice at this place, when he was deprived of his kingdom by Vishṇu in the shape of a dwarf, *Vâmana*, (*Matsya P.*, ch. 114). *Sarva-varmâ Âchârya*, the author of the *Kâtantra* or *Kalâpa Vyākaraṇa* and contemporary of Râjâ Śâtavâhana of Pratishtâna was a resident of Bharukachchha (*Kathâ-sarit-Sâgara*, Pt. I, ch. 6). The Jaina temple of Śakunikâvîhâra was constructed by Âmrabhata in the reign of Kumârapala, king of Pattana, in the 12th century. Bharukachchha was also called *Bhṛigupura* (Tawney: *Prabandhachintâmani*, p. 136). In the *Suppâraka Jâtaka* (*Jâtaka*, Cam. ed., iv, p. 86), Bharukachchha is said to be a seaport town in the kingdom of Bharu.

Bhâsa—Perhaps it is the Bhâsnâth hill, a spur of the Brahmayoni hill in Gaya: see *Gayâ* [*Anugîtâ*, (SBE.), vol. VIII, p. 346].

Bhâskara-kshetra—Prayâga, see *Prâyâga* (Raghunandana's *Prâyâschitta-lakṣṇam*, *Gaṅgâ-Mâhâtmya*).

Bhautika-Liṅgas—For the five Bhautika or elementary images of Maḥâdeva, see *Chidambaram*.

Bhavanînagara—Same as *Tuljabhavanî*.

Bhîmâ—Same as *Vidarbha* (*Devî P.*, ch. 46).

Bhîmanagara—Kangra.

Bhîmapura—1. *Vidarbhanagara* or *Kuṇḍinapura*, the capital of *Vidarbha* (see *Kuṇḍinapura*). 2. Same as *Dâkinî* (*Bṛihat-Siva P.*, *Uttara Kh.*, ch. 3).

Bhîmarathâ—Same as *Bhîmarathî* (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57).

Bhīmarathī—The river Bhīmā which joins the Kṛishṇā (*Garuda P.*, I, 55).

Bhīmāsthāna—Takht-i-Bhai, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar and eight miles to the north-west of Mardan, containing the Yoni-tīrtha and the celebrated temple of Bhīmā Devī described by Hiuen Tsiang; the temple was situated on an isolated mountain at the end of the range of hills which separates the Yusufzai from the Luncoan valley. It was visited by Yudhishthira as a place of pilgrimage, and it is also mentioned in the *Padma P.*, Svarga-Kh., ch. 11; *Mahābhārata*, Vana P., ch. 82).

Bhogavardhana-māṭha—Same as Govarddhana-māṭha.

Bhoja—See **Bhojapura** (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 3).

Bhojakata-pura—The second capital of Vidarbha, founded by Rukmi, the brother of Rukmiṇī who was the consort of Kṛishṇa. It was near the Nerbada (*Harivaṃśa*, ch. 117). Bhojakatapura, or in its contracted form Bhojapura, may be identified with Bhojapura, which is six miles to the south-east of Bhilsa (Vidiśā) in the kingdom of Bhopal containing many Buddhist topes called Pipaliya Bijoli Topes. Ancient Vidarbha, according to General Cunningham, included the whole kingdom of Bhopal on the north of the Nerbada (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363). The Bhojas ruled over Vidarbha and are mentioned in one of Aśoka's Edicts (see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, III). In the Chammak Copperplate inscription of Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, Bhojakata is described as a kingdom which coincides with Berar or ancient Vidarbha, and Chammak, i.e., the village Charmāṅka of the inscription, four miles south-west of Elichpur in the Amraoti district, is mentioned as being situated in the Bhojakata kingdom (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, 236; *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 321). For further particulars, see **Bhojapur** (1) in Part II of this work.

Bhojapala—Bhopal in Central India, which is a contraction of Bhojapāla or Bhoja's Dam which was constructed during the reign of Rājā Bhoja of Dhar to hold up the city lakes (Knowles-Foster's *Veiled Princess*; *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, 348).

Bhojapura—1. Mathurā was the capital of the Bhojas (*Bhāgavata*, Pt. 1, ch. 10). 2. Near Dumraon in the district of Shāhābād in Bengal (see **Bhojapur** in Pt. II of this work). 3. Same as **Bhojakatapura**. It contains the temple of Bhojēśvara Mahādeva and a Jaina temple (*JASB.*, 1839, p. 814). The temple of Bhojēśvara was built in the 11th century A.D. For further particulars regarding the temple and dam, see *JASB.*, 1847, p. 740; *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, 348. Bhoja is mentioned in the *Brahmaṇḍa-Purāṇa* as a country in the Vindhya range. It is the Stagabaza (or Tāṭaka-Bhoja or tank of Bhoja) of Ptolemy. 4. On the right bank of the Ganges, 30 or 35 miles from Kānyakubja or Kanauj (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 189).

Bhoṭa—See **Bhoṭāṅga**.

Bhoṭāṅga—Bhotan. Bhoṭa according to Lassen is the modern Tibet (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 124). According to the *Tārā Tantra*, Bhoṭa extends from Kāśmīr to the west of Kāmarūpa and to the south of Mānasa-sarovara.

Bhoṭanta—Same as **Bhoṭāṅga** (*JRAS.*, 1863, p. 71).

Bhrigu-Atrama—1. Balia in the United Provinces, said to have been the capital of Rājā Bali. Bāwan, six miles west of Hardoi in Oudh, also claims the honour of being the capital of Bali Rājā, who was deprived of his kingdom by Viṣṇu in his

Vāmana-avatāra. Bhṛigu Ṛishi once performed asceticism at Balia : there is a temple dedicated to the Ṛishi, which is frequented by pilgrims. Balia was once situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Saraju ; it was called Bâgrâsan, being a corruption of Bhṛigu-âsrama. Bhṛigu Ṛishi "is said to have held Dadri or Dardara on the banks of the Ganges, where he performed his ceremonies on the spot called Bhṛigu-âsrama or Bhadrason (Bagerassan, Rennell)"—Martin's *Eastern India*, II, p. 340. It was also called Dadri-kshetra. Hence the fair there held every year is called Dâdri-melâ. See *Dharmâranya* 2. 2. Baroach was also the hermitage of this Ṛishi.

Bhṛigu-kachehha—Same as **Bharukachehha**, which is a corruption of Bhṛigukshetra, as it was the residence of Bhṛigu Ṛishi. (*Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. 2, ch. viii; *Skanda P.*, Revâ Kh., ch. 182).

Bhṛigukshetra—Same as **Bharukachehha**.

Bhṛigupatana—A celebrated place of pilgrimage near Kedârnâth in Garwal.

Bhṛigupura—Same as **Bharukachehha** (Tawney : *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 136). It contains a temple of the twentieth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Suvrata.

Bhṛigu-tīrtha—Bherâghât, containing the temple of Chaushaṭ Yoginīs, 12 miles to the west of Jabbalpur, on the Nerbada between the Marble Rocks : it is a famous place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Svarga-Kh., ch. 9; *Matsya P.*, ch. 192).

Bhṛigu-tuṅga—1. A mountain in Nepal on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍak, which was the hermitage of Bhṛigu (*Varâha P.*, ch. 146). 2. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahâbhârata*, it is the Tuṅganâtha mountain (see his commentary on v. 2, ch. 216, Âdi Parva, *Mahâbhârata*) which is one of the Pañcha-Kedâras (see *Pañcha-Kedâra*).

Bhujaganagara—Same as **Uragapura** (*Pavanadûta*, v. 10).

Bhūrisreshṭhika—Bhūriūt, once an important place of a Pargana in the sub-division of Arimbâg in the district of Hooghly in Bengal (*Prabodhachandrodaya Nâṭaka* ; my "Notes on the District of Hooghly" in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 599).

Bhushkhâra—Bokhara : it was conquered by Lalitâditya, king of Kâśmîr, who ascended the throne in 697 A.D., and reigned for about 37 years (*Râjataranginî*, Bk. IV). The Khanat of Bokhara is bounded on the east by the Khanat of Khokand called Fergana by the ancients and also by the mountain of Badakshan, on the south by the Oxus, on the west and north by the Great Desert (Vambéry's *Travels in Central Asia*). It was called Sogdiana.

Bibhāṇḍaka-âsrama—Same as *Rishyaśringa-âsrama*.

Bichhi—Biṭha, ten miles south-west of Allahabad, the name being found by Sir John Marshall in a seal-die at the place ; in a sealing, it is called Vichhigrâma, *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 127). See **Bitabhaya-pattana**.

Bidarbha—Berar, Khandesh, part of the Nizam's territory and part of the Central Provinces, the kingdom of Bhîshmaka whose daughter Rukmiṇî was married to Krishna. Its principal towns were Kuṇḍinanagara and Bhojakaṭapura. Kuṇḍinanagara (Bidarbhanagara), its capital, was evidently Bidar. Bhojakaṭapura was Bhojapura, six miles south-east of Bhilsa in the kingdom of Bhopal. The Bhojas of the *Purâṇas* lived in Vidarbha. In ancient times, the country of Vidarbha included the kingdom of Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of the Nerbada (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363). See **Bhojakaṭapura** and **Kuṇḍinapura**.

Bidarbhanadî—The Pain Gaṅgā.

Bidarbhanagara—Same as **Kuṇḍinapura**.

Bidaspes—The river Jhelum in the Punjab.

Bidegha—Same as **Bideha** (*Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* I, 4, 1, 14).

Bideha—Tirhut, the kingdom of Râjâ Janaka, whose daughter Sîtâ was married to Râmachandra. Mithilâ was the name of both Videha and its capital. Janakpur in the district of Darbhanga, was the capital of Râjâ Janaka. Benares afterwards became the capital of Bideha (Sir Monier Monier-Williams' *Modern India*, p. 131). About a mile to the north of Sîtâmârhi, there is a tank which is pointed out as the place where the new-born Sîtâ was found by Janaka while he was ploughing the land. Panaurâ, three miles south-west of Sîtâmârhi, also claims the honour of being the birth-place of Sîtâ. About six miles from Janakpur is a place called Dhenukâ, (now overgrown with jungle) where Râmachandra is said to have broken the bow of Hara. Sîtâ is said to have been married at Sîtâmârhi. Bideha was bounded on the east by the river Kauśikî (Kusi), on the west by the river Gaṇḍaka, on the north by the Himalaya, and on the south by the Ganges. It was the country of the Vajjis at the time of Buddha (see **Baisâlî**).

Bidiśâ—1. Bhilsa, in Malwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, on the river Betwa or Vetravatî, about 26 miles to the north-east of Bhopal. By partitioning his kingdom, Râmachandra gave Bidiśâ to Śatrughna's son Śatrughâtî (*Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch. 121). It was the capital of ancient Daśârṇa mentioned in the *Meghadûta* (Pt. I, v. 25) of Kâlidâsa. It is called Baidiśa-deśa in the *Devî-Purâṇa* (ch. 76) and the *Râmâyana*. Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, the first king of the Suṅga dynasty, who reigned in Magadha in the second and third quarters of the second century B.C., was the viceroy of his father at Bidiśâ or Bhilsâ (Kâlidâsa's *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act V). Agnimitra, however, has been described as the king, and his father as his general. The topes, known by the name of Bhilsa Topes, consist of five distinct groups, all situated on low sandy hills, viz., (1) Sanchi topes, five and a half miles south-west of Bhilsa; (2) Sonâri topes, six miles to the south-west of Sanchi; (3) Satdhâra topes, three miles from Sonâri; (4) Bhojpur topes, six miles to the south south-east of Bhilsa, and Andher, nine miles to the east south-east of Bhilsa. They belong to a period ranging from 250 B.C. to 78 A.D. (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 7). 2. The river Bidiśâ has been identified with the river Bes or Besali which falls into the Betwa at Besnagar or Bhilsa (Wilson's *Vishṇu P.*, Vol. II, 150).

Bidyānagara—1. Bijayanagar on the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, 36 miles north-west of Bellari, formerly the metropolis of the Brahmanical kingdom of Bijayanagar called also Karṇâṭa. It is locally called Hampi. It was founded by Saṅgama of the Yâdava dynasty about 1320 A.D. According to the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* (see *JASB.*, 1838, p. 174) it is said to have been founded by Narasiṅha Rayer, father of Kṛishṇa Rayer. Bukka and Harihara were the third and fourth kings from Saṅgama. For the genealogy of the Yâdava dynasty, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 21, 22, 114 and 223. It contains the celebrated temple of Vithoba (Meadows Taylor's *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, p. 65) and also of Virûpâksha

Mahâdeva. The power of the Bijayanagara kingdom was destroyed at the battle of Talikot on the bank of the Kṛishṇâ in 1565. Sâyaṇâchârya, the celebrated commentator of the Vedas and brother of Mâdhavâchârya, was the minister of Saṅgamarâja II, the son of Kamparâja, brother of Bukka Rai, king of Bijayanagara (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 23).

2. Bijayanagara (see **Padmâvatî**) at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pârâ in Malwa.

3. Râjamahendri on the Godâvari (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. V). At this place, Chaitanya met Râmananda Râya, who governed this place under Râjâ Pratâparudra Deva of Orissa (*Chaitanya-charitâmr̥ita*, Madhyama, ch. 8).

Bijayanagara—Vizianagram in the Madras Presidency, visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, *Anta-kh.*, ch. iii).

Bijayapura—It is said to be situated on the Ganges and was the capital of Lakshmaṇa Sena (*Pavanadûta*, v. 36). Hence Bijayapura was identical with Lakhnauti or Gauda which was also situated on the Ganges (see **Lakshmanâvatî** and **Gaur** in Pt. II). It was perhaps called Bijayapura from Ballâla's father Vijaya Sena who conquered Bengal. See **Ballâlapurî**. But Vijayapura has been identified with Bijayanagara on the Ganges near Godâgâri, in Varendra or Barind, in the district of Malda in the Rajshahi Division of Bengal. The Senas, after subverting the Pâla kingdom, are believed to have made Bijayanagara their capital and subsequently removed to Lakshmanâvatî, which was afterwards called Gaud (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 101).

Bijlavada—Bezvada on the river Krishna. It was the capital of the Eastern Châlukyas.

Bikramapura—Same as **Ballâlapurî**. It was situated in Baṅga in the kingdom of Puṇḍravarḍhana (*Edilpur Copperplate Inscription of Keśava Sena*; Ānanda Bhatta's *Ballâla-charitam*, Uttara Kh., ch. 1).

Bikramasîlâ-vihâra—The name of this celebrated monastery is found in many Buddhist works. General Cunningham suggests the identification of Bikramasîlâ with Silao, three miles from Bargaon (ancient Nâlandâ) in the sub-division Bihar of the district of Patna (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. VIII, p. 83) and six miles to the north of Râjgir. The river Pañchâna flowed by its side before. It has a very large mound of earth which is being very gradually encroached upon by the cultivators and which is perhaps the remains of a monastery. But it appears from Buddhist works that Bikramasîlâ-vihâra was founded by king Dharmapâla in the middle of the eighth century A.D., on the top of a hill on the right bank of the Ganges in Bihar: it was a celebrated seat of Buddhist learning: hence Cunningham's identification does not seem to be correct. Its identification with the Jahngira hill at Sultanganj in the district of Bhagalpur by Dr. Satischandra Vidyâbhūṣaṇa [*Bhârati* (Vaiśâkha) 1315] does not also appear to be correct, as there are no remains of Buddhism on that hill: it is essentially a Hindu place of worship and the place is too small for such a celebrated Buddhist monastery. But the Bikramasîlâ-vihâra may be safely identified with Pâtharghâtâ, four miles to the north of Kahalgâon (Colgong) and 24 miles to the east of Champâ near Bhagalpur in the province of Bihar (see my "Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur," in *JASB.*, X, 1914, p. 342). It is the Silâ-saṅgama of *Chorapañchâśikâ* by Chora Kavi (Franklin's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*), which is evidently a corruption of Bikramasîlâ saṅghârâma. The place abounds with Buddhist remains, excavations and rock-cut caves of the Buddhist period. The statues of Buddha, Maitreya, and Avalokiteśvara, some of which were removed to the

"Hill House" of Colgong by Mr. Barnes and which may still be found there, were beautifully sculptured and can bear comparison with the beautiful sculptures of the Nālandā monastery. As the monastery was founded in the eighth century it has not been mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Champā in the seventh century, though he refers to the excavations which had evidently been done by the Hindus. Śrībaddha Jñānapāda was the head of the monastery at the time of Dharmapāla. It had six gates, and the six gate-keepers were Paṇḍits of India, and no one could enter the monastery without defeating these Paṇḍits in argument. Bikramaśilā was destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1203 (see Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 133). The Hindu Universities of Mithilā and Nadiā were established after its destruction. See *Durvāsā-Aśrama* (see my "Bikramaśilā Monastery" in *JASB.*, 1909, p. 1). On the top of the hill is the temple of Batesvaranātha Mahādeva which is celebrated in this part of the country, established perhaps after the destruction of the monastery.

Binā—1. The river Kṛishṇā, the Tynna of Ptolemy. 2. Almorah in Kumaun. It is also called Benwā.

Bināsana-tīrtha—The spot in the great sandy desert in the district of Sirhind (Patiala) where the river Sarasvatī loses itself after taking a westerly course from Thaneswar. See *Sarasvatī*.

Bināsinī—The river Banas in Gujarat on which Disa is situated (*Bṛihadjyotishārṇava*).

Bināyaka-kshetra—Three or four miles from Dhanmaṇḍal above the Bhuvaneśvar railway station on the top of a mountain in Orissa.

Bināyaka-tīrthas—There are eight places sacred to Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa: 1. Moreśvara, six miles from Jajuri, a station of the South Marhatta Railway. 2. Ballāla, forty-six miles by boat from Bombay; it contains the temple of Vināyaka named Maruda. 3. Lenādri, fifty miles from the Teligaon station of the G. I. P. Railway. 4. Sidhatek, on the river Bhimā, ten miles from the Diksal station of the G. I. P. Railway. 5. Ojhar containing the temple of Vināyaka Bighneśvara. 6. Sthevara called also Theura. 7. Rāñjanagrāma. 8. Mahāda. The last three are on the G. I. P. Railway. See *Ashta-vināyaka*.

Bindhyāchala—1. The Vindhya range. The celebrated temple of Vindubāsinī (*Devī-Bhāgavata*, VII, 30) is situated on a part of the hills near Mirzapur. It is one of the stations of the E. I. Railway. The temple of the eight-armed Yogamāyā, which is one of the 52 Pīthas, where the toe of Satī's left foot is said to have fallen, is at a short distance from the temple of Vindubāsinī (see *Siva P.*, IV, Pt. I, ch. 21). Yogamāyā, after warning Kamsa, king of Mathurā, of the birth of his destroyer, came back to the hills, and took her abode at the site of the temple of Vindubāsinī (*Skanda P.*, Revā Kh, ch. 55). It was, and is still a celebrated place of pilgrimage mentioned in the *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara* (I, ch. 2). The town of Bindhyāchala was included within the circuit of the ancient city of Pampāpura (*Führer's M. A. I.*). The fight between Durgā and the two brothers Sumbha and Niśumbha took place at Vindhyāchala (*Vāmana P.*, ch. 55). See *Chandrapura*. The goddess Vindubāsinī was widely worshipped in the seventh century, and her shrine was considered as one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage (*Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, chs. 52, 54). 2. Another Bindhyāchala has been identified by Mr. Pargiter with the hills and plateau of South Mysore (*Rāmāyāna*, Kishk, ch. 48; *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 261).

Bindhya-pāda Parvata—The Satpura range from which rise the Tāpti and other rivers (*Varāha P.*, ch. 85). It lies between the Nerbada and the Tāpti. It is the Mount Sardonyx of Ptolemy containing mines of cornelian, Sardinian being a species of cornelian (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*). On a spur of the Satpura range is a colossal rock-cut Jaina image of the Digambara sect called Bawangaj, about 73 feet in height on the Nerbada in the district of Burwani, about 100 miles from Indore (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 918). See **Śrāvāṇa-Belgolā**.

Bindhyāṭavī—Portions of Khandesh and Aurangabad, which lie on the south of the western extremity of the Vindhya range, including Nasik.

Bindubāsinī—The celebrated place of pilgrimage in the district of Mirzapur in the U. P. See **Vindhyachala** (*Vāmana P.*, ch. 45).

Bindu-sara—1. A sacred pool situated on the Rudra-Himālaya, two miles south of Gaṅgotri, where Bhagīratha is said to have performed asceticism for bringing down the goddess Gaṅgā from heaven (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 43, and *Matsya P.*, ch. 121). In the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (ch. 51), this tank is said to be situated at the foot of the Gauda Parvata on the north of the Kailāsa range, which is called Maināka-Parvata in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā, ch. 3). 2. In Sitpur (Siddhapura in Gujarat) north-west of Ahmedabad: it was the hermitage of Kardama Rishi and birth-place of Kapila (*Bhāgavata P.*, Skanda III). See **Siddhapura**. 3. A sacred tank called Bindusāgara and also Gosāgara at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa (*Padma P.*) Mahādeva caused the water of this tank to rise from Pātāla by means of his Trisūla (trident) in order to quench the thirst of Bhagavatī when she was fatigued with her fight with the two demons of Bhuvaneśvara, named Kirtti and Bāsa (*Bhuvaneśvara-Māhātmya*).

Bingara—Ahmednagar, seventy-one miles from Poona, which was founded by Ahmed Nizam Shah in 1494.

Binṭapura—Katak in Orissa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 323—359; *JASB.*, 1905, p. 1).

Bipasa—The Bias, the Hypasis of the Greeks. The origin of the name of this river is related in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, ch. 179). Rishi Vasiṣṭha, being weary of life on account of the death of his sons killed by Viśvāmitra, tied his hands and feet with chords, and threw himself into the river, which afraid of killing a Brāhmaṇa, burst the bonds (*pāśa*) and came to the shore. The hot springs and village of Vasiṣṭha Muni are situated opposite to Monali (*JASB.*, vol. XVII, p. 209).

Birajā-kshetra—A country which stretches for ten miles around Jāipur on the bank of the river Baitaraṇī in Orissa (*Mahābhārata*, Vana P., ch. 85; *Brahma P.*, ch. 42). It is also called Gadā-kshetra, sacred to the Śāktas (*Kapila-saṃhitā*).

Birāṭa—The country of Jaipur. The town of Birāṭa or Bairāt, 105 miles to the south of Delhi and 40 miles to the north of Jaipur (Cunningham, *Arch. S. Rep.*, II, p. 244) was the ancient capital of Jaipur or Matsyadeśa. It was the capital of Virāṭa Rājā, king of the Matsya-deśa, where the five Pāṇḍavas lived in secrecy for one year. It is a mistake to identify Birāṭa with Dinajpur whereat Kāntanagara, Virāṭa's Uttara-gogriha (northern cowshed) is shown, the Dakṣiṇa-gogriha (southern cowshed) being shown at Midnapur. This identification is not countenanced by the *Mahābhārata*, which relates that Yudhisṭhira selected a kingdom in the neighbourhood of Hastināpura as his place of concealment, from which he could watch the movements of his enemy Duryodhana, (*Mbh.*, Virāṭa, ch. 1, and Sabhā, ch. 30). See **Matsyadeśa**. The Pāṇḍu hill at Bairāṭa, which has a cave called Bhīmaguphā, contains an inscription of Aśoka (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 1, p. 22).

Biśakhā—Oudh was called by this name during the Buddhist period. Viśakhā was the capital of Fa Hian's Sha-chi or Sāketa. Dr. Hoey, however, identifies it with Pasha (Pi-so-kia of Hiuen Tsiang) in the district of Gonda in Oudh, near the junction of the Sarajū and the Gogra (*JASB.*, vol. LXIX, p. 74). It has been identified by Dr. Burgess with Lucknow (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 44).

Biśakhā-pattana—Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency.

Biśālā—1. Besāḍ, in the district of Mozaffarpur in the Bihar Province, the Baiśālī of the Buddhist period (see *Baiśālī*). At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ādi, ch. 45), the town was situated on the northern bank of the Ganges and not on the Gaṇḍak; at the time of Kshemendra in the 11th century, it was on the river Balgumatī (*Ava. Kalp.*, ch. 39). 2. Ujin, the capital of Avanti (*Meghadūta I*, 31; *Hemakosha*; *Skanda P.*, Revā kh., ch. 47). 3. An affluent of the Gaṇḍak in Baiśālī (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84).

Biśālā-badārī—See *Badarikārama*.

Biśālā-chhatra—Same as *Biśālā*. Hajipur was included in the kingdom of Baiśālā. Rāmchandra, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra, on their way to Mithilā, are said to have halted at Hajipur for one night on the site of the present temple called Rāmachaṇḍa, which contains the image of Rāmachandra and the impression of his feet. Haji Shamsuddin, king of Bengal, established his capital at Hajipur in the middle of the 14th century, and from him the name of Hajipur has been derived. It still contains a stone mosque said to have been built by him close to the Sonpur G'āṭ. The celebrated Rājā Todar Mal lived at Hajipur when he made the settlement of Bengal and Bihar and is said to have resided in the fort (*killā*), the ruins of which still exist and contain the Nepalese temple. Sonpur, situated at the confluence of the Gaṇḍak and the Ganges, was also included in Biśālā-chhatra. It was at Sonpur (Gajendramoksha-tīrtha) that Viṣṇu is said to have released the elephant from the clutches of the alligator, the fight between whom has been described in the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (ch. 144). They fought for five thousand years all along the place from a lake called Kāṇḍā-Tālāo, five miles to the north-west of Sonpur, to the junction of the Gaṇḍak and the Ganges. Viṣṇu, after releasing the elephant, established the Mahādeva Hariharanātha and worshipped him. Rāmachandra, on his way to Janakapur, is said to have stopped for three nights on the site of the temple at Sonpur; hence in his honour, a celebrated fair is held there every year.

Biśalyā—A branch of the Nerbada (*Kāma P.* ch. 39).

Biśṇu-gayā—Lenar in Berar, not far from Mekhar; it is a celebrated place of religious resort.

Biśṇugriha—Tamluk. Same as *Tāmrāliptī* (*Hema-kosha*).

Biśvāmitra—The river Biśvāmitrā in Gujarāt on which Baroda is situated (*Mahābhārata Bhīṣma*, ch. 9).

Biśvāmitra-ārama—Buxar, in the district of Shahabad in Bihar. It was the hermitage of Rishi Viśvāmitra, where Rāmachandra is said to have killed the Rākshasī Tāḍakā. The Charitra-vana at Buxar is said to have been the hermitage of the Rishi (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, ch. 26), and the western side of Buxar near the river Thora was the ancient Siddhāśrama, the reputed birth-place of Vāmana Deva (see *Siddhāśrama*). The hermitage of Rishi Viśvāmitra is also pointed out as Devakuṇḍa, 25 miles north-west of Gayā. Same as *Bedagarbhapurī*. The hermitage of the Rishi was also situated on the western bank of the Sarasvatī opposite to Sthānu-tīrtha in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch. 43). It was also situated on the river Kauśikī, modern Kusi.

Bitabhaya-pattana—Bithā, eleven miles south-west of Allahabad on the right bank of the Jamuna (*Vira-charitra* of the Jains quoted by General Cunningham in *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. 3) But from seals found by Sir John Marshall at Bhitā, the ancient name of the place appears to be Vichhi and Vichhi-grāma, and not Bitabhaya-pattana. (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 127).

Bitāṃsā—Same as **Bitastā**.

Bitastā—The river Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks (*Rigveda* X, 75), and Bitāṃsā of the Buddhists ("Questions of King Milinda," *SBE.*, p. xxliv).

Bodha—The country round **Indraprastha** (*q.v.*) which contained the celebrated Tīrtha called Nigamod-bodha, perhaps briefly called Bodha (*Mbh.*, Bhīshma, ch. 9; *Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 66).

Bolor—Baltistan, or little Thibet, a small state north of Kāśmīr to distinguish it from Middle Thibet or Ladakh and Great Thibet or Southern Tartary.

Brahma—A country in Eastern India, perhaps Burma (*Rāmāyana*, Kishkindhā, ch. 40).

Brahmagiri—1. A mountain in the Nasik district, Bombay, near Tryambaka, in which the Godāvarī has its source (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62). 2. A mountain in Coorg, in which the Kāverī has its source (*see* Kāverī).

Brahmakūṇḍa—The *Kūṇḍa* from which the river Brahmaputra issues: it is a place of pilgrimage (*see* Lohitya).

Brahmanada—The river Brahmaputra (*Bṛihat-Dharma-Purāṇa*, Madhya kh., ch. 10).

Brahmanāla—Maṇikarnikā in Benares.

Bṛahmaṇī—The river Bahmni in Orissa (*Mbh.*, Bhīshma, ch. 9; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 3).

Brahmapura—Garwal and Kumaon (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, ch. 14).

Brahmaputra—Same as **Lohitya**. *See* *Brahma P.*, ch. 64.

Brahmarshi—The country between Brahmāvartta and the river Jamuna: it comprised Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pañchāla and Śūrasena (*Manu-Saṃhitā*, ch. 2, v. 19).

Brahmasara—1. Same as Rāmahrada (*Mbh.*, Anuśāsana, 25). 2. In Gaya (*Agni P.*, ch. 115) *see* *Dharmāraṇya*. 3. Same as **Brahmatīrtha** (*Padma P.*, Śrīṣṭi, ch. 19).

Brahma-tīrtha—Pushkara lake, near Ajmir in Rajputana (*Kārma P.*, Pt. II, 37).

Brahmāvartta—1. The country between the rivers Sarasvatī and Drisadvatī, where the Aryans first settled themselves. From this place they occupied the countries known as Brahmarshi-deśa (*Manu-Saṃhitā*, ch. 2). It was afterwards called Kurukshetra. It has been identified generally with Sirhind (Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 51). Its capital was Karavīrapura on the river Drishadvatī according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, chs. 48, 49, and Barhishmatī according to the *Bhāgavata*, III, 22. 2. A landing ghāt on the Ganges at Bithur in the district of Cawnpur, called the Brahmāvartta-tīrtha, which is one of the celebrated places of pilgrimage.

Braja—Purāṇa Gokul, or Mahāvana, a village in the neighbourhood of Mathurā across the Jamuna, where Kṛishṇa was reared by Nanda during his infancy (*Bhāgavata P.*, X., ch. 3). The name of Braja was extended to Brindāvana and the neighbouring villages, the scene of Kṛishṇa's early life and love. At Mahāvana is shown the lying-in room in which Mahāmāyā was born and Kṛishṇa substituted for her. This room and Nanda's house are situated on two high mounds of earth. Nanda's house contains a large colonnaded hall in

which are shown the cradle of Kṛishṇa and the spots where Putanā was killed and where Śiva appeared to see the infant god. At a short distance from the house of Nanda are the mortar which was overturned by the infant Kṛishṇa, and the place which contained the twin Arjuna trees broken by Kṛishṇa. Gokul or new Gokul was founded by Ballabhā-chāryya in imitation of Mahāvana or Purāṇa (old) Gokul and contains also the same famous spots that are shown in Mahāvana. The shrine of Śyām Lalā at new Gokula is believed to mark the spot where Yaśodā, the wife of Nanda, gave birth to Māyā or Yoga-nidrā, substituted by Vāsudeva for the infant Kṛishṇa. Nanda's palace at Gokul (new Gokul) was converted into a mosque at the time of Aurangzeb. Outside the town is Putnām-khar, where Kṛishṇa is said to have killed Putanā. Growse identifies Mahavana with Klisoboras of the Greeks and supposes that the modern Braja was the ancient Anupa-deśa (Growse's *Mathurā*); Ashtigrāma was the birth-place of Rādhikā (*Adi P.*, ch. 12). See Gokula and Braja-maṇḍala.

Braja-maṇḍala—It comprises an area of 84 *kos* containing many villages and towns and sacred spots associated with the adventures of Kṛishṇa and Rādhikā. The 12 Vanas and 24 Upa-Vanas are specially visited by pilgrims in their perambulation commencing from Mathurā in the month of Bhādra. At the village of Maholi is Madhuvana, the stronghold of the Daitya named Madhu; at Tarsi is Tālavana where Balarāma defeated the demon Dhenuka; at Rādhākūṇḍa are two sacred pools called Śyāmakūṇḍa and Rādhākūṇḍa, where Kṛishṇa expiated his sin after he had slain the bull Arishta; at the town of Gobardhan, which contains the celebrated hill of that name on the bank of the tank called Mānas Gaṅgā, is the ancient temple of Hari Deva; at Paitho, the people of Braja came to take shelter from the storms of Indra under the hill uplifted by Kṛishṇa (see Govardhana); at Gantholi, the marriage knot was tied which confirmed the union of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa; at Kambana, the demon Aghasura was killed by Kṛishṇa; at Barsana, Rādhikā was brought up by her parents Vṛishabhānu and Kirat; at Rithora was the home of Chandrāvalī, Rādhikā's faithful attendant; at Nandagāon was the abode of Nanda and Yaśodā; at Pānsarovara, Kṛishṇa drove his cattle morning and evening to water; at Charan Pāhāḷ, Indra did homage to Kṛishṇa; at Chirghāṭ on the Jamuna, Kṛishṇa stole the bathers' clothes; at Vaka-vana, Vakāsura was slain by Kṛishṇa; at Bhatronḍ, some Brāhmanas' wives supplied Kṛishṇa and his companions with food (rice), notwithstanding that their husbands had refused to do so; at Bhāṇḍira-vana, Balarāma vanquished the demon Pralamba; at Raval, Rādhikā was born and passed the first years of infancy before her parents went to live at Barshana; at Brahmāṇḍa Ghāṭ, beyond the village of Hathora, Kṛishṇa showed Yaśodā the universe within his mouth; at Mahāvana, Kṛishṇa passed his infancy and killed Putanā; at Mathurā, he killed Kāṃsa and rested at Bisrānta Ghāṭ (*Bhāgavata P.*, and Growse's "Country of Braj" in *JASB.*, 1871). See Braja.

Briddha-kāśī—A celebrated place of pilgrimage now called Pudubeli-Gopuram in the presidency of Madras. It was visited by Chaitanya, who defeated here the Buddhists in controversy (Śyāmlāl Goswāmi's *Gaura-sundara*).

Bṛikasthala—At a short distance to the south of Hastināpura (*Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 86).

Bṛikshakhaṇḍa—See Chitabhūmi.

Brindāvana—Brindāban in the district of Mathurā, where Kṛishṇa showed to the world examples of transcendental love through the Gopīs. The original image of Govindajī was removed to Jaipur and that of Madanamohana to Karaali in anticipation

of the raid of Aurangzeb. The splendid and magnificent pyramidal old temple of Govindaji with its elegant carvings and sculptures was built by Man Singh in the thirty-fourth year of Akbar's reign (Growse's *Mathurâ* and *Brahmavaivarta P.*, ch. 17 and *Bhâgavata P.* X, ch. 12). The Nidhuvana and Nikunjavana, the celebrated bowers of love, Pulina, the place of the râsamandala, the Bastraharana-ghât, the Kâliya-daha-ghât,—all situated in Brindâvana were the scenes of Kṛishna's love and adventures. Brindâvana appears to have attained celebrity at the time of Kâlidâsa (*Raghuvamśa*, VI, 50). Brindâvana was visited by the poet Bilhanâ who composed his *Bikramânkadeva-charita* about A.D. 1085 (see canto XVIII, v. 87). The cenotaph of Hari-lâs is situated in his hermitage, whence Akbar in his visit to Brindâvana took away his disciple, the celebrated musician Tânasena to his court. The predominance of the Buddhist religion for several centuries served to efface all traces of the sacred localities of Brindâvana, but were again restored by the explorations of Rûpa and Sanâtana, the celebrated followers of Chaitanya. But the identification of modern Brindâban with the Brindâvana of the Purâṇas is extremely doubtful for the following reasons: (1) Modern Brindâban is six miles from Mathurâ, whereas it took Akura the whole day from sunrise to sunset to drive from Brindâvana to Mathurâ in a car drawn by swift horses (*Vishnu P.*, Pt. V, ch. 18, vs. 12 and 33, and ch. 19, v. 9, *Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. X, ch. 39, v. 30, and ch. 41, v. 4). (2) Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishna, removed from Gokula, which is six miles from Mathurâ, across the Jamuna to Brindâvana to escape molestations from the myrmidons of Kamsa, king of Mathurâ (*Vishnu P.*, Pt. V, ch. vi, vs. 23, 25, and *Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. X, ch. xi, vs. 10—14). It is therefore not likely that he should select for his sojourn modern Brindâvana which is also six miles from Mathurâ and on the same side of the Jamunâ, leaving the natural barrier of a river. (3) Brindâvan does not contain any mountain, whereas ancient Brindâvana is described as mountainous (*Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. X, ch. xi, v. 14). (4) Ancient Brindâvana and Mathurâ seem to have been situated on the opposite sides of the Yamunâ (*Vishnu P.*, Part V, ch. 18, v. 33, and *Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. X, ch. 39, v. 34).

Brishabhānupura—Same as **Barshāna**.

Britraghni—The Vâtrak, a tributary of the Sabarmatî in Gujarât (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 60; *Mûrkand P.*, ch. 57). Same as **Betravatî** (2) and **Bartraghni** (cf. *Padma P.* Uttara chs. 53 and 60).

Buddhavana—Budhain, about six miles north of Tapovan in the district of Gaya.

Bukephala—Jalâlpur in the Punjab (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, 176, 177). This was the place where Alexander the Great's favourite horse was interred. For Alexander's route to India, see *JASB.*, X (1842). "Note on the Passes to Hindoostan from the West and North-west" by H. T. Prinsep; *JASB.*, XXI (1852), p. 214.

Byâghrapura—1. Same as *Kûli* (*MB.*, p. 139). 2. Same as **Bedagarbhapuri** (*Skanda P.*, Sûta-Saṃhitâ, IV, Yajña kh., ch. 24).

Byâghrasara—Buxar in the district of Shahabad. See **Bedagarbhapuri**.

Byâsa-asrama—Manal, a village near Badrinâth in Garwal in the Himalayas. It was the hermitage of Rishi Vyâsa, the author of the *Mahâbhârata*, and the reputed author of the *Purâṇas*.

Byâsa-kâsi—Râmnagar, opposite to Benares across the Ganges. The temple dedicated to Vyâsa Rishi is situated within the precincts of the palace of the Mahârâjâ of Benares (*Skanda P.*, Kâsi-kh.).

C

Chaityagiri—Same as Chetiyagiri.

Chakranagara—Keljhar, 17 miles north-east of Wardha in the Central Provinces (Cousen's *Arch. S. Rep.*, "Central Provinces and Berar," p. 10; *Śiva P.*, Sanat-kumāra-Saṃhitā, ch. 17). It is perhaps the Chakrāṅkanagara of the *Padma Purāna*, Pâtāla kh. ch., 13).

Chakrāṅkanagara—See **Chakranagara**.

Chakra-tirtha—1. In Kurukshetra, same as *Rāma-hrada*. 2. In Prabhāsa in Gujarāt on the Gomati (*Dvārakā-māhātmya*). 3. Six miles from the village called Tryamvaka, which is near the source of the Godāvari. 4. In Benares: a kuṇḍa or reservoir enclosed by an iron railing in the *Maṇikarṇikā-ghāt*. 5. In Rāmeśvara (*Skanda P.*, Brahma kh., Setu Mahāt., ch. 3).

Chakshu—The river Oxus or Amu Daria (*Matsya P.*, ch. 120; *Asiatic Researches*, VIII, p. 330). The *Brahmānda P.* (ch. 51) mentions the names of the countries through which it flows. It is mentioned by Bhāskarāchāryya as a river which proceeds to Katumāla (*Siddhānta-śiro-maṇi*, Bhubana-kosha, 37, 38). The *Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma P., ch. 11, says that it flows through Sāka-dvīpa. It rises in the Pamir lake, called also the Sari-kul or yellow lake, at a distance of 300 miles to the south of the Jaxartes (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 278).

Chakshushmati—Same as *Ikshumati* (cf. *Varāha P.*, ch. 85 with *Matsya P.*, ch. 113).

Chamatkārapura—Ānandapura or Baranagara in the district of Ahmadabad in the province of Gujarat, anciently called Ānartta-deśa, where Liṅga worship was first established and the first Liṅga or phallic image of Mahādeva was called Achalesvara. But according to other Purānas, Liṅga worship was first established at Devadāru-vana or Dāru or Daruka-vana in Garwal (see **Devadāruvana**). Chamatkārapura was also called Nagara, the original abode of the Nāgara Brāhmins (*Skanda P.* Nagara kh., chs. 1—13, 114). See **Hataka-kshetra** and **Ānandapura**. The Nāgara Brāhmins are said to have invented the Nāgri alphabet [see my paper on the "Origin of the Bengali Alphabet (*Banga-lipir utpatti*)" in the *Suvarṇabanik-Samāchār*, Vol. II.] See **Daruvana**.

Champā—1. Same as **Champāpuri**. 2. Siam, according to Hiuen Tsiang: it was the country of the Yavanas. (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang: Introduction*). 3. Tonquin and Cambodia (Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. 11, p. 255 note). 4. The river Champā was between the countries of Aṅga and Magadha (*Champeyya Jātaka* in the *Jātakas*, Cam. Ed. IV, p. 281). 5. Champā was also the name of the territory now called Chambā which comprised the valleys of the sources of the Ravi between Kangra, the ancient Trigaitta, and Kāshthavāṭa (Dr. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, II, p. 431).

Champakā—Same as Champāranya: 5 miles to the north of Rajim in Central India. It was the capital of Rājā Haṇsadhvaja (*Jaimini-bhārata*, ch. 17).

Champakāranya—Champaran: see **Champāranya** (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 19).

Champā-nadī—The river formed the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha (*Champeyya-Jātaka* in the *Jātakas*, Cam. Ed., IV, No. 506). It was a place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Śrīṣṭi, ch. 11).

Champānagara—1. Chāndniā or Chāndmaya, after the name of Chānd Sadāgar, about 12 miles north of Bogra, and five miles north of Mahāsthānāgar in the district of Bogra in Bengal. It is said to have been the residence of Chānd Sadāgar of the famous tale of *Manasūr-Bhāsān*, and it is associated with the story of the devotion of Behulā to her husband Nakhindhara, the youngest son of Chānd Sadāgar. There are two marshes called Gori and Sauri, on either side of the village, which are said to be the

remains of two great rivers. It is now situated on the river Karatoyâ (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. VIII, p. 196). The Kâlidaha Sâgar, a large lake outside the rampart of Mahâsthâna fort is the Kâlidaha of the story [*JASB.*, 1878, p. 94 (Beveridge)]. But Chând Sadâgar's residence is also pointed out at Champânagara near Bhagalpur, where a fair is held every year in honour of Behulâ and Nakhindhara. See, however, Ujâni. 2. Same as Champâpuri.

Champâpuri—Same as Champâ. Champânagara, situated at a distance of about four miles to the west of Bhagalpur. It was also called Mâlinî and Champâ-mâlinî (*Matsya P.*, ch. 48; *Hemakosha*). It was the capital of ancient Aûga, of which the king was Râjâ Romapâda or Lomapâda who adopted Daśaratha's daughter Śântâ (*Râmâyana*, Âdi, ch. 10). Lomapâda's great-grandson Champâ is said to have founded the town of Champânagara which was formerly called Mâlinî, but it is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana P., ch. 112) that Champâ was the capital of Lomapâda. At the time of the *Mahâbhârata* it was the capital of Karṇa, the ally of Duryodhana. It is also described as a place of pilgrimage in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana P., ch. 85). The Karṇagaḍ which is included in Champânagara, contains the remains of a fort which is pointed out as the fort of Karṇa, who was brought up at this place. But it has been thought by some that Karṇagaḍ in Champânagara and Karṇachandâ in Monghir have been named after Karṇasena, king of Karṇasuvârṇa, who had conquered Aûga and Baûga. There is a temple of Mahâdeva called Manaskâmanânâtha, which is said to have been set up by Râjâ Karṇa, but which appears to have been built on the site of an ancient Buddhist temple. Just outside the temple on the southern side there are many Buddhist statues. The vestiges of the ramparts of the fort on all sides still exist. Champânagara was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century as a Buddhist place of pilgrimage. Champa was the birth-place of "Biraja-Jina," the author of the celebrated Buddhist work *Laṅkāvatâra Sûtra* (ch. 10), and also that of Pâlakâpya Muni, the author of the *Hastyâyurveda* (a treatise on the diseases of elephants). Sona Kolavisa, the author of one of the *Theragâthâs* was a resident of Champâ (*Mahāvagga*, V., 1). Many Buddhist statues and remains of ancient pillars are still found scattered over the town. The remains of the mound, on which the surrounding wall of the town was situated, as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, may still be seen close to the Nathnagar Railway Station. Spence Hardy, on the authority of Csoma Körösi, states that a king of Aûga (Brahmadatta), whose capital was Champâ, had conquered Magadha before the birth of Buddha, but when Bimbisâra, then a prince, grew up, he invaded Aûga and caused the king to be slain : after which he resided at Champâ till the death of his father Kshatrañjas, when he returned to Râjagṛiha (*Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p. 166, second ed., Duff's *Chronicle*, p. 5). Since that time, Aûga remained subject to Magadha. Champâpuri is also a very sacred place to the Jainas, inasmuch as it was visited by Mahâvîra, the last Tîrthaṅkara who spent here three Parjjusanas (rainy season retirement) (*Kalpasûtra*, ch. vi), and it is the birth-place and the place of death of Bâsupûjya, the twelfth Tîrthaṅkara, whose symbol is the buffalo. He was the son of Bâsupûjya and Jayâ (Buchanan's *Observations on the Jainas : Asiat. Res.*, IX, 30). The temple of Bâsupûjya was erected by a Jaipur chief, Sungree Siree Dhata and his wife Sungvin Siree Surjaiee in the Yudhisṭhira era 2559 (see the Inscription in Major Francklin's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*, pp. 16, 17 : Yudhisṭhira Era 2559 corresponds to 541 B.C.). At Nathnagar, which is a quarter (*mahallâ*) of Champânagara exists this beautiful temple of the Digambara sect, which is dedicated to Bâsupûjya, who is said to have lived and died at the site of this

temple. From the inscriptions on some Jaina images exhumed from the neighbourhood of an old Jaina temple at Ajmer, it appears that these images, which were of Bâsupûjya, Mallinâtha, Pârśvanâtha, and Vardhamâna were dedicated in the thirteenth century A.D., i.e., ranging from Samvat 1239 to 1247 (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 52). The *Uvâsagadasâo* mentions that a temple called Chaitya Punnabhadda existed at Champâ at the time of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Mahâvîra who succeeded as the head of the Jaina sect on his death (Hoernle's *Uvâsagadasâo*, p. 2, notes, *Jñatâdharma-sûtrapâñha*). The town was visited by Sudharman, the head of the Jaina hierarchy, at the time of Kuṇika or Ajâtaśatru who came barefooted to see the Gaṇadhara outside the city where he had taken up his abode. Sudharman's successor Jambu and Jambu's successor Prabhava also visited Champâ, and Prabhava's successor Sayambhava lived at this city where he composed the *Daśavaikālika Sûtra* containing in ten lectures all the essence of the sacred doctrines of Jainism (Hemchandra's *Sthavirâvalī* or *Parīśiṣṭaparvā*, Cantos IV, V). After the death of Bimbisâra, Kuṇika or Ajâtaśatru made Champâ his capital, but after his death, his son Udâyin transferred the seat of government to Pâtaliputra (Canto VI). On the northern side of this old temple of Bâsupûjya, there is another temple dedicated to him, but it has been newly built. At Champânagara proper, there is another temple of the Jains belonging to the Svetâmbara sect, containing the images of many Tīrthaṅkaras. Champâ has been described in the *Daśakumâra-charita* as abounding in rogues. From the *Champakâ-Śreṣṭhi-Kathâ*, a Jaina work, it appears that the town was in a very flourishing condition. In the opening lines, the castes and trades of the town are enumerated. There were perfumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy sellers, jewellers, leather-tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen, etc. The name of the king is mentioned as Sâmantâ Pâla : his minister was Briddhadatta (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* by M. M. Haraprasâda Śâstrī, 1892). Champânagara is also traditionally the abode of Chând Sadâgar, the story of whose son Lakhindara and his wife Behulâ is so graphically related in the poem called *Manasâr-Bhâsân*. The place where he was bitten by the snake and the Ghât where his dead body was launched are still pointed out close to the East Indian Railway bridge. It is still called Behulâ Ghât and is situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Chandan, where Behulâ is said to have put the corpse of her deceased husband on a raft and carried it to different places till it was miraculously restored to life. A great fair is held here every year in the month of Bhâdra in honour of Behulâ, the devoted wife of Lakhindara. The Ganges flowed by the side of the town, but, within the course of the last fifty years, it has receded about a mile to the north. Of all the places claimed as the residence of Chând Sadâgar, (as Champâi in the district of Burdwan near the river Gangur or Behulâ-nadī and Chandnia or Chandmaya in the district of Bogra), this place has the most preferential claim, inasmuch as it is situated on the Ganges, on which the story and the tradition place the Champânagara of Chând Sadâgar, and there was, according to the Hindu and Buddhist works, no other Champânagara on the Ganges except the Champânagara near Bhagalpur. At the time of Buddha, Champâ was one of the six great cities of India, for Ânanda exhorted him to die in one of these great cities : Champâ, Râjagriha, Srâvasti, Sâketa, Kauśâmbī and Benares, and not in the insignificant town of Kusinâra (*Mahâparinibbana-suttanta*, ch. V). Subhadrângī, the mother of Asoka, was born at Champâ. Her father was a poor Brâhman, who took her to Pâtaliputra and presented her to Bindusâra called also Amitraghâta, king of Magadha (347 to 319 B.C.), in consequence of a prognostication that she would be a great queen. The jealous queens, however, employed her in menial work, but she attracted the attention of the king, who made her his

queen. She became the mother of Aśoka and Vitāśoka. The artificial lake excavated by Queen Gaggārā mentioned in Buddhist works, containing groves of Champaka trees on its banks, where wandering monks (*Pabbajikas*) used to reside at the time of Buddha (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*; *Mahāvagga*, IX, 1; *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta*, I, with Dr. Rhys Davids' notes), may be identified with the large silted-up tank now called Sarovara, from the depth of which Buddhist statues were recovered. Champā was surrounded by groves of Champaka trees even at the time of the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana P.* ch. 42). The king of Champāpurī had two beautiful palaces, one called Gaṇḍalātā, at Kuruchattar, now called Karpāt, seven miles east of Bhagalpur at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna near the Gogha-nālā, and the other called Kṛidāsthali near Pātharghātā was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Kōsi (Franklin's *Site of Palibothra*, pp. 28, 29. See my "Notes on Ancient Aṅga" in *JASB.*, X (1914).

Champāranya.—1. Five miles to the north of Rajim in Central India. It is a place of pilgrimage to the Buddhists and Jainas. Same as Champaka of the *Jaimini Bhārata*. 2. Champaran in the Patna division (*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, ch. 7).

Champavati.—1. Champauti, the ancient capital of Kumaon. It was also called Champā-tīrtha and mentioned after Badarekā (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 85). For the history of the kings of Kumaon, see *JASB.*, 1814, p. 887. 2. Semylla of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Saimur of the Arabs: modern Chaul, 25 miles south of Bombay. It is now also called Revadaṇḍa (ancient Revāvantī of the inscription, *JRAS.*, Vol. III, p. 386) or Revatīkshetra. It is situated in the Kolaba district in Northern Konkan, and is said to have been the capital of an independent kingdom situated in Paraśurāmakhestra. Perhaps it is the Champavati of the *Skanda P.* (*Brahmottara kh.*, ch. xvi). Chaul was a noted place of trade (Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 3—11).

Chandanā.—1. The river Sabarmatī in Gujarāt (*Padma P.*). 2. The river Chandan in the Santal Pergana in the presidency of Bengal; it falls into the Ganges (*Rāmāyana*, Kishkindhā, XL, 20).

Chand na-giri.—The Malaya-giri—the Malabar Ghats (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*).

Chandanāvati.—An ancient name of Baroda in the Gaekwar's territory (Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, Vol. I, p. 138).

Chandanivati.—See Chandrapura (*Jaimini-Bhārata*, ch. 54).

Chandapura.—Chayenpur, five miles to the west of Bhabuā in the district of Shahabad in Behar. The celebrated battle described in the *Chandī* between Kālī and the two kings Śumbha and Niśumbha, is said to have been fought at this place. The *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* (ch. 85), however, places the scene of the battle in the Himalayas; the *Vāmana P.* (ch. 55) places it at Bindhyāchala. The name of Chandapura is derived from the name of one of the two brothers, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, who were the generals of the kings. The Chaumukhi Mahādeva and Durgā in a temple at Muṇḍeśvarī are said to have been established by the other brother Muṇḍa. Muṇḍeśvarī is seven miles south-west of Bhabuā; the temple, according to Dr. Bloch, is very old, the carving being of the Gupta style (Bloch's *Arch. Rep.*, 1902). The temple bears a date which is equivalent to A.D. 635 (Sir John Marshall's *Arch. S. Rep.—Eastern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 38). The *Vāmana P.* (chs. 19 and 55), however, says that they were the generals of Mahishāsura and were killed by the goddess Bindubāsinī on the Vindhyā Mountain.

Chandelgada.—Chunar. The name of Chandelgada has been derived from the Chandels, a tribe of Kshatriyas who had established their sway between Mirzapur and the districts of Shahabad. They originally came from Mahoba (modern Bundelkhand) and took possession of the fort after the Pāla Rājās. See Charaṇādri.

- Chandrabhāga**—1. The Chinab—the Acesines of the Greeks, or rather the united streams of the Jhelum and the Chinab. It has its source in a lake called Lohitya sarovara (*Kālikā P.*, ch. 82), in Lahoul, south of Ladakh, or Middle Tibet. 2. The river Bhīmā, a branch of the Kṛishṇā.
- Chandradityapura**—Chamdor in the Nasik district; it was the capital of Dṛiḥaprahāra, a king of the Yādava dynasty. (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, Sec. XIV.)
- Chandragiri**—Near Belgola, not far from Seringapatam, sacred to the Jainas. The ancient name of the place was Deya Durga. (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 520.) See **Arbuda**.
- Chandrapura**—Chāndā in the Central Provinces: it was the capital of king Hamsadhvaja (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions: Introd.* XXIX), but in the *Jaimini-Bhārata* (ch. 17), Hamsadhvaja is said to have been king of Champaka-nagarī. Chandrapura or Chandrāvati or Chandanāvati was two Yojanas or two days' journey from Kuntalakupura or Kautalakapura (*Jaimini-Bhārata*, ch. 53). See **Kuntalakapura**.
- Chandrapuri**—1. Same as *Chandwar* (*Varāha P.*, ch. 122). 2. Same as *Chandrikāpurī* and *Chandripura*, the name of Śrāvastī or Sahet-mahet in the Gonda district in Oudh.
- Chandrasekhara**—See **Chattala**.
- Chandra-tirtha**—See **Kāverī**.
- Chandravati**—Chanderi in the Lalitpur district, Central India, Sandravatis of the Greeks, and Chandbari of the *Prithvirāj Rāso*. It was the capital of Śiśupāla, king of Chedi (P. Mukherji's *Lalitpur*).
- Chandrāvati**—1. The river Chāndan or Andhelā which falls into the Ganges, near Champānagar in the district of Bhagalpur. It is the Andomatis of Arrian. See **Andha**. 2. Jhalrapattan in Rajputana (Tod's *Rajasthan*, II, p. 1602). 3. Near Abu (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 185.)
- Chandrikā**—The river Chandrabhāgā (Chenab).
- Chandrikāpurī**—Śrāvastī or Sahet-mahet in the district of Gonda in Oudh: it was the birth-place of Sambhavanātha, the third Tīrthaṅkara, and of Chandraprabhānātha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas. There is a Jaina temple dedicated to Sobhānātha, which name is a corruption of Sambhavanātha (see **Śrāvastī**).
- Chandripura**—Same as **Chandrikāpurī**.
- Chandwar**—Firozabad, near Agra, where in 1193 A. D. Shahabuddin Ghorī defeated Jaya Chandra, king of Kanauj (Thornton's *Gazetteer*). Chandwar is evidently a contraction of Chandrapura (*Varāha P.*, ch. 122).
- Charaṇādri**—Chunar in the district of Mirzapur (*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, vii). The hill-fort of Chunar was at one time considered one of the most impregnable forts in India. It was built by the Pāla Rājās, who reigned over Bengal and Behar from the middle of the eighth to the twelfth century of the Christian era. According to Buchanan (*Martin's Eastern India*) some of the Pāla Rājās lived there, which implies that it was a place of much importance at that period. The portion of the fort, which is called Bhartṛihari's palace, is the place where he performed asceticism. The tradition is that Bhartṛihari after eating the immortal fruit travelled to various places and halted at Sehwan, Bhartewar, Chunar, Benares and other places (*JASB.*, 1837, p. 852). Bhartṛihari was the author of a celebrated work called *Bhartṛihari-Śāstra* and of the *Vairāgya-śataka*. For the story of his birth, see **Prabandhachintāmaṇi** (Tawney's trans.) p. 198. He entered seven times a Buddhist monastery as a priest and seven times returned to the laity and became Upāsaka. He died in 651-652 A. D. (I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, p. 180 and General Introduction, p. LVII). The fort is said to have been protected by the

goddess Gaigā Devī all the day, except in the first *pahar* of the morning, when it was taken by the English. It contains a state-prison where Trimbakji Danglia, the minister of Bajī Rao who was the adoptive father of Nana Saheb, was kept confined till his death (Heber's *Journal*, Vol. I). The fort was strengthened by Sultan Mahmud before his descent on Benares in 1017; in 1575, it held out against the Mughal army for six months and in 1764. it was taken by the English.

Charitrapura—Puri in Orissa (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 510; *R. W. C.*, II, 205).

Charmanvatī—The river Chambal in Rajputana. It has its source in a very elevated point of the Vindhya amongst a cluster of hills called Janapava. It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chambal, Chambela and Gambhīrā. The river is said to have been formed by the "juice of skin" (blood) of the cows sacrificed at the Yajña of Rantideva (*Mbh.*, Droṇa P., ch. 67; *Meghadūta*, Pt. I, v. 46).

Chattāla—Chittagong (*Tantrachudāmaṇi*, ch. 51). The temple of Bhavāni on the Chandrasekhara hill near Sitākunḍa is one of the 52 Pīṭhas, where a portion of Satī's right hand is said to have fallen. The *Bārāhī Tantra* (ch. 31) contains some account of the Chandrasekhara hill as a place of pilgrimage.

Chatushpīṭha-parvata—The Assia range, one mile to the south of Jajpur in the district of Kaṭak in Orissa: Udaya-giri is a spur of this range, five miles from Bhuvanēśvara, containing many Buddhist caves and sculptures of ancient date. The range is also called Khaṇḍa-giri and Alti-giri. (*JASB.*, Vol. XXXIX).

Chaushath-joginī—Same as *Bhṛigu-tīrtha*.

Chāya—Porebunder in Guzerat: a famous port at the commencement of the Christian era.

Chedi—Bundelkhand and a part of the Central Provinces. It was bounded on the west by the Kali-Sindh and on the east by the Tonse. It is the Chetī of the Buddhists. Tod (*Rājasthān*, I, 43 note) identifies Chedi with Chanderi (Chandravatī or Sandravatis of the Greeks), a town in Bundelkhand, which is said to have been the capital of Śiśupāla, who was killed by Kṛishṇa (see also *JASB.*, Vols. XV and LXXI, p. 101). It is 18 miles west of Lalitpur: the ruins of old Chanderi, however, are 8 miles north-west of the modern town (*JASB.*, 1902, p. 108 note). Chanderi has been described in the *Ain-i Akbari* as a very large ancient city containing a fort. According to Dr. Führer (*M. A. I.*), General Cunningham, (*Arch. S. Rep.*, IX, 106), and Dr. Bühler (*Vikramāṅka-charita*, xviii. 95), however, Dāhala Maṇḍala or Bundelkhand was the ancient Chedi, Dāhala being on the Narbada. In the *Skanda P.*, Revā-khaṇḍa, ch. 56, Maṇḍala is said to be another name for Chedi. Mandala is the Mandalai of Ptolemy, a territory situated in that upland region where the Sona and the Narmadā have their sources (McCindlie's *Ptolemy*, p. 168). Kālāñjara was the capital of Chedi under the Gupta kings, and Suktimatī its capital at the time of the *Mahābhārata*. Chedi was also called Tripurī from its capital now called Tewar, six miles from Jabbalpur (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 220, 253, and *Hemakosha*). Tewar (Teor) was the capital of Dāhala (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 202). The *Anargharāghava* (Act VII, 115), says that Māhishamatī was the capital of Chedimaṇḍala at the time of the Kalachuris. See *Suktimatī*.

Chela-gaṅgā—The Kāverī (*Harivamśa*, ch. 136).

Chera—It comprised the present kingdom of Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, South Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. Chera is a corruption of Kerala. The period from the third to the seventh century A. D., appears to have been the most flourishing in the history of this kingdom. In Asoka's Edicts, it is called Keralaputra. Its ancient capital was

Skandapura situated at a short distance to the west of Guzzelhati Pass (*JRAS.*, 1846, p. 11) in the Coimbatore district. According to Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A. D., its capital was Karoura or Karur, called also Vanji, situated near Cranganore on the left bank of the Amarâvati, a tributary of Kâverî; its larger capital was Tâlkâd (Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 33). Tâlkâd or Dalavanapura is situated on the left or north bank of the Kâverî, 28 miles south-west of Mysore city, and about 30 miles east of Seringapatam; its ruins are even now called Tâkâd. It was the capital of the Gaṅgâ Vamśis from the third to the ninth century A. D., and then of the Cholas and Hoysala Ballalas who, however, removed the capital from Tâlkâd to Dvârâvatî or Dorasamudra, now called Halebid, in the Hassan district of Mysore in the 10th century. It was taken by the Râjâ of Mysore in 1634. For an account of the Chera kings, see *Ind. Ant.*, I, 360; *J. R. A. S.*, 1846, pp. 1-29.

Cheta—It is the same as *Chetiya* or *Chetiya-giri*. (*Vessantara-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas* vi, 266; cf. Snence Hardy's *M. B.*, 119).

Cheti—Same as **Chedi**. Its capital was Sotthivatî (*Jâtakas*, iii, 272). See *Suktimatî*.

Chetiya-giri—Besnagar, three miles to the north of Bhilsa in the kingdom of Bhopal, where Asoka married Devî. By her he had twin sons, Ujjenia and Mahinda, and afterwards a daughter Śaṅghamittâ. It was the capital of the country called Dakkhinagiri (Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, ch. XIII) which is perhaps a corruption of Daśârṇa. Dr. Rhys Davids identifies it with Sanchi and Bidiśâ, but these two places are very close to Besnagar. According to General Maisey also, Chetiya-giri is Sanchi "with its numerous Chetiyas or stûpas" about 5 miles south-west of Bhilsa (Maisey's *Sanchi and its Remains*, pp. 3, 5). It was also called Chetiya and Chetiyānagara or Chaitya-giri. It is situated at Trivenî or Triple Junction of the rivers Betwa, Bes (or Besali) and Gaṅgâ, of which the last is believed to flow underground (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 364). See **Bessanagara**.

Chhatravatî—See **Ahicchhatra**.

Chhutudri—The river Chukki in the Panjâb which joins the Bias: it is not the Satadru or Satlej.

Chidambaram—Same as Chittambalam (*Devi-Bhâgavata*; vii, 38). Southern India possesses five *Bhautika* or elementary images of Mahâdeva, namely, the *Kshiti* or earth image at Kâñchipura, *Âp* or water image at Jambukeśvara, *Teja* or fire image at Aruṇâchala, *Marut* or wind image at Kâlahastî, and *Vyoma* or sky image at Chidambaram (Dr. Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhârataravarsa or India*, pp. 379, 380). Siva has eight images of which five are elementary (*Linga P.*, Uttara, ch. 12).

China—1. China. It is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (*Sabhâ P.*, ch. 51) and *Manu* (ch. X, ślk. 44). In the mediæval period, it was called Mahâchîna. The great wall of China was built by Che Hwang-te in 214 B. C. During the reign of the Emperor Ming-te, Kâśyapamâtāṅga and Dharmaraksha were the first Indian Buddhists who went to China (67 A. D.) In the fourth century A. D., the Buddhist religion spread among the Chinese, and the first Buddhist Pagoda was built at Nanking by the Emperor Hiau Twu in 381 A. D. (Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, ch. vi.). 2. Anam (*Sâhitya-Parishat-Patrikâ*, 1321 B. S., p. 63).

Chintâpurî—A celebrated place of pilgrimage on a range of hills of the same name, in Hoshiarpur district, Panjâb, containing a temple of Chhinnamastâ whose picture is placed behind a Piṇḍa-mûrti or conical image. The temple is on the summit of a hillock.

Chitabhūmi—Baidyanāth or Deoghar in the Santal Pargana, containing the temple of Baidyanātha, one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Mahādeva (*Śiva P.*, Bk. I, chs. 38, 55). The Mahādeva there is said to have been established by Rāvaṇa. The place contains also the temple of the goddess Pārvatī, the consort of the god Baidyanātha. It is said to be one of the fifty-two Pīthas (*Hārdapīṭha*), as Sati's heart fell at this place. In the *Uttara Purāṇa* cited by Francklin in his *Site of Ancient Palibothra*, p. 21, Baidyanātha is called Pampāpurī or Palu-gāon, which is perhaps a corruption of Paralipura or Parali-grāma of the *Siva Purāṇa*. For a description of the temples of Baidyanātha or Deoghar, see *JASB.*, 1883, p. 164—'On the temples of Deoghar' by Dr. R. L. Mitra.' In the *Mahā-Liṅgāvara Tantra* in the 'Hundred Names of Śiva', it is mentioned that Baidyanātha and Vakreśvara Mahādevas are situated in Jhārakhaṇḍa, Siddhinātha and Tārakeśvara Mahādevas in Rāda, Ghaṇṭeśvara Mahādeva on the banks of the river Ratnākara (now called Kānā-nadī in the district of Hooghly), and Kapāleśvara Mahādeva on the banks of the Bhāgirathī. Rāvaṇa, while he was carrying Mahādeva from Kailāsa, felt a very uneasy sensation when he came to Haritakivana, the ancient name of Baidyanātha, as Varuṇa, the god of the waters had entered his belly. In order to relieve himself, he placed the god in the hand of Viṣṇu disguised as a Brāhman, and retired to the north-eastern corner of Deoghar called Hārājūdi (a corruption of Haritakī-vana) to relieve himself, and the result was the Karmanāsā rivulet flowing by the north of Hārājūdi. In the meantime, Viṣṇu put down Mahādeva at Deoghar and disappeared (*Śiva P.*, Baidyanātha-Māhāt., ch. 4). The Trikūṭa hill, 6 miles to the east of Baidyanātha, contains a spring of water. The Tapovana hill where Rāvaṇa performed asceticism (*Śiva P.*, Bk. I, ch. 55; *Bṛihat Śiva P.*, II, 20) and which is about the same distance, contains a natural cave.

Chitrakūṭa—Kamptānāth-giri in Bundelkhand: it is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisunī (Payasvinī) or Mandakini, where Rāma dwelt for some time during his exile (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodh. K., ch. 55). It is about four miles from the Chitrakut station of the G. I. P. Railway.

Chitrakūṭa—Same as Payasvinī (2): the river Paisunī (*Vāmana P.*, ch. 13, v. 26).

Chitrarathā—The river Chitrarathī, a tributary of the Northern Pennar (*Mb.*, Bhishma, ch. 9).

Chitropalā—The river Mahānadī in Orissa below its junction with the Pyri (*Mbh.*, Bhishma, ch. 9 and *Asia. Res.*, Vol. XV; *Brahma P.*, ch. 46). But it appears to be the Chittutola (Chitrotpalā), a branch of the Mahānadī (see Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, s. v. Mahanuddy).

Chitrotpalā—Same as Chitropalā (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57; *Arch. S. Rep.*, vii., 155; xvii, 70). The river Mahānadī in Orissa. It was crossed over by Chaitanya after leaving Puri on his way to Bengal (*Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, Pt. II, ch. 16).

Chittambalam—Chidamvaram in south Arcot district, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Madras, and seven miles from the coast. It contains the celebrated temple of Kanakasabhāpati, the name of a Mahādeva. The celebrated Saṅkarāchāryya is said to have been born at Chidamvaram (Ānanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*) and he died at Kāñchipura at the age of thirty-two. According to another account, he is said to have been born at a village called Kalati on the Pūrṇā in Kanara (see Kerala) and to have died at Kedārnath in Garwal. It is now certain that Saṅkara was born at Kalati or Kaladi in Kerala during the reign of Rājanśekhara (Mādhavāchāryya's *Śaṅkaravijaya*).

- Choaspes**—The Kunar or Kamah river which joins the Kophen (modern Kabul river) at some distance below Jalalabad. But according to Prof. Lassen, Choaspes or Euaspla is the Seesha (of Elphinstone's map) which falls into the Kabul river (*JASB.*, IX, 1840, p. 472).
- Choes**—According to Lassen, Choes of Arrian. It is the Kamah river which falls into the Kabul river (*JASB.*, 1840, p. 472).
- Chola**—The Coromandel Coast bounded on the north by the river Pennar or the southern Pinâkinî river, and on the west by Coorg, including the country of Tanjore, i.e. from Nellore to Pudukottai. Its capitals were Uraiyur on the Kâverî (the Orthoura of Ptolemy—the royal city of Sornagos) near Trichinopoly in the second century A. D., and Kâñchipura, Combaconum and Tanjore (Tanjepur) in the eleventh century (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 283). Chola was also called Drâvida (*Padma P.*, Âdikhaṇḍa, ch. 6), and is said to have derived its name from Chola, king of Kâñchipura (*Ibid.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 74). The Chola kingdom merged as a marriage-dowry into the Pâñiya kingdom and continued so for 570 years (*Wilson's Mackenzie Collection ; Intro.*, p. 51).
- Chora**—Same as Chola. In the Asoka Inscription at Girnar, Chola is mentioned as Choḍa (*JASB.*, 1848, p. 169).
- Chyavana-Arama**—1. Chausâ in the district of Shahabad in the province of Bengal: the hermitage of Rishi Chyavana (*Skanda P.*, Avantî Kh., ch. 57). 2. The hermitage of the Rishi was also situated on the Satpura mountains, near the river Payoshnî or modern Pûrṇâ (*Padma P.*, Pâtâla Kh., ch. 8). 3. Dhosi, six miles south of Narnol in the Jaipur territory, where the Rishi's eyes are said to have been pierced by a princess of Anupadeśa, whom he afterwards married. 4. Chilanla on the Ganges in the Rai Bareilly district: it was the abode of the Rishi who was restored to youth by the twin Aśvinî-kumâras.
- Dâhala**—Same as Chedi (Dr. Bühler's *Vikramânka-charita : Introduction*).
- Dâkinî**—Bhîma-śaṅkara at the source of the Bhîmâ, north-west of Poona (Dr. Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, p. 379; Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 367). The temple of Mahâdeva Bhîmaśaṅkara is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and the god is one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva (*Śiva P.*, Pt. I., chs. 38, 40; Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 367). In the *Śiva Purâṇa* Dâkinî is said to be situated on the Western Ghats (Sahyâdri) See *Amaresvara*.
- Dakshina-Gaṅgâ**—1. The river Godâvarî (*Revâ Mâhât.*, ch. 3). 2. In the *Nṛisimha P.*, ch. 66, the Kâverî is called the Dakshina-Gaṅgâ. 3. The Narbada is called the Dakshina-Gaṅgâ in the *Skanda P.*, (*Revâ Khaṇḍa*, ch. 4). 4. The Tungabhadra is called the Dakshina-Gaṅgâ in Bilhana's *Vikramânkadevacharita*.
- Dakshinagiri**—1. Dakkhinagiri of the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. xiii): its capital was Chetiya (see *Chetiya-giri*): Daśârṇa of Kâlidâsa is evidently a corruption of Dakshina-giri. See *Daśârṇa*. 2. The kingdom of Bhopal. 3. The name of a village in Ekanâlâ in Magadha, not yet identified; in this place Buddha delivered the *Kâśibharadvâja-Sutta*.
- Dakshina-Kedâra**—Baligâmi in Mysore. It contains a celebrated temple dedicated to Kedâranâtha. Baligâmi is also called Ballipura and Balligamve (*Rice's Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 90, 94, 102).
- Dakshina-Kosala**—See *Kosala-Dakshina*.
- Dakshina-Mathurâ**—Madura on the river Kṛitamâlâ in the province of Madras (*Chaitanya-Charitâmrta*, Madhya, ch. 9). It was also called Mathurâ and Minâkshî. It was the

capital of the ancient kingdom of Pândya or Pându. It is one of the 52 Pîthâs where Sati's eyes are said to have fallen (*Bhâgavata*, X. 79 and *Mahâvamsi*, ch. 7). It was called Dakshina-Mathurâ in contradistinction to Uttara-Mathurâ or Mathurâ of the United Provinces (Upham's *Râjarâtnâkarî*). Madura was a province of the kingdom of Vijayanagar till the middle of the sixteenth century when Viśvanâtha, the founder of the Nayak dynasty, became its independent ruler, and Trimula, the most powerful monarch of the line, reigned from 1623 to 1639. The great temple of Mînâkshi with its thousand-pillared hall was built by Arya Nayak in 1550.

Dakshina-Patha—The Deccan: the name was applied to that portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narbada. It is the Dakhinabades of the Greeks. (*Matsya P.* ch. 114 and Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, Sec. I; Râjasekhara's *Bâlarâmâyana*, Act VI; Apte's *Râjasekhara: his Life and Writings*, p. 21). The name was originally confined to a remote settlement of the Aryans on the Upper Godâvari (*Vinaya Pithaka*, I, 195, 196; II, 298).

Dakshina-Pînâkinî—Same as Pâpaghnî.

Dakshina-Prayâga—Trivenî on the north of Hûgli in Bengal (*Bṛihat-Dharma Purâna Pûrva Kh.*, ch. VI; *JASB.*, Vol. VI, 1910, p. 613).

Dakshina-Sindhu—The river Kali-Sindh, a tributary of the Chambal (*Mbh.*, Vana P. ch. 82). It is the Sindhu of the *Meghadûta* (Pt. I, ch. 30).

Dakshinâtya—The Deccan: that part of India which lies to the south of the Vindhya range (*Râmâyana*, Bâla K., ch. 13). See **Mahârashtra**.

Dakshina-Badarikâsrama—Mailkote, twelve miles to the north of Seringapatam in Mysore, where the principal Math of Râmânûja, the founder of the Śrî sect of Vaiṣṇavas is situated. It is also called Yâdava-giri (see **Yâdava-giri**).

Dalabhya-Âsrama—Dalmau on the Ganges in the Rai Bareilly District (*JASB.*, Vol. LXIX, p. 84).

Damalipta—Is a corruption of Tâmrâlipta: it was the capital of *Sumha* (*Hema-kosha*). See **Sumha**.

Damila—Same as **Kerala**: the Malabar coast (*Akitta-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas*, IV, 150), or South Malabar (Burnell's *South Indian Pælography*, p. 51). It is the Limurike of Ptolemy which, according to Dr. Caldwell, was a mistake for Damir-ike (see McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 49), "ike" in Tamil meaning a country. It was near Nâga-dvipa or Ceylon, and a Damila dynasty reigned there. Dhâtusena (459-477 A. D.), defeated the foreign usurpers and restored the national dynasty (*Mahâvamsa*, ch. 38; *S.B.E.*, X: *Intr.* XV). This shows that Damila was close to Ceylon.

Damodara—The river Dâmudâ in Bengal (*K. Ch.*).

Dandaka—Same as *Dandakâranya* (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27).

Dandakâranya—Same as **Mahârashtra** (*Râmâyana*, Âranya, ch. I, and Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, Sec. II) including Nagpur. Râmachandra lived here for a long time. According to the *Râmâyana*, it was situated between the Vindhya and the Saibala mountains; a part of it was called Janasthâna (Uttara K., ch. 81; *Uttara-Râmacharita*, Act II). According to Mr. Pargiter, Dandakâranya comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Kṛishnâ (*The Geography of Râma's Exile in JRAS.*, 1894, p. 242). Bhavabhûti places it to the west of Janasthâna (*Uttara Râmacharita*, Act I).

Daapura—Same as **Udanâpura**.

Dantapura—The ancient capital of Kaliṅga (*Dāṭhādihātuvāṃsa*, Turnour's *Account of the Tooth-relic in Ceylon*—*JASB.*, 1837, p. 860). According to some writers, it is the same as Puri (Jagannātha) in Orissa, which, they say, was the place where Buddha's tooth was kept and afterwards removed to Ceylon. The left canine tooth of Buddha is said to have been brought and enshrined by Brahmadatta, King of Kaliṅga, shortly after the death of the former. According to the *Dāṭhāvāṃsa*, the tooth was taken from the funeral pile of Buddha by Khema, one of his disciples, who gave it to Brahmadatta, and was kept and worshipped in a temple at Dantapura for many generations. The tooth was taken to Pāṭaliputra in the fourth century A. D., by Guhasiva, king of Kaliṅga. The tooth is said to have worked many miracles at Pāṭaliputra to confound the Nrigranthis or Jainas at whose instigation it was ordered to be taken there. Rājā Pāṇḍu got the tooth from Dantapura (*JASB.*, 1837, pp. 868, 1059.) It was brought back to Dantapura by king Guhasiva and placed in its old temple. After the death of Guhasiva in battle with the nephews of Khiradhāra, a northern king, who had attacked Dantapura for plundering the tooth, it was removed to Ceylon by his daughter, Hemamālā and her husband Dantakumāra, a prince of Ujjain and sister's son of Guhasiva, in the reign of Kīrttiśrī Meghavarna (A. D. 298–326) who guarded the relic at Anurādhapura: see **Anurādhapura** (Tennent's *Ceylon*; Turnour's *Tooth-relic of Ceylon*; *Dāṭhāvāṃsa* translated by Mutu Coomara Swami; and Turnour's *Dāṭhādihātuvāṃsa* in *JASB.*, 1837, p. 866). It is now kept at Kandy rīvardhanapura in the Maligawa temple. For the procession of the tooth-relic at Kandy, see *Mahāvāṃsa*, ch. 85. It has been variously identified with Danton in the district of Midnapore and with Rājmahendri on the Godāvari. But it is now settled that the ancient Dantapura is Puri in Orissa and this identification is confirmed by the tradition that after Kṛishṇa was killed by Jarā, his bones were collected and kept in a box till king Indradyumna was directed by Viṣṇu "to form the image of Jagannātha and put into it belly these bones of Kṛishṇa" (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India* under *Jagannātha* Ward's *History of the Hindoos*, I, 206).

Dantura—It is evidently a corruption of Dantapura: see **Dantapura**. (*Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, xiv, 6.)

Darada—Dardistan, north of Kāśmīra on the upper bank of the Indus. Its capital was Daratpuri, which has been identified by Dr. Stein with Gurez (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57). It was a part of the ancient country of Udyāna (see Monier Williams' *Buddhism*). Dr. Stein says "Their (Daradas') seats, which do not seem to have changed since the time of Herodotus, extend from Chitral and Yasin across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishangangā valley in the immediate north of Kashmir" (Dr. Stein's *Rājataranginī*, Vol. I, p. 47).

Darbhavatī—Dabhoi in Guzerat, thirty-eight miles north-east of Bharoch and twenty miles south-east of Baroda (Burgess's *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 218. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 20). Führer (*M.A.I.*) identifies Darbhavatī with Dibhai, twenty-six miles south-west of Bulandshahar. Dibhai was the Radoph of the Greeks.

Darddura—The Nilgiri hills in the Madras Presidency (*Raghuvāṃsa* IV; *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, ch. 14; *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 262). In some editions of the *Raghuvāṃsa* it is mentioned as *Darddara*. Same as *Durddura*.

Darsanapura—Disa on the river Banas in Guzerat (*Bṛihajjyotishārṇava*).

Dāru-vana—See **Chamatkārapura** (*Kūrma P.*, II, chs. 37, 38). Same as **Deva-dāru-vana**. Dāru or Dārukā-vana, which contains the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Great *Līngas* of Mahādeva (*Śiva P.*, I, 38) has been identified with Aundha in the Nizam's

territory (*Arch. S. Lists, Nizam's Territory*, xxxi, 21, 79,) but the *Śiva P.*, (I, 56) places Dârukâ vana close to the Western Ocean.

Dârukâ-vana—See **Dâru-vana**.

Darva—The country of the Dârvas, a tribe living with the Abhisâras between the Vitastâ and the Chandrabhâgâ (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 51; Dr. Stein's *Râjataranginî*, Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. II, p. 432).

Darvabhisâra—The whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Vitastâ and the Chandrabhâgâ; it included the hill-state of Râjapuri; it was subject to Kâsmîra (Dr. Stein *Râjataranginî*, I, 32). See **Darva**.

Daśanagara—Same as **Daśapura**.

Daśapura—Mandasor in Malwa (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ* ch. 14; *Meghadûta*, Pt. I, ślk. 48). For an explanation how Daśapura was changed into Mandasor, see Dr. Fleet's note in the *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 79. It is called Dasor by the people of the neighbouring villages.

Dasarha—Dwarka Guzerat (*Mbh.*, Vana P., chs. 12 and 13).

Daśârṇa—The name means "ten forts; ṛṇa = a fort." 1. The *Mahâbhârata* mentions two countries by the name of Daśârṇa, one on the west, conquered by Nakula (*Sabhâ P.* ch. 32) and the other on the east, conquered by Bhîma (*Sabhâ P.*, ch. 30). Eastern Malwa, including the kingdom of Bhopal, was Western Daśârṇa, the capital of which was Vidiśâ or Bhilsa (Dr. Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekkan*, sec. III). It is mentioned in Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta* I, vs. 25, 26). Its capital at the time of Asoka was Chaitiyagiri or Chetiyagiri. Eastern Daśârṇa (the Dosarene of the *Periplus*) formed a part of the Chhattisgaḍh ("thirty-six forts") district in the Central Provinces (Prof. Wilson's *Vishṇu P.*, Hall's ed., Vol. II, p. 160, note 3) including the Native State of Patna (*JASB.*, 1905, pp. 7, 14). 2. The river Dasan which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57); Garrett identifies the river with "Dhosaun" in Bundelkhand (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*). It is the Dosaran of Ptolemy.

Dâśeraka—Malwa (see *Trikâṇḍaśeṣha*).

Dehali—See **Indraprastha**.

Devabandara—Diu in Guzerat. In the 7th century A. D., the ancestors of the Parsis of Bombay left Persia on account of oppression and resided for some time in Diu before they finally settled in the island of Sanjan on the Western Coast of India in the early part of the 8th century A. D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, Pt. II, pp. 183 ff; XIV, pp. 506—536; *Journal of the Bom. Br. of the R. A. S.*, I, p. 170).

Devadâruvana—Same as **Dâruvana**, where Liṅga-worship was first established. It was situated on the Ganges near Kedar in Garwal (*Kûrma P.*, Pt. II, chs. 37, 38; *Śiva P.*, Bk. IV, ch. 13, v. 16; *Râmâyana*, Kishk., ch. 43). Badarikâśrama was situated in this Vana (Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Balīka-charita*, II, 7).

Devagada—Same as **Dharagada**.

Devagiri—1. Dowlatabad in the Nizam's territory. It is mentioned in the *Śiva P.* (*Jñâna Saṃhitâ*, ch. 58). See **Mahârâshṭra** and **Sivâlaya**. 2. Part of the Aravali range. 3. A hill situated near the Chambal between Ujjain and Mandasor (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I). It has been identified by Prof. Wilson with Devagara situated in the centre of the province of Malwa on the south of the Chambal.

Devakûta—Śrîpâda: Adam's Peak in Ceylon (Turnour's *Mahâvamsa*). See **Sumana-kûta**.

Devala—Tatta in Sindh.

DICTIONARY OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.

BY EDWARD HORACE MAN, C.I.E.

PREFACE.

As the interesting Negrito race inhabiting the Andaman Islands is doomed to early extinction—save possibly the small section occupying Little Andaman,—and as their languages have been studied by but a few persons. I have been invited by my old friend the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* to place at his disposal for publication in that *Journal* the MSS. of my Andaman Dictionary, which represent the results of my study during the thirty-two years of my connection with those Islands, of the words, together with illustrative sentences, phrases, etc., of that one of the languages, viz., the South Andaman, with which I was conversant; and to supplement the same, by means of Appendices, with as much additional matter of interest as can be culled from my notes, many of which date from before 1880. There will even then still remain, in MSS. almost ready for publication, much material of scientific value dealing with the Grammar, Syntax, Songs, etc., of these Islanders, prepared between 1876–1880 by Sir R. C. Temple, who collaborated with me in those far-off days.

The published works of writers who have sought to advance our knowledge of the Andamanese, or of their languages, or both, are the following:—

1794. Colebrooke, (R. H.) “Asiatic Researches”, Vol. IV., 1807.
1863. Mouat, (Dr. F. J.) “Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders.” London.
1877. Man and Temple. “The Lord’s Prayer in the South Andaman Language.” Calcutta.
1880. Ball, (V.) “Jungle Life in India.” London.
- 1881-2. Man, (E. H.) “Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.” R. Anthropol. Inst. Journ., London. (Re-printed in Book Form in 1885 as “The Andaman Islanders”).
1882. Ellis, (Dr. A. J.) F.R.S. “Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island,” *vide* Transactions of the Phil. Soc., London.
1887. Portman, (M. V.) Andamanese Manual. London.
- 1893-8. Portman, (M. V.) “Record of the Andamanese.” (XI Vol. MS in India Office, London.)
1898. Portman, (M. V.) “Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes.” Calcutta.
1899. Portman, (M. V.) “History of our Relations with the Andamanese.” Calcutta.
1902. Kloss, (C. B.) “In the Andamans and Nicobars.” London.
1902. Temple, (Sir R. C.) “A Grammar of the Andamanese and Nicobarese Languages.” Port Blair. (A reprint from the Census Report, 1901.)
1903. Temple, (Sir R. C.) “Report on the Census of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1901.” Calcutta.
1907. Temple, (Sir R. C.) “A Plan for the Uniform Scientific Record of the Languages of Savages Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.” (*Indian Antiquary*; Bombay.)
1908. Temple, (Sir R. C.) “Andamans.” (*Ency. of Religion and Ethics*.)
1909. Temple, (Sir R. C.) “Andaman and Nicobar Islands.” (*Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series*; Calcutta.)

Soon after the commencement of my studies I was fortunate in obtaining an introduction to the late Dr. A. J. Ellis, at that time President of the Philological Society (London). He kindly took an interest in my work and prepared for me alphabets suitable for committing to paper the tongues of the Andamanese and Nicobarese hitherto unwritten, except for a little book using the Indian (Jones-Hunter) system of transliteration published by myself and Sir R. C. Temple.

For the convenience of the reader I reproduce here, with amendments necessary to suit the typography of this *Journal*, an abstract of the Andaman alphabet, as found on pp. 49-50 of Dr. Ellis' Report above-mentioned, which formed part of his Presidential Address to the Philological Society in 1882 (*vide* Transactions 1882-3-4).

The Andamanese have been found to be divided into twelve tribes speaking languages, which, though more or less distinct, are yet so closely allied as to form a group. The language to which this dictionary refers is the Aka-bea, or language of the South Andaman tribe.

Although the map shewing the position of each tribe with their respective tribal names has been already published in this *Journal* (*vide* Vol. XXVI, p. 217)—in order to illustrate Sir R. C. Temple's paper of 1907 above-quoted,—it is thought desirable at this time to re-issue it as an accompaniment to this volume.

E. H. MAN.

June 27th, 1918.

ALPHABET FOR WRITING THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.

SIGN. ENGLISH, ETC. SOUTH ANDAMAN. SIGN. ENGLISH, ETC. SOUTH ANDAMAN.

Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.

<i>a</i>	idea, cut	<i>al·aba</i> kind of tree	<i>i</i>	police	<i>yâ·di</i> turtle, <i>pîd</i> hair
<i>ã</i>	cur (with un- trilled <i>r</i>)	<i>bã</i> small, <i>yã·ha</i> not	<i>o</i>	indolent	<i>·bôi·goli</i> European
<i>à</i>	Ital. casa	<i>elâ·kà</i> region	<i>ô</i> ⁴	pole	<i>jôb</i> basket
<i>â</i>	father	<i>dâ·ke</i> don't (imperative)	<i>ò</i>	pot	<i>pòl·i·ke</i> dwell-does
<i>ä</i> ¹	fathom	<i>jär·awa</i> name of a tribe	<i>õ</i>	awful	<i>tô·go</i> wrist, shoulder
<i>e</i> ²	bed	<i>ê·mej</i> name of a tree	<i>u</i>	influence	<i>bû·kura</i> name of a tree
	chaotic	<i>pû·d·re</i> burn-did	<i>ü</i> ³	pool	<i>pû·d·re</i> burn-did
<i>ê</i> ³	pair	<i>ê·la</i> pig-arrow	<i>ai</i>	bite	<i>dai·ke</i> understand-does
<i>i</i>	lid	<i>ig·bâ·dig·re</i> see-did	<i>au</i>	house	<i>chôpau·a</i> narrow
			<i>âu</i>	rouse	<i>châu</i> body
			<i>ôi</i>	boil	<i>·bôi·goli</i> European

Consonants.

<i>b</i>	bed	<i>bûd</i> hut	<i>ñ</i>	Fr. <i>gagner</i>	<i>ñâ</i> more
<i>ch</i>	church	<i>châk</i> ability, <i>mien·alen</i> why, <i>rûch</i> Ross Island	<i>ng</i>	bring	<i>ngî·ji</i> kinsman, <i>êrkê·dang·ke</i> in trees-search-does ⁶
<i>d</i>	dip	<i>dô·ga</i> large	<i>ng</i> ⁷		<i>ngâ</i> then
<i>g</i>	gap	<i>gôb</i> bamboo utensil	<i>p</i>	<i>pap</i>	<i>pîd</i> hair
<i>h</i>	hay	<i>hê</i> ho! <i>âweh</i> ⁵ (<i>h</i> sounded, see note ⁵) etcetera	<i>r</i> ⁸	rest	<i>râb</i> necklace of netting, <i>râ·ta</i> wooden arrow
<i>j</i>	judge	<i>jâ bag</i> bad, <i>ê·mej</i> name of a tree	<i>r</i> ⁹	torrent	<i>râ·ta</i> sea-water
<i>k</i>	king	<i>kâ·gal·ke</i> ascend does	<i>s</i>	sad	not found ¹⁰
<i>l</i>	lap	<i>lâg</i> navigable channel	<i>t</i>	ten	<i>tî</i> blood
<i>m</i>	man	<i>mû·gu</i> face	<i>t'</i>		<i>t'î</i> tear (from the eye ¹¹)
<i>n</i>	nun	<i>nâu·ke</i> walk-does, <i>rô·pan</i> toad	<i>w</i>	wet	<i>wô·lo</i> adze, <i>bal·awa</i> name of a tribe
			<i>y</i>	yolk	<i>yabâ</i> a little

RULE.

In the above alphabet the syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

¹ *ä* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in *mat*, as distinguished from *à*, which is the short of *à* or Italian *a* in *anno*.

² *e* accented in closed syllables, as in *bed*; in open syllables unaccented as in *chaotic* or Italian *padre*, *amore*.

³ No vanishing sound of *i* as in English *say*.

⁴ No vanishing sound of *u* as in English *know*.

⁵ *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

⁶ When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in 'finger' or in 'singer', thus *bê·ri·nga·da*, good, not *bê·ring·a·da*, *bê·ring·ga·da*, or *bê·rin·ga·da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

⁷ *ng* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ng* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

⁸ This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

⁹ This *r* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch, or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

¹⁰ The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *Râch* for *Râs* the Hindi corruption of *Ross*.

¹¹ This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *t*, and hence to prevent confusion the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'* is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

INTRODUCTION.

I think that I can best introduce the reader to the South Andaman language by freely extracting the remarks made thereon by the late Dr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A., on his retirement from the Chair of the Philological Society for the second time on 19th May 1882: he then gave a "Presidential Address" by way of a "Report on the Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island" from the papers of Mr. E. H. Man (C.I.E.) and Lt. R. C. Temple (Lt.-Col. Sir R. C. Temple, C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.). From this Report are taken the following paragraphs *verbatim*, with such textual alterations as are necessary after so many years. It will be observed that in consequence necessary references to myself and my procedure are by name.

The South Andaman language, called by the natives *â-kâ-bê-a-da*, consists in the first place of a series of base forms, reducible to roots. These forms may answer to any part of speech, and in particular to what we call substantives, adjectives or verbs. These forms do not vary in construction, and are not subject to inflexion proper. Hence there is nothing resembling the grammatical gender, declension or conjugation of Aryan languages; but the functions of such Aryan forms are discharged by prefixes, postpositions, and suffixes. It is only in the pronouns and pronominal adjectives that there is anything which simulates declension. And it is only by the use of the prefixes that anything like concord can be established.

The Andamanese have of course words which imply sex, but they are in general quite unrelated forms; thus: *âbû lada* man *âpai lda* woman; *âkâkâ dakada* boy, *aryô ngida* girl; *ârô dingada* father, *âbê tingada* mother. 'Male' and 'female' are represented even for animals by the above words for 'man' and 'woman,' without the affixes, which are usually omitted in composition,¹² as *bû la*, *pail*, and when the animals are young by the names *abwâ radu* bachelor, or *abjad ijô gda* spinster, rejecting the affixes as *wâ ra*, *jad ijô g*, see below, letter to *Jam bu*, sentences 15 and 16. Even in the Aryan languages 'gender', the Latin 'genus', means only a 'kind', and as it so happened that the kind with one termination included males, with another females, and with a third sexless things, the time-honoured names masculine, feminine and neuter arose. But the classification thus formed has, properly speaking, nothing to do with sex, as may be seen at once from sentinel being feminine in French (*la sentinelle*) and woman neuter in German (*das Weib*). We may see from the discussions in Grimm's grammar how difficult, or rather impossible, it is to recover the feeling which led to that grouping in German, and the same difficulty is felt in other languages. The Andamanese grouping which takes the place of gender is, on the contrary, clear enough in the main. The Andamanese consider, first, objects generally, including everything thinkable. Then these are divided into animate and inanimate. Of course the vegetable kingdom is included in the latter. The animate objects are again divided into human and non-human. Of the human objects there is a sevenfold division as to the part of the body referred to, and this division is curiously extended to the inanimate objects which affect or are considered in relation to certain parts of the body. These group distinctions are pointed out by prefixes, and by the form assumed by the pronominal adjectives. So natural and rooted are these distinctions in the minds of the Andamanese that any use of a wrong prefix or wrong possessive form

¹² This expression includes both prefix and suffix. The suffix *-da* is occasionally retained at the end of clauses.

occasions unintelligibility or surprise or raises a laugh, just as when we use false concords in European languages. These prefixes are added to what in our translations become substantives, adjectives, and verbs, and which for purposes of general intelligibility to an Aryan audience had better be so designated. But we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation. With this warning, that they are radically incorrect, I shall freely use inflexional terms, meaning merely that the language uses such and such forms to express what in other languages are distinguished by the corresponding inflexional terms, which really do not apply to this.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, generally end in *-da*, which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction: hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *-da*. Subs. and adj. also occasionally end in *-re* for human objects, and this *-re* is not dropped before postpositions. This same suffix *-re* is also extensively used in verbs, for our past tense active, or past participle passive. A common termination is also *-la*, which as well as *-re* implies human, and *-ola*, which is also honorific. What answers to our verbal substantives denoting either actor or action, is expressed by the suffix *-nga* added to verbal bases, both active and passive. What corresponds to the Aryan declension is carried out entirely by postpositions, as in fact it might be in English by prepositions, if we had a preposition to point out the accusative as in Spanish. In Andamanese these postpositions are generally *ia* of, or more usually *lia* of (where the *l*, as very frequently, is merely a euphonic prefix to vowels); *len*, to, in (but *len* also frequently marks out the object); *lat* to, towards; *tek* from and by; *la* by means of (instrument).

The plural is expressed by the addition of *lô'ng-kâ'lak*¹³ to the singular, when the distinction is considered necessary, which is not often, as the plural is left to be implied by the context, or is indicated by a prefix. Abstract subst. are formed from adj. by adding *yô'ma-* quality, or property, as *lâ'pangada* long, *lâ'panga-yô mada* length. Negative subst. are formed by adding *ba*, an abbreviation for *yâ'ba*, as *ablî'gada* child, *ablî'gaba* not a child, but a boy or girl.

Active verbs use the suffixes *-ke* for our gerundial form of infinitive,¹⁴ for our pres. part., pres. ind., and occasionally future; *-re* for past time, *-ka* imperfect, *-ngabo* for future, *-nga* for verbal subst., actor and action; with numerous auxiliaries answering to our 'may, might, shall, should, will, would.' Passive verbs use *-nga* for the gerundial

¹³ Here *lô'ng* is probably 'their', 4th person, *kâ'lak* is apparently no longer found separately.

¹⁴ In his glossary Mr. Man uses the form in *-ke* (just as we say gerundially 'to exist') to shew that he means a verbal form. He says that if you ask an Andamanese the name of any action which you shew him, he will give you the form in *-ke*. But it remains to be established that this corresponds to our gerundial infinitive, at least I have not detected it in any example which Mr. Man has furnished, nor could he recall one. In Latin dictionaries *audio*, *amo*, are Englished 'to hear, to love', which they certainly do not mean. But as it is usual to give Latin verbs in this form, so it may be usual to give Andamanese verbs in the form in *-ke*, which would be like using *audit*, *amat* in Latin. Our gerundial or supine infinitive answers to the Latin *ad audiendum*, *auditum*. Dr. Morris prefers calling it the "dative infinitive" (*Hist. Outlines of Engl. Accidence*, 1872, p. 177). It is frequently used for the pure infinitive in English. The pure infinitive is properly only a verbal subst., and most nearly corresponds to one of the senses of the Andamanese form with the suffix *-nga*, but in point of fact there is nothing in Andamanese identical with the Aryan infinitive.

infinitive, the future, and verbal substantive, *-ngaba* for pres. and imperf. indic., *-ngata* for perf. and *entô-ba-ngata* pluperf., and *-re* for past participle.¹⁵ Certain verbs distinguish the subject and others the object, as human and non-human, by change of prefix, but no rule can be given as to when a verb does one or the other, so that this is a mere matter of practice. There are also reflective verbs formed by pronouns.

The greatest peculiarity of the language is the treatment of the personal and possessive pronoun. All the pronouns are sexless, but the forms used for the so-called dative seem to vary with the group. The normal form is that for the third person, 'he, she, it,' for which I will use 'it' only for brevity, and 'they' for the plural. We have then sing. *ôl* it (subject), *ta* of it, *en*, *ûl*, *at*, *ik*, *eb* to it, in different forms, *en* it (object), and in it: pl. *ôl'ôichik* they, *ô'nta* of them, *et*, *ûlat*, *at'at*, *ô'niat*, *ô'llet*, *eb'et* to them, in different forms, *et* them, *ô'llet* in them. These relations may also be expressed by the postpositions answering to case. Then for the first person *ā-* sing. and *m-* plur., and for the second *ng-* sing. and plur., are prefixed to these forms; as *ôl* it, *dôl* I, *ngôl* thou, *môl'ôichik* we, *ngôl'ôichik* you. There is also what has been called a "fourth person," obtained by prefixing *l* to those forms of the third person, which are not the subject of the sentence, and these give common postpositional forms, as *l'ia* of a or the (or English possessive 's), *len* to or in a or the, and also the object of a verb, *lat*, *leh* to a or the.

These preliminary explanations will serve to make intelligible the following examples, and will shew the structure of the language better than a long series of grammatical explanations. Observe that in all these examples a hyphen at the end of a word means that the suffix *-da* (applied to all things) may be added, but that it is omitted in construction, and heard only in isolated words or at the end of a clause. The hyphens between parts of a word separate the prefix, the suffix, the postposition and the parts of which the word is compounded, and are used merely for the purpose of assisting the unaccustomed reader, generally they should all be written together in one word without hyphens, just as in German *ereifern* and not *er-eifer-n*, though the latter shews the approximate composition.

PREFIXES ILLUSTRATED.

Cited hereafter as No. 1, 2, etc.

No. 1. *bê-ri-nga* good (animate but non-human, or inanimate).

No. 2. *jā-bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 3. *ā-bê-ri-nga*-good (human).

No. 4. *ab-jā-tag-* bad (ditto).

No. 5. *ad-bê-ri-nga-* well, that is, not sick (animate).

¹⁵ Mr. Man 'conjugates' a verb thus, using the inflexional names. I translate the suffixes *-ke* do, does, *-ka* -ing -was, *-re* did, etc., as the nearest inflexional representatives, but they do not give the true feeling of the original, to which we have nothing which corresponds in English.

ACTIVE. Inf. *mî mi-ke* sleep-to. Pres. *dôl mâ mi-ke* I sleep-do. Imperf. *dôl mâ mi-ka* I sleep-ing-was. Perf. *dôl mâ mi-re* I sleep-did (I slept). Pluperf. *dôl entô-ba mâ mi-re* I already sleep-did. Fut. *dôl mâ mi-ngabo* I sleep-will. Imperative *dô mâ mi-ke* me sleep-let, *mâ mi* sleep !, *ô mâ mi-ke* him sleep-let, *mô cho mâ mi-ke* us sleep-let. Optative *dôl mâ mi-nga tô'guk* I sleep-(verbal subs.) might. Continuative participle, *mâ mi-nga bô'dig* sleep-(verbal subs.) while = while sleeping.

PASSIVE. Inf. *kô-p-nga* scoop(ed)-to-be. Pres. *kâ-rama dôl-la kô-p-ngaba* bow me-by scooped-is-being. Imperf. *kâ-rama dôl-la âchî'baiya kô-p-ngaba* bow me-by then scooped-was-being. Perf. *kâ-rama ôl-la kô-p-ngata* bow me-by scooped-has-been. Pluperf. *kâ-rama dôl-la entô-ba kô-p-ngata* bow me-by already scooped-had-been. Fut. *kâ-rama dôl-la kô-p-nga* bow me-by scooped-will-be.

No. 6. *aa-jā-bag*—ill, that is, not well (ditto).

No. 7. *ûn-bê-ri-nga*-clever (that is hand-good, *ûn* referring to *ông*- its, applied to *kô-ro*- hand).

No. 8. *ûn-jā-bag*-stupid (that is, hand-bad, ditto).

No. 9. *ig-bê-ri-nga*-sharp-sighted (that is, eye-good, *ig*- its, being applied to *dal*- eye).

No. 10. *ig-jā-bag*-dull-sighted (that is, eye-bad, ditto).

No. 11. *â-kà-bê-ri-nga*-nice-tasted (that is, mouth-good, *â-kà*- its, applied to *bang*-mouth, *dê-li-ya*- palate).

No. 12. *ûn-tig-bê-ri-nga*-good, "all round" (that is, *ûn*- hand and *ig*- eye, good, *t* being euphonic).

No. 13. *ûn-tig-jā-bāg*-a "duffer" (that is, hand and eye bad).

No. 14. *ôt-bê-ri-nga*-virtuous (that is, head and heart good, *ôt* its, applied to *chê-ta*-head and *kūg*- heart.)

No. 15. *ôt-jā-bag*-vice, evil, vicious (that is, head and heart bad).

No. 1—15. EXAMPLE: *â-riâm dô-ra ab-jā-bag l'edā-re, dô-na â-chilik à-bê-ri-nga* (or *à-bê-ri-nga-ke*). Free translation: *Dô-ra* was formerly a bad man, but now he is a good man. [Analytical translation; *â-riâm* formerly, *dô-ra* name of man, *ab-jā-bag* (human)-bad, *l'edā-re* exist-did, *dô-na* but, *â-chilik* now, *à-bê-ri-nga*- (human)-good [or *à-bê-ri-nga-ke* (human)-good-is].] The 'is' generally unexpressed, in *l'edā-re* the *l'* is the common euphonic prefix, *edā* v. exist, *-re* past time; which may be expressed as 'exist-did,' the verb being always put in the infinitive (properly unlimited, undefined) form, and the suffix *-re* being expressed by 'did' as *-ke* may be by 'does', etc., as the simplest way of expressing present and past time; the simple copula is never expressed, but, in the second form *à-bê-ri-nga* is treated as a verb, and *ke* being added makes it present, so that there is an apparent expression of the copula. The termination *-da* as applied to anything which exists, to be derived from the partially obsolete v. *edā* exist.

No. 16. *ûn-lâ-ma*-one who misses striking an object with *hand* or *foot*, see Nos. 7 and 8 above.

No. 17. *ig-lâ-ma*-one who fails to *see* or *find* an object such as honey, a lost article, etc., see Nos. 9 and 10 above.

No. 18. *ôt-lâ-ma*-one who is wanting in *head*, that is, *sense*, see Nos. 14 and 15 above.

No. 19. *ab-lâ-ma*-one who is a "duffer" at getting turtles after they are speared, that is, by diving and seizing them, where *ab* his, refers to *châu* body.

No. 20. *ô-ko-lâ-ma*-applied to a weapon which fails to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker.

No. 21. *â-kà-lâ-ma*-who uses a wrong word to express his meaning (*â-kà*- its, being applied to *bang*-mouth, and *teg-ûi*-voice).

This will suffice to show the curious action of the South Andaman prefixes, which it will be seen presently refer especially to the different forms of the possessive pronoun when applied to different parts of the human body.

I looked about for some genuine native utterances, not translations, which might illustrate the natural speech of the country. Fortunately, Mr. Man was able to furnish me with precisely what I wanted. When he was sent officially to the Nicobar Islands, he took with him several young native Andamanese,¹⁶ and in order to keep up their connection with their friends, and especially with their head-man, *.jam'bu* (as he was always called, though that was not his real name). Mr. Man wrote letters for them at their dictation. He had to treat them quite like children for whom one writes letters, suggesting subjects, asking what they would say if they saw *.jam'bu*, and so on. It was laborious work, which, however, Mr. Man did not regret, as it often furnished him with new words or phrases. These letters were then sent to the British officer in charge of the Homes at Port Blair, who did not know the language, but, from an explanation furnished, read the phonetic writing to *.jam'bu*, sufficiently well to be understood, but to assist this officer Mr. Man furnished a free and an interlinear translation. I give two of these letters, which certainly, if any exist, are genuine specimens of South Andaman literature, but to make them as instructive as possible in showing the nature of the language, I divide them into numbered sentences, putting the text first, the free translation next, and afterwards, in square brackets, an analytically literal translation in the order of the original, in which, with the help of Mr. Man's translation, vocabulary and personal assistance, I endeavour to shew or explain the meaning and composition of each word and its parts, and its grammatical connection, occasionally adding other notes.

FIRST LETTER TO *.JAM'BU*.

Cited by the simple numbers of the sentences.

1. *.mām jam'bu*. Worshipful *.jam'bu*. [*mām* is a term of respect by which chiefs or head men are addressed, perhaps 'honourable' or 'your honor' would be a nearer translation. *.jam'bu* was only a nickname, but as he was always so called, Mr. Man cannot recollect any other.]

2. *Med' àrdû'ru adbéringa*. We are all in good health. [*med'* we, a contraction for *med'a*, the final *-a* being lost before the following *à* of *àrdû'ru* all. The full form for 'we' is *mòl-òichik*. For *ad-bé'ri-nga* well, see No. 5.]

3. *bírma-ché'lewa tàró'lo tek mij'i' at yed yâ' ba*. Since last steamer no one has been ill. [*bírma* funnel, *ché'lewa* ship, not one of their own boats; the Andamanese prefer if possible making a new word to adopting a foreign one, the present compound is more original than the modern Greek 'atmóploion, which is a mere translation of 'steam vessel'. *tàró'lo* last, *tek* from, since, postp. *mij'i'at* a contracted form of *mij'ia at*, properly

¹⁶ Their names and nicknames (in parenthesis) were *.í'ra* (*.kô-ro*-hand), *.bí'ela* (*.t'dal*-eye, as he had large saucer eyes), *.lô'ra* (Henry, his name when at the Ross orphanage), *.wô'í* (Tom, the name Mr. Man gave him when he first came to Viper Island), *.í'ra* (*.jô'dô*-entrails, so called from his protuberant belly when a child). These names may be preserved as those of the unwitting originators of Andaman literature. One other name of a native should be added, although he was not taken with Mr. Man to the Nicobars, on account of illness, and indeed he died shortly after Mr. Man left. This was *.bí'a* (*.pà'g*-foot, so called from his large feet). He was the elder brother of the above-named *.lô'ra* (Henry). All the time that Mr. Man was in charge of the Andaman Homes, about four years, *.bí'a* worked with him. He was the most intelligent and helpful native Mr. Man met, and was his principal informant throughout. Mr. Man often told him that he would bring his name to notice, and thus redeems his promise.



The five joint authors of the letters to Jambu
with Mr. Man, 1879.

To face p. 8

1. biala-idal ; 2. ira-jodo ; 3. ira-koro ;
4. lora ("Henry") ; 5. woi ("Tom")

a plural possessive interrogative, 'whose?' but used idiomatically in negative sentences, for an indefinite personal pronoun, corresponding to English 'any.' *yed* sick or ill. *yā·ba* not, always placed at end of a sentence.]

4. *.mar .lô·ra â·chitikiqbâ·digngalen dâ·kar-bô·dia nai·kan*. Master *.lô·ra* is now like a tub in appearance (so fat is he). [*.mar* applied to a young unmarried man, or a man who remains childless for the first 4 or 5 years after marriage, after which time, he is called *mai·a*, the ordinary name for a married man who has children, of which the honorific form *mai·ola* is applied to chiefs only. *.lô·ra* (Henry) the name of the youth. *â·chitik* now, *achi·baiya* then. *ig bî·dig·nga·len* appearance-in, see Nos. 9 and 10. (This is one of the verbs which change the final letter of the base according to the suffix, but the law of change is not yet fully ascertained. In this case *g* is apparently inserted before *-re* and *-nga*, but on the other hand it may be simply omitted before *-ke*.) *dâ·kar* a tub or bucket. *bô·dia* big. *dâ·kar-bô·dia*, big as a tub. (There are five words for big. 1. *bô·dia* which when 'human' becomes *â·bô·dia*-, but here has no prefix on account of being in composition, 2. *dô·ga*-, 3. *châ·nag*-, and 4. *tâ·ba·nga*-, which are 'humanised' by *ab*, 5. *rô·chobo*- 'humanised' by *â*. Without the prefixes *bô·dia*-, *dô·ga*-, and *châ·nag*- are applied to any non-human objects, and *rô·chobo·tâ·banga*-, to animals only.) *nai·kan* like.]

5. *ngâ·ká ô·llen ed·a did·dirya yā·ba*. He as yet has had no fever. [*ngâ·ka* as yet, *ngâ* simply meaning 'then.' *ô·len* him-to, the 3rd pers. pron. with postpos., *len* to. *ed·a* ever. *did·dirya* fever, that is, ague, trembling. *yā·ba* not, see 3.]

6. *.mar .wô·i ûn·wôt·tai·jnga tâ·paya*. Master *.wô·i* is a great flying-fox shot. [*.mar* see. 4. *.wô·i* the name of a youth (about 16 years old), of the tribe that the South Andamanese call *â·kâ·jû·wxi·da*, who came in a canoe from Middle Andaman to Port Blair, where he made an important statement concerning the manners and customs of his tribe, which was reduced to writing by Mr. Man, and is published, chiefly in English, in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi pp. 280-2. When he arrived at Port Blair, his language was unintelligible to the natives there, but he quickly learned their language, and as he was a very nice fellow, he was induced to remain by marrying him to a pretty girl (named in 20), who was still very young. As they had at that time no family, he was still called *mar*. *ûn* refers to skill, see Nos. 7, 8, 16. *wôd*- or *wôt* in construction, flying-fox. *taij* shoot with an arrow. *nga* sign of verbal subst. The whole word is, therefore, skilled shooter of flying foxes. *tâ·paya* excellent (human only), marks superlative degree.]

7. *ar·at dil·u di·laya â·kâr·nga bê·dig, ôl·ij·ilā bād·lông·pâ·len wôt leb êrkê·dangk*. While the others are finishing their evening meal with dainty morsels, he goes alone and searches among the trees for flying foxes near the hut. [*ar·at* their, *dil·u* rest or remainder. *di·la·ya* evening-at. *â·kâ* referring to palate, see No. 11. *râ·r·nga* tasty things, which conclude a meal, from *râr*, v. taste, determine flavour of. *bê·dig* while or during, as a postposition to the whole preceding clause, so that it means: the rest of-them in-the evening tasty-bits-finishing while. *ôl* 3rd pers., hence 'he' in this case. *ij·ilā* alone, unaccompanied. *bād*- an occupied hut, *êr*- an unoccupied hut, (*tâ·rdôd*- hut belonging to a married couple; *kâtô·go*- bachelor's hut; *chàng* hut, or roof, for the huts are almost all roof, *chàng·tê·pinga*- best kind of hut, with well plaited roof, to last 2 or 3 years; *chàng·tô·rng*- next best hut, formed of leaves bound together with cane, lasting a few weeks or months; *chàng·dar·anga*- a temporary shed, roof of loose leaves, to last a few days. The

species of palm leaf ordinarily used for these roofs is called *chàng-ta-*). *lông-pā-len* near an inanimate object. (Other terms are *â-kà-pā-len* or *ôt-pai'cha-len* near to an animate object; *eb-ê-r-teg-ilen* near a tree or post; *yapā-len* near as one place to another, *ya* giving indefiniteness of object, compare *bā* and *yabā* little.) *u'it* flying fox. *leb* for, postp. (*r-kê-dang-ke* search in-trees-does, (*ê-rem* jungle), *â-ta* v. search on the ground for an inanimate object, *ab-â-ta-* v. for an animate object.)]

8. *en lû-nga bê-dig ôl lâ-kâchî-ke yā-bada*. On seeing one he does not miss it. [*en* it. *lû-nga* see (verbal subst.)=seeing. *bê-dig* while, consequent on, see 7. *ôl* he, *lâ-kâchî-ke* (euphonic *l*), miss-does. *yā-bada* not, see 5, where final *da* is not added to *yā-bā*.]

9. *kâ-rin chô-wai rô-choboda*. There are enormous clams here. [*kâ-rin* here. *chô-wai* clam, the plural is not indicated. *rô-choboda* big, applied to animals, see *bô-dia* in 4. This shell-fish in the Nicobars is the *Tridacna gigantea*, and measures 3 or 4 feet in length; in the Andamans, they have only the small species *Tridacna crocea* and *T. squamosa*.]

10. *û-badô-galen yât atû-babaleb dû-rumada*. There is sufficient food in one for a great number of persons. [*û-ba-dô-ga-* one, *û-ba-tû-l* is also used, but *û-ba-dô-ga-* is the emphatic form like our 'a single one'. *len* in, postp. *yât* in construction, *yâd-* final, food. *at-û-baba* countless numbers. *leb* for, postp. *dû-rumada* sufficient.]

11. *mô-da ngôl met atted-inga lû-ake, pâ-dri châb rûch-ya pôl'i yâ-te bû-dlen lî-nga bê-dig, â-kâ-tâ igbâ-di-ke*. If you don't believe us, go to the Padre Sâhib's house at Ross, and see the shell (we are sending). [*mô-da* if, *ngôl* you, *met* us, obj. pl. *atted-inga* (human)-lie-telling-(verbal subst.). *at* is plural *ab*. *lû-a-ke* consider-do (present time), *lû* v. look or see. *pâ-dri* Italian padre, father, but applied as "Rev." to all clergymen, here the chaplain was meant. *châb* Andamanese attempt at pronouncing the Hindi *sâ'hîb*. *rûch* Andamanese attempt to say *Rûs*, the Hindî corruption of Ross, an island at the entrance of the inlet of Port Blair. *-ya* at, postp. *pôl'i* dwell. *yâ-te* that, the relative. *bûd* hut, see 7, but here meant for house. *len* postp. to. *lî-r-nga* go, verbal subst. *bê-dig* while, or consequent upon, see 7. The phrase means upon going to the house of the chaplain who dwells at Ross. *â-kâ* see No. 11, in relation to taste or mouth, *tâ* bone, that is, taken together, *â-kâtâ* bone covering food, i.e. shell. *ig-bâ-di-ke* see-will, see 4, pres. for fut.]

12. *ngôl ôllen igbâ-di yâ-te wai-kan ngab-ped-inga kichikan-nai-kan târ-chî-ke; bad-i â-cha â-kâtâ-da!* On seeing it we are sure you will slap your side and exclaim: what a whopping big shell! [*ngôl* you. *ôl-len* it, obj. *igbâ-di* see, see 4. *yâ-te* who, see 11; that is, you who-see it. *wai-kan* certainly. *ngab* your, see Om. 4 for the omission *d* of *châu*-body, or some such word. *ped-i-gna* slap (verbal subs.) = slapping. *kichikan* and *nai-kan* both mean 'like' and together, 'just like.' *târ-chî-ke* say-will. *bad-i* exclamation of surprise. *â-cha* this. *â-kâ-tâ* shell, see 11.]

13. *med' ârdû-ru pû-lo-pilâu el-â-r-jana bûd lô-yaba yâ-te len â-kangai-re*. We all went to *pû-lo-pilâu*, which is a village a long way off to the north. [*med' ârdû-ru* we all, see 2. *pû-lo-pilâu*. name of a place in the Nicobar Islands. *el-â-r-jana* north, *el-iglâ-* south (district), *el-â-rmu-gu-* (appearing-face) east (in these words *el* stands for *ê-r* country), *târ.mû-gu-* (disappearing face) west. *bûd* hut, village. *lô-yaba* distant. *yâ-te* which. *len* to, postp., affecting the whole phrase, which means: to P. P. which is a distant village to the north. *â-kan gai* go a short journey by water, *ô-to-jû-mu* is used for a long journey. *-re* past time.

14. *kā to ārla jī-baba pōl-re*. We stayed several days there. [*kā to* there. *ārla* days, plural indicated by the following word. *jī-baba* several, very many *pōl-re* dwell-did, see 11.]

15. *charkār leb rōgo jad-ijōg ārdū-ru igal-re dōna mōto-kūklī-re yā bada*. We bargained for a lot of young female pigs for Government, but did not forget ourselves. [*charkār* Andamanese attempt to pronounce the Hindi *Sarkār* government. *leb* for, postp. *rōgo* pigs, plural indicated by the following *ārdū-ru*, *rōgo-* is a female pig, *reg-* either male or female. *jad-i-jōg* spinster, implying a full-grown sow-pig which has not ittered. *ārdū-ru* several or all, as in 2. *igal-re* barter did. *dōna* but. *mōto* ourselves. *kūklī-re* forget-did. *ōto-kūklī-ke* oneself forget-does (*mōto* is only the form of the first person plural), was one of the new words discovered by Mr. Man from the dictation of these letters to *jam-bu*. The common verb for forgetting is *ōt-kūklī-ke*, which is reflexive, *dō d' ōt-kūklī-re*, I forgot, where *dō d'* or *dōl d* answers to French *je me* (in *je m'en souviens*) and similarly *ngō' ng'* or *ngōl ng'* *ōt-kūklī-re* you forgot. The relation of *ōto-k* and *ōt-k* is similar to that in *ōtrā-jke* defend-does, *ōtorā-jke* oneself defend does. 'Selves' is also expressed by *ēkin*. See examples in 40. *yā bada* not, see 7.]

16. *kianchā reg-wāra gōi jī-baba mōyut-tē-mar leb ōmore*. We accordingly fetched several prime young male pigs for our own use. [*kianchā* therefore. *reg* pigs, either male or female. *wāra* bachelor, young but full grown. *gōi* fresh, and hence in good condition. *jī-baba* several, properly 'very many,' but as there were really only five or six, Mr. Man translated the word 'several' at the time; he supposed that the young men wished to surprise their friends at Viper by leading them to suppose by this term that they had got many more pigs than was actually the case. *mōyut-tē-mar* ourselves, the meaning of the separate words is not known, but we have *dōyun-t*. myself, *ngōyun-t*. thyself and *ōyun-t*. himself, *ōyut t*. themselves, *ngōyut-t*. yourselves. *leb* for, postp. *ōmo-re* fetch-did.]

17. *med'a ngā-kā māk-nga-ba yāte len chī-lyuke*. Those we have not eaten yet we are fattening. [*med'a* we. *ngā-kā* as yet, see 5. *māk-nga* eat- (passive participle, p. 55, n. 2) = eaten. *ba* not. *yāte* which. *len* postp. pointing out object, meaning: we are fattening those which have not been eaten as yet. The construction, though common, is somewhat involved, and would be, in English order, as boys "construe" Latin: *med'a* we. *chī-lyuke* are fattening, *len* (mark of accusative relation), *yāte* (those) which, *ngā-kā* as yet, *māk-nga-ba* (are or have been) eaten-not.]

18. *ā-kālō-dongalen med'a ā-kā-jai-ŋgke tārō-lolen ōt-ñā-ba rōgo lō-ŋga bē-dig .bai-par lat mit-ik-īkke*. These we will slaughter one by one, and afterwards get some more pigs to take with us to Viper. [*ā-kā-lō-do-nga* one by one, idiomatic expression, origin unknown. *len* postp. marks the object. *med'a* we. *ā-kā-jai-ŋg-ke* slaughter-do, this expression is used for pigs only. *tārō-lo.len* last-to, afterwards. *ōt-ñā-ba* other in addition to the former, this prefix also occurs in *ōt-pāg-i* once more. *rōgo* pig, see 15. *lō-i-nga* get-(verbal subs.) = getting. *bē-dig* while, or consequent upon: meaning: afterwards on getting additional pigs. *.bai-par* Andamanese mispronunciation of Viper, an island within the inlet of Port Blair. *lat to*, postp. *mit-ik* in company with us, *m-* us, *it-ik* in company with, *īk-ke* take away-will see 20.]

19. *.mar .ī-ra-jō-do .mar .wōi lōt pīj len jā-bag tā-la-tim-re*. Master .ī-ra-jō-do has tonsured Master .wōi very badly. [*.mar*. see 4. *.ī-ra-jō-do* is the subject of the verb. *.wōi*.

lôt pij is the object, as *wô'i's* hair. *lôt* his (head understood), see Om. 1. *pij* hair, the usual form of *pid* in construction, thus *ôt-pi-j-yā-ba*- his (head)-hair-not=bald. *len* postp. obj. *jā bag* badly. *tā la-tim're* tonsure-did. This shaving of the crown of the head is the business of the women and especially of the wife, but in this case the women were left behind. The razors used are extremely fine chippings of glass.]

20. *môda ô-ra-bi'ela abîk-yâ'te â'chitik igbâ'dikeŋgâ wai'kan ô'tjê'rngalen igped'ike ôl bê'dig abtorgoke*. If (*wô'i's* wife) *ô-ra-bi'ela* were now to see him, she would certainly box the barber's ears and abuse him. [*môda* if. *ab-îk* (female)-take away, *yâ'te* who, that is, who is wife. For *ik* see end of 18, where, but for the *mitik*, there would have been the prefix *ab* as *abîkke* take-away-does (present), an animate object. But *en'i* is to take, as *ablî'ga lûkâ-bang tek paip en'ike* child its-mouth from pipe take-do=take the pipe from the child's mouth, -*ke* being also used for the imperative. Now in marrying, the chief who unites the couple *tôt-yâ'p-ke* their (persons)-speak-does, the man *ad-en-i-ke* animate,) -take-does, the woman *ab-îk-ke* (human, No. 4) -take-away-does. The husband is spoken of as *ad-îk-yâ'te*-, and the wife as *ab-îk-yâ'te*-, as here. For the first few weeks the young couple are called *ông-tâg-gô'i*- their-bed-of-leaves-fresh, and after that for the first year *ân-jâ'ti-gô'i*-, where *ân* refers to the hands, No. 7, and *gô'i* is fresh, but *jâ'ti* is not known. *â'chitik* now, see 4. *ig-bâ'di-ke* see-does, see 4, pres. time, though in English it becomes past subjunctive, after *môda* if. *ŋgâ* then, see 5. *wai'kan* certainly. *ôt-jê'r-nga* his (head understood, see Om. 1) -shave-(verbal. subst.), that is, his head's shaver. *len* postp. marking object. *ig-ped-i-ke* face (see Nos. 9, 10 and 17), (in anger) slap (see 12) will, *ar-ped-i-ke* would be, 'leg-slap-will,' as women do when delighted. *ôl-bê'dig* it-while or it-after, used for 'and.' or 'as well as.' *ab-tô'go-ke* (human prefix No. 4) -abuse-will.]

21. *mar wô'i ôttek'iknga bê'dig pij-gô'i len enôtjê'rke yā-ba*. Master *wô'i* is so ashamed of his appearance, that he is letting the new hair grow. [*ôt-tek'ik-nga* for-his-head ashamed-(verbal subst.), *tek'ik* be -ashamed, but *t'ê'kik* weep. *bê'dig* consequent on, see 11. *pij-gô'i* hair-fresh. *len* postp. marking object. *en-ôt-jê'r-ke* cause-head-shave-does, *en* prefixed gives a causal signification to the verb=causes his head to be shaven. *yā-ba* not.]

22. *med'a yât bā ngól ititân yâ'te len ô'rokre*. We duly obtained the few presents you sent. [*med'a* we. *yât* properly fish, food, see 10, here presents. *bā* few, little, a father or mother having one or more little ones is called *ân'bā-da*. *ngól* you. *ititân* send away any animate or inanimate thing, *entitân* send away a human object, *en'itân* shew (v. refl.), *itân* permit. *yâ'te* which. *len* postp. marking the whole phrase as an object. *ô'rok-re* obtain-did.]

23. *ngôt pai'chalen mîn ârdû'ru ô'tjeg'nga l'edâ're ñâ ititânnga yā-balen med'a mô't t-kûkjâ bagire*. As you have so much in the "go-down" (store), we were much disappointed at your not sending more. [*ngôt* your. *pai'cha-len* lap-to, that is, in your possession. *mîn* thing, plural only indicated by following word. *ârdû'ru* several, see 15. *ôt-jeg-na*, collection of shell-fish, meat, jack-fruit seeds, iron, flint, or anything in a heap, but *ôt-pû'j-nga* is used for honey, fruit, yams, fibre, and *ar-ngai'j-nga* for bows, arrows, and other implements or ornaments, and also animate objects. *l'edâ're* because of, i.e., because of your having many things collected in your possession. *ñâ* more (see 51). *ititânnga* sending, see 22. *yā-ba-len* not-to, without. *med'a* we. *mô'tot-kûk-jâ'bag-i-re* our-heart bad-was, we were disappointed, *i* seems to be a euphonic insertion to separate *g* and *r*.]

24. *tîl'ik bîrma-chê-lewa kâ-gal yâ-te nâ mîn met â-kàwérke*. Perhaps the incoming steamer is bringing more things for us. [*tîl'ik* perhaps. *bîrma-chê-lewa* steamer, see 3. *kâ-gal* arriving, this and *yô-bôli* are said of the arrival of a boat or ship only, or of going to an elevated spot. *yâ-te* which. *nâ* more, see 23. *mîn* thing, see 23. *met* to us, one of the forms answering to the dative of pers. pron. *â-kà*. *â-kà-wêr* and *ûn-târ-tegi* are said of conveying any animal or inanimate objects by boat only; *îk* is used for conveying either by land or water, and for human objects becomes *abî-k*, see 20. *-ke* future time, not distinguished from present.]

25. *med.atârtî't idai're añ'a âchitik ngól barai'jbô-lo li'a ôtyû-burda*. We have learnt that you are now the head-“boss” at the Brigade Creek home. [*med'a* we. *târtî't* news. *idai-re* hear-did. *añ'a* that, conjunction. *âchitik* now. *ngól* you. *barai'j* old-established encampment, whether occupied or not, otherwise *êr-*, *êr-ârlû'a-* are unoccupied, and *bûd-*, *bûd-lârdû-ru-* occupied encampments. *ô-bô-lo-* is a human orphan, omitting the prefix *barai'j-bô-lo-* is an orphan encampment, or one of which the old chief is dead and the new chief not yet appointed. This was the case with the Brigade Creek Andaman Home, which is the one here meant. *li'a* of, postp. *ôt-yû-bur-da* head-chief, from *yû-bur* govern.]

26. *kâ-to ngông jô-bo ôl-bê-dig kâ-r-aptâ chápikok?* May no snakes or centipedes bite you there. [*kâ-to* there. *ngông* your, one of the words in that class being understood. *jô-bo* snake, plural unindicated. *ôl-bê-dig* and, see 20. *kâ-r-aptâ* centipedes, from *kâ-rup* bite as a stinging insect. *chápî* bite in any way. *kok* would-that-they-may-not, *dâ-ke* and *ngô-ke* are used as the imperative don't! *kâ-to ng'ôiyô li'r-kok* there permission go-I hope may not = I hope they won't let you go there; *ngô pâ-kok* I hope you won't fall. As to the wish expressed see the farewell in 29.]

27. *dî-rapteḱ nî yâ-bnga yâ-ba*. There's nothing more to say at present. [*dîrap* lately. *tek* from, postp., the whole meaning ‘at present’. *nî* more, see 23. *yâ b-nga* say, verbal subst.=saying. *yâ-ba* not.]

28. *med'a ârdû-ru len ij'imîngu en'inga ititânke*. We send salaam to all. [*med'a* we. *ârdû-ru* all. *len* to, postp. *ij'i* a common prefix, implying apparently ‘separation’, but its signification in compounds is lost, it is frequently omitted in this word. *mîngu* face. *en'i-nga* take-(verbal subst.). The natives mean by the word to bend the head and touch the forehead, that is, to salaam, as they were taught to do by the Rev. Mr. Corbyn, the first person who had charge of them; it is a case, then, of a new word, which may be advantageously compared with the Greek *προσκυνέειν*, to play the dog to; sometimes *chillâm*, a mispronunciation of salaam, is used. *ititân-ke* send-do, see 22.]

29. *kam wai mól-ôichik!* Good-bye? [*kam* here. *wai* indeed. *mól-ôichik* we, full form. The ceremony of taking leave by word of mouth is rather long. The host accompanies his visitor to the landing-place, or at least to a considerable distance. On parting, the visitor takes his host's hand and blows upon it; after the compliment is returned, the following dialogue ensues. DEPARTING VISITOR: *kam wai dôl*, here indeed I. HOST: *ô aye* (a contraction for *ô-no* yes), *û-chik wai ôn*, hence indeed come, *tain tâlik kach ôn yâte?* when again hither come who? = very well, go, when will you come again? DEP. VIS.: *ngâtḱ dô ngat mîn kach îkḱe*, then-from (presently) I for-you thing take-away-will = I will bring away something for you one of these days. HOST: *jô-bo la ngông chápikok?* snake (euphonic *la*) you bite-may not = I hope no snake will bite you, compare 26. DEP. VIS.: *wai do êrg'lepke*, indeed I on-the-land (*êr*), -watchful-be-will. They then repeat the ceremony of blowing on

each other's hands, and part shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot. There are no Andaman words of greeting. Relatives on meeting throw their arms round each other and weep for joy. When any other persons meet, they simply stand looking at each other in silence for a long time, sometimes as much as half an hour, before one of them ventures to speak.]

SECOND LETTER TO JAM-BU.

The sentences are numbered in continuation of the former.

30. *mâm jam·bu.* Worshipful Jumbo [see 1].

31. *med' àrdû·ru adbê·ringa.* We are all in good health [see 2].

32. *ngâ·kà mar' dû·ru tek ô·gun.mar lô·ra abyed·re yâ·ba.* Up to the present Master *lô·ra* is the only one of us who has not been ill. [*ngâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *ma·r' dû·ru* contraction for *marat-àrdû·ru* our-all the whole of us. *tek* from, postp. *ô·gun* only. *mar lô·ra* see 4. *abyed·re* human (No. 4) -sick-was. *yâ·ba* not.]

33. *ól kichikachâ· ôtôlâ·laire meda tidai·nga-ba, til·ik yât māk·nga dô·ga l'edâ·re.* We don't know how he has escaped (being ill), perhaps it is because he eats so much. [*ól* he. *kichikachâ·* how, in what manner. *ôto-lâ·lai-re* escape-did. *med·a* we. *idai·nga-ba* know-(verbal subst.)-not=we are knowers not; *ba* at the end is a contraction for *yâ·ba*, and never becomes *bā* (meaning 'small'), but is kept short and unaccented. *til·ik* perhaps, see 24. *yât* food, see 10. *māk·nga* eat -(verbal subst.)=eating, see 17. *dô·ga* much. *l'edâ·re* by reason of, 23.]

34. *mar·at dil·u abyed·yâ·te â·chitik o·tolâ nai·kan àpâ·tada.* The rest of us who have been ill, are now in as good condition as before. [*mar·at* our, *dil·u* remainder, see 7. *abyed* human (No. 4)-sick. *yâ·te* who. *â·chitik* now. *o·tolâ* first. *nai·kan* like. *àpâ·ta-da* animate (No. 3) -fat-(thing generally). The natives grow rapidly thin when ill, hence to grow fat is to regain health.]

35. *ô·gar l'âtâr·ire med·a kât·chu len yô·bolire.* Last month we visited Katchall Island [*ô·gar* moon, *ô·gar-dê·reka-yabâ·* moon-baby-small, or new moon, *ab-dê·reka·* human baby. *ô·gar-dê·rka·* the moon two or three days old, *ô·gar-châ·nag·* moon-big, first quarter, *ô·g·châu·* moon-body, full moon, (so *bô·do-châu·* sun-body, is noon, and *gû·rug-châu·* night-body, is midnight), *ô·gar-kî·nab·* moon-thin last quarter, *la-wai·aga·nga·* waxing, *lâr-ô·dowa·nga* waning. *l'â·* human, No. 3, with euphonic *l*, because apparently they regard the moon as a male, *mai·a·ô·gar·*, Mr. Moon, and seem to look upon it as more like a man than any other inanimate object. The sun is regarded as female, and is hence called *chân·a-bô·do·*, Mrs. Sun. So also in German and Anglo-Saxon, the moon is masculine and the sun feminine. *itâr·i-re* extinguished-was, like any other light. *med·a* we. *kât·chu* Katchall Island, one of the Nicobar group. *len* to or at. *yô·boli-re* disembark-did, see 24.]

36. *kâ·to â·rla ikpô·r len pôl·inga bê·dig reg l'ârdû·ru leb îgal·re mû·rgi bê·dig.* During the few days we stayed there, we bartered for a lot of pigs and fowls. [*kâ·to* there, see 26. *â·rla* day, pl. indicated only by the following word. *ikpô·r* really two, but often used for a few, especially with *â·rla*. *len* to or for, postp. *pôl·i·nga* dwelling, see 11. *bê·dig* consequent on, see 11. *reg* pigs, male or female, see 15 and 16. *l'ârdû·ru* several. *leb* for, postp. *îgal·re* barter-did, see 15, the subject is *med·a* we, in preceding sentence. *mû·rgi* fowls, an adopted Hindustani word. *bê·dig* also, when placed last, see *ól-bê·dig* in 20.]

37. *ká-to igbú·dwa-lóngká·lak bê·ringa-l'iglā· àrdû·ru ún·rá·nda*. The people of that part are the best of all, they are all liberal. [*kú·to* there. *ig-* Nos. 9, 10, 17. *bú·dwa* dweller in a hut or village, fellow-countryman, see 7. *lóng-ká·lak* sign of plural, used because there is nothing else in the sentence to indicate plurality. *bê·ringa* good. *l'iglā·* (l' euphonic) used alone means 'distinct', but when joined to a word of quality it shews the highest degree, superlative, most good, best, *mai·a iglā·* head chief. *àrdû·ru* all. *ún·rá·n·da* (Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 16) liberal.]

38. *.mar .wô·i, .î·ra- .jó·do bê·dig kâ·to reg pâ·ta igbâ·dignga bê·dig mû·gum len pòi·chatnga l'edâ·re reg-gû·mul lê·re*. While there, Masters *.wô·i* and *·î·ra- .jó·do*, seeing the fat pigs for which their stomachs craved, broke their pig-fast. [*bê·dig* also, see 36. *reg pâ·ta* pig fat, that is, fat pig, not pig's fat, see 34. *ig-bâ·dig·nga* seeing-(verbal subst.), see 11. *bê·dig* consequent on. *mû·gum* inside or belly, *târmû·gum* beneath. *len* to, postp. *pòi·chat·nga* fond of (any kind of food)-(verbal subst.). *l'edâ·re* because of (see 23), i.e., feeling fond of food to their inside. *reg-gû·mul* pig-ceremony. We have no corresponding word to *gû·mul*, it belongs to the peculiar institutions of the Andamanese. Mr. Man says: "Although *.wô·i* had been recently induced to marry, he was only a youth of about 16, and had not yet gone through the ceremony of 'young man making' known as *gû·mul lê·ke* (*gû·mul* devour-does), when the young neophyte who has for some time past evinced his powers of self-denial, and thereby, in a measure, his fitness to enter upon the cares and trials of married life, is enabled after a course of three ceremonies (known as *yâ·dî-gû·mul*- turtle ceremony, *â·ja-gû·mul*-honey ceremony, and *reg-jî·ri-* or simply, as here, *reg-gû·mul*- pig's kidney-fat or simply pig ceremony), which take place at intervals with a degree of external ceremony, to resume the use of these favourite articles of food. *lê·re* devour-did. These ceremonies apply to the young of both sexes before reaching puberty. After this period the individual is said to be *bô·tiga-*, which implies that he or she may indulge in any kind of food at pleasure. During the period (lasting sometimes 2 or 3 years) of their abstention they are called *â·kà-yâ·b-*, or *â·kà-yâ·ba-* and the fasting period is termed *â·kà-yâ·p-*."]]

39. *târô·lolen atyed·re yâ·bada*. They have suffered no ill consequences thereby. [*târô·lo·len* last-to, that is, afterwards, see 18. *at-yed·re*, *at* is the plural form of the human prefix *ab* (see 11), *yed* be sick, *re* past time, that is, men were sick. *yâ·ba·da* not. They fancy that to break the *gû·mul* (see 38) will entail serious consequences, the fact being that they then generally gorge themselves with these rich articles of diet, and hence make themselves ill.]

40. *med·a â·chitik ê·kan leb rô·go ikpôr mō·to-pai·chalen chí·lyuke*. We are rearing a few pigs for ourselves. [*med·a* we. *â·chitik* now. *ê·kan* selves. *leb* for. *rô·go* pig. *ikpôr* two, that is, a few; as two is the largest number for which they have a name, they use it indefinitely, see 36. *mō·to* our own, *pai·cha* lap, *len* to, that is, 'in our midst'. *dō·to* s. *mō·to* pl. *ngō·to* and *ō·to* s. and pl. are the reflective forms of *dôt* s. *mō·tot* pl., *ngôt* and *ôt*, etc., as *ôl dô·t jê·rke* he my-head shave-does, but *dô·l dō·to jê·rke* I my-own-head shave-do. *chí·lyu ke* fattening-are, see 17.]

41. *târ·dî·léa mar'dû·ru ôtpägi kât·chu len yâu·gare*. The day before yesterday we all went again to Katchall. [*târ* probably 'beyond', *dî·léa* yesterday. *mar'dû·ru* we all, see 32. *ôt-pägi* again, *ig-pägi* is also used, see *ôt, ig*, in Nos. 14, 15, and 9, 10, *pägi* repeat. *kât*.

chu Katchall. *len* to, postp. *yàu'ga-re* go-did, used for going to a particular place, otherwise *lir* is used.]

42. *kâ'to ô'gun â'rla û'batû'l bar'mire*, (but) spent only one day there. [*kâ'to* there. *ô'gun* only. *â'rla* day. *û'ba-tû'l* one, see also 10 and 43. *bar-mi-re* spend-did, passing the night there, as on a visit.]

43. *mî'kan leò rô'go û'badô'ga mû'rgi jî'baba bê'dig ô'more*. We fetched a pig and very many fowls for our own consumption. [*mê'kan* ourselves, see *ê'kan* in 40. *leb* for, postp. *rô'go* pig. *û'ba-dô'ga* one, or rather only one, an emphatic form of *û'ba-tû'l*, see 10. *mû'rgi* fowl, see 36. *jî'baba* very many. *bê'dig* also. *ô'mo-re* fetch-did, see 16, *tô'yu-re* bring-did.]

44. *jû'rulen yâ'di chô'ag ârdû'ru bê'dig igbâ'digre dô'na dû'tre yâ'bada*. On the way we saw several turtles and porpoises, but speared none. [*jû'ru* sea. *len* to or in, postp. *yâ'di* turtle. *chô'ag* porpoise, both rendered plural by the following word. *ârdû'ru* several. *bê'dig* also. *ig-bâ'dig-re* see-did. *dô'na* but. *dû'tre* spear-did. *yâ'bada* not. The usual way to catch turtles is to harpoon them with a spear called *kowai'a lô'ko dû't-nga-*, consisting of the *tôg-*, or a long bamboo haft, at one end of which a socket is provided for the *kowai'a-*, which is a short pointed and notched iron harpoon; these are connected by a long line, *bétma-*. The thick end of the *tôg-* is called *âr-bô'rod-*, and the socket end *â'kà-chàng-*.]

45. *med'a di'lêa é'remlen mai'i l'â'kâtàng id'lia - gô'iya igbâ'digre : kianchâ'ô' â'chitik kê'rin tô'ug pâ'tke*. Yesterday for the first time we saw a *mai'i* tree in the jungle; we can therefore make torches here. [*med'a* we. *di'lêa* yesterday. *é'rem* jungle. *len* in, postp. *mai'i* name of a kind of *Sterculia* tree. *l'â'kà-tàng*, *l'* euphonic, *â'kà* No. 11, *tàng* topmost part, this is any kind of tree, a fruit tree is *â'kà-tâ'la-*, which may be from the same root. *id'lia-gô'iya*, possibly a contraction of *ed'u-lî'a-gô'iya* ever-of fresh, quite the first. *igbâ'dig-re* see-did. *kianchâ'* therefore. *â'chitik* now. *kê'rin* here. *tô'ug* torch, consisting of the resin of the *mai'i* tree wrapped in leaves and principally used when fishing and turtling at night, full name *tô'ug- pâ't-nga-*. *pât* make, only said of this torch. *ke* future time. The word for 'making' varies with different things made, thus, *wâl'igma-châg* make an oar, *butân'i* make a house or hut. *kôp* make a canoe, bow, etc., *tê'pi* make anything with cane, bamboo, etc., as in thatching, weaving, said also of a bee constructing its comb, *tân'i* make a pail, *lât* make a cooking-pot, *mâr* make waistbelts, wristlets, or garters with pandanus leaves and string, *târ'i* make arrow heads by hammering out pieces of iron, see 46, *mai'a* make string by twisting the strands with the fingers.]

46. *mamjô'la â'rtâm â'rlalen chit'i yî'tike, tô'batek med'a ê'la dô'gaya tâ'ike*. The former *mamjô'la* is always writing, meanwhile we are making lots of pig-arrows. [*mam-jô'la* homes-chief, a word coined since the Andaman 'Homes' were established, and used in addressing the officer placed in charge of them. The first syllable appears to be a form of *mâm* (see 1), and the whole word is an abbreviation for *mâm-mai'ola* worshipful chief, of which some persons suppose it was first an English corruption, afterwards adopted by the natives. In this letter Mr. Man himself is referred to, as he ceased to be in charge of the 'Homes' when he was transferred to the Nicobars. *â'rtâm* old, applied to animate or inanimate objects, but here it only means 'former', for Mr. Man was not aged. *â'rla-len* day-to, always. *chit'i* letter, a Hindustani word. *yî'ti-ke* tattoo-does. They have applied the word 'tattoo' to writing, as it were, scratching, scribbling. *tô'ba-tek* meanwhile, compare *entô'ba* already, before, *tô'laba* wait a little, *âentô bare* elder brother. *med'a* we. *ê'la* pig-arrows, pl. indicated by next word. *dô'gaya* many. *tâ'i-ke* make-do.]

47. *mô'tot pai'chalen â'chitik del'ta ô'to-chō'nga jî'baba*. We have now got very many bundles of arrows in our possession. [*mô'tot* our. *pai'cha-len* lap-to, in our possession, see 23. *â'chitik* now. *del'ta* arrows, generic name for all arrows except the *châm-*, which is more of an ornament or toy. The several kinds are: *râ'tà-* with blunt wooden point for play, or before conversion into a *tt'rléd* sharp wooden-pointed, for shooting fish; *tō'lbód-* with iron point, with or without barb, for shooting fish and small animals, etc., *é'la* with movable iron blade-head, for shooting pigs and other animals, etc.; *é'la lâ'kà lû'pa* with fixed iron blade-head, for the same purposes. *ô'to-chō'nga* bundle of arrows or bows, *chō* bind, as a parcel with string. *jî'baba* very many.]

48. *malai k'a châ'rigma ô't-lô'binga len jû'bagda; ô't-mû'gu kî'nab l'edâ're ôl tōg len tāk lake*. The Nicobar outrigger canoe is ill-suited for turtling; the narrowness of the bows prevents one from making full use of the spear. [*malai*. Malay, meaning Nicobarese, who are probably remotely Malays, and are quite different from the Andamanese. *k'a* of. *châ'rigma* outrigger canoe, the generic name for all canoes is *rô'ko-*, those in the neighbourhood of Port Blair are generally without outrigger, and much larger than the *châ'rigma-*. *ô't-lô'bi-nga* (No. 14) hunt for turtles along the shore by poling-(verbal subst.). *len* for, postp. *jû'bagda* bad. *ô't-mû'gu* (No. 14) bow of boat, *ig-mû'gu* face. *kî'nab* thin, that is, narrow. *l'edâ're* because of, that is, because of the bow being narrow. *ôl* it. *tōg* turtle-spear, see 44. *len* for. *tāk'la-ke* inconvenience-does.]

49. *kianchâ lô'binga bê'dig met en-tō'lat-ke*. The consequence is that in poling the canoe we (frequently) fall. [*kianchâ* therefore. *lô'bi-nga* hunting the turtle by poling-(verbal subst.). *bê'dig* while. *met* us. *en-tō'lat-ke* cause-fall-does; *tō'lat* is to drop, and is here made causative by prefixing *en*, =makes us fall, see *en-ô't-jê'rke* in 21.]

50. *mô'da ngól bî'rma-chê'lewa len mîn àrdû'ru ngâ'na yâ'te ititâ'nke yâ'ba, meda kûk-jâ'bagi-ke*. If you don't send us by the (incoming) steamer all the things we asked for, we shall be very disappointed. [*mô'da* if. *ngól* you. *bî'rma-chê'lewa* steamer, see 3. *len* in, postp. *mîn* things, see 23. *àrdû'ru* all. *ngâ'na* v. beg, ask for, *yâ'te* which we asked for, but there is no indication of person or time. *ititâ'nke* send, see 24. *yâ'ba* not. *meda* we. *kûk-jâ'bagi-ke* heart-bad-are, see 23, euphonically inserted *i* before *ke*.]

51. *kâ'rin-ñâ târtî't yâ'ba*. There is no more news to tell you. [*kâ'rin* here. *ñâ* more. *târtî't* news. *yâ'ba* not.]

52. *med-a ngól l' àrdû'ru tek târtî't bê'ringa igâ'rike*. We are longing to have good accounts of you all. [*med-a* we. *ngól* you (pl.) *àrdû'ru* all. *tek* from, postp. *târtî't* news. *i-gâ'ri-ke* long-for-do, *i* prefix, an abbreviation of *ig*, Nos. 9 and 10.]

53. *ngâ'kà yûm bā lapâ're*. But little rain has fallen up to the present time. [*ngâ'kà* as yet, see 5. *yûm* rain. *bā* little. *la-pâ-re* (euphonic *la*, frequently prefixed to verbs), fall-did.]

54. *kam wai mōl'ôichik*. Good-bye. [See 29.]

The above examples shew the mode of thought of the natives, and what most occupies their attention. They are some of the very few expressions of genuine untutored barbarians which we possess. The analytical translation given shews the meaning of the parts of the words and the method of construction.

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping-board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems

to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers: in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. The following specimen of a song composed by the *.jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. AS IT WAS SUNG.

SOLO. *ngô·do kûk l'artâ·lagî·ka,*
mô·ro el·ma kê igbâ·dàla
mô·ro el·mo lê aden·yarà
pô·tôt lăh.

CHORUS. *aden·yarà pô·tôt lăh.*

II. LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE POETRY.

thou heart sad
 sky surface there look-at
 sky surface of ripple
 bamboo spear.

III. PROSE ANDAMANESE VERSION BY MR. MAN.

ngól kûk l'artâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kê to igbâ·dignga bédig,
mô·ro el·ma lí·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bédig
pô·tôg len tăg·imike.

IV. LITERAL TRANSLATION OF PROSE VERSION.

thou heart-sad-art
 sky-surface to there looking while,
 sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
 bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. FREE TRANSLATION OF PROSE VERSION.

thou art sad at heart,
 gazing there at the sky's surface,
 gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
 leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm was :

\sim | \sim | \sim | \sim
 \sim | \sim | \sim | \sim
 \sim | \sim | \sim | \sim
 \sim | \sim | \sim |

The syllables marked \sim were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

LIST OF APPENDICES

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DICTIONARY OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.

A

Abandon, (v.t.) 1. desert, leave
 ôt-mâni (ke) Let us abandon the en-
 campment to-day on account of the putre-
 fying arca shells: *kâradu-tâ l'â-jâba-yâte*
l'edâre môcho kawai bûd l'ôtmânike. 2. leave
 behind, forsake iji (ke). On running
 away from there we abandoned all our things:
kâto tek ad-wêtinga-bêdig med'yât l'ârdûru ijire.

abdomen, (s.) ar-mûga (da). See
 belly.

abdominal walls, (s.) ab-ûpta (da).

abet, (v.t.) 1. in an act of violence
 ông-jig (ke). Did he abet you in the
 assault? *an wai ôl ng'ông jigre?* 2. in
 giving offence âr-yene (ke).

abetment, (s.) in giving offence
 âr-yenami (da).

abettor, (s.) 1. in assault ông-
 jignga (da). 2. in abuse or affront
 âr-yenenga (da).

abhor, (v.t.) See dislike, hate, loathe.

able, (v.i.) See can.

able, (adj.) See clever, expert, superior,
 sharp-sighted.

abode, (s.) See hut and home.

aboriginal, (s.) âkâ-bira-bûd-ya
 (da).

aborigines, (s.pl) akat-bira-bûd-ya
 (da). We call the aborigines of Little
 Andaman, Onge: *pâtâng lakat-bira-bûd-ya*
len med' onge marat-taikke.

abortion, (s.) miscarriage ab-dê-
 reka-ya-pânga (da). See fall and infant.

about, (postp.) 1. near to bâdinga-
 ba. His bow is about so long: *ia kârama*
kichikan bâdinga-ba lâpanga. We shall
 go turtling about midnight: *med'gûr-g-*
châu bâdinga-ba lôbike. 2. See exactly con-
 cerning eb. He is talking about you:
ôl ng'eb ijênke.

above, (adv.) 1. Higher in place, on
 the top of têt-êra-len See on.
 Place the bow above the mat: *kârama*
pârepa têt-êralen tegike. 2. overhead

tâng-len. When we die our souls depart
 to the regions above: *marat dûru-tûg-*
dâpinga-bêdig ôt-yôlo tâng-len jânke.
 Hang the dead crow above the hut: *bâtka*
okôli-yâte bûd tâng-len igngôtôlike. See below
 and free.

abreast, (adv.) side by side âkan-
 tôrnga (da).

abscess, (s.) ûmu (da). Prefix,
 ôt, ab, etc., according to the part of the body
 affected. See App. ii.

abscond, (v.i.) ôto-nûyu (ke).
 After stealing my well-polished bow Punga
 absconded: *dîa kârama gêligma tâpnga-bêdig*
pûng'ôto-nûyure.

absent, (adj.) not present ab-
 yâba (da). Why are you shouting his
 name? he is absent: *michalen ngôl ôt-ting*
lat êrewâke? ôl abyâba (da).

absorb, (v.t.) ôt-êr (ke). See dry.

abstain, (v.i.) 1. from food yâpi
 (ke). It is our custom when mourning to
 abstain from certain kinds of food: *met-kâra*
âkâ-ôg len mîn yâpiké. See fast and feast.
 2. to refrain from any act eb-ôt-kûk-
 l'ârlô (ke). See forbear and refrain.

abstemious, (adj.) ôt-rêdeba (da);
 ig-galawar (da). Why are you so ab-
 stemious? we are going to gorge ourselves:
michalen ng'ôt-rêdeba? meda mat-jôdoke.

abundant, (adj.) plentiful, of inanimate
 objects ûbaba (da). See many and
 plenty.

abuse, (s.) ab-tôgo (da); witi
 (da). I dislike abuse: *wai dôl abtôgo len*
jâbag-lûake.

abuse, (v.t.) ab-tôgo (ke). Why
 did you abuse him? *michalen ngôl ad ab-*
tôgore? See him.

abuse, receive (v.i.) âkâ-rêt (ke);
 I received abuse from him this morning:
ôl tek dilma len d'âkâ-rêtre.

abusive, (adj.) ab-tôgonga (da).

accent, (s.) See pronunciation.

accept, (v.t.) eni (ke).

accessible, (adj.) by climbing or other means *ngâtlinga* (da).

accident, (s.) casualty *ig-châg* (da). By an accident the infant fell from the baby-sling and was killed (*lit.* died): *ig-châg tek ab-dêreka chip tek pânga-bêdig ôkolire*.

accidentally, (adv.) by chance *târ-jiau*; *ûntêmar-len*. I found it accidentally on the road: *wai d'en* (abbrev. for *dôl ôllen*) *târ-jiau tinga len ôrokre*.

accompany, (v.t.) *ik(ke)*; *ig-lûri* (ke); *ôt-yâr* (ke). Accompany me, not them: *dikke itikke dâke*.

accomplice, (s.) *ông-jig* (da).

accomplish, (v.t.) complete *kâdli* (ke); *ôiyo* (ke). I accomplished that work this morning: *wai dô kât'ônyôm len dîlmaya kâdlire*. See *somehow*.

accomplished, (adj.) See *clever*, *expert*, etc.

accord, of one's own (adv.) *âkâ-ûmu-tek*.

accordance with, in, (postp.) 1 *naikan*; See *like*. 2. with ref. to custom or practice *ekâra*; *kianwai*. In accordance with our ancient practices: *chànga-tâbanga l'ekâra*.

accouchement, (s.) *ad-ginnga* (da).

account of, on (adv.) 1. By reason of *edâre*. He is standing there on account of the rain: *ôl yûm l'edâre kâto kâpiké*. 2. on behalf of, for the sake of. See *for*. 3. on one's own account *a*; *ik*. See *give and hunt*.

accumulate, (v.t.) collect *jeg* (ke); *ôt-jeg* (ke). See *collect*.

accurate, (adj.) *ûba-bêringa* (da); *ûba-wai* (da).

accuse, (v.t.) *ông-titân* (ke). Why do you accuse Punga? *michalen ngô pûng'ôngtitânke?*

ache, (v.i.) *ig-châm* (ke); *ig-yed* (ke); *têtekâ* (ke). See *pain*.

ache, (s.) 1. of the ear *ig-pûku-châm* (da). 2. of the head *ôt-yed* (da). *ôt-chêta-l'ôt-yed* (da). 3. on the brow *i-tâla-yâb* (da). 4. on crown of head *ig-bôn-gi* (da). 5. of the stomach

. . . . *ab-jôdo-li-châm* (da). 6. of the tooth *ig-tûg châm* (da).

acid, (adj.) *ig-mâkanga* (da). See *sour*.

acidity, (s.) *ig-mâka* (da).

acknowledge, (v.t.) admit *ar-wai* (ke). He acknowledged in my presence that he beat Punga: *ôl d'ârlôglen arwaire anya pûnga l'ôtpärekre*.

acquaint, (v.t.) *badali* (ke) See *inform*.

acquaintance, (s.) the individual *ig-jîu-gam* (da); *ig-ngôlinga* (da).

across, (adv.) 1. athwart *târ-têta*; *iji-chârawali*. 2. across country *kâdabali*; *bâlakâti*.

active, (adj.) 1. in running, climbing, etc. *ar-wâtanga* (da). 2. in swimming, etc. *a-nemtonga* (da). 3. energetic, zealous *îratnga* (da).

adapt, (v.t.) *gît* (ke). We adapt the boar's tusk for planing purposes: *meda pörnga-l'eb pâlichâ gîtke*.

adaptable, (adj.) suitable *ñôma* (da).

add, (v.t.) 1 join to *târ-ôdo* (ke). 2. increase. See *increase*.

adept, (s.) in handicraft *ông-tâpa* (da) See *accomplished*, *expert*, and *excellent*.

adhere, (v.i.) stick to *ôyun-têmar-mâli* (ke).

adjacent, adjoining. See *near*.

admit, (v.t.) 1. grant entrance *lôtök* (ke); *en-lôti* (ke). See *extract*, where the "i" is short. 2. acknowledge *ar-wai* (ke).

admonish, (v.t.) reprove *ig-râl* (ke).

adopt, (v.t.) 1. a person *ôt-chât* (ke). 2. one child *ôko-jeng-e* (ke); *âr-bâ-gôr* (ke). 3. more than one child *bâ-l'âr-ngaij* (ke).

adopted, (s.) 1. a person *ôt-châtre*; *ôt-chât-yâte* (da). 2. a child *ôko-jengere*; *âr-bâ-gôrre*; *ôko-jenge-yâte* (da); *âr-bâ-gôr-yâte* (da).

adorn. *See* **decorate.**

adrift, (adv.) ad-màunga (da).

adult, (s.) male and female. *See* App. vii.

adultery, (v.i.) commit ar-wâg (ke).

advance, (v.i.) go forward târ-iki (ke); âr-chôrowa (ke). *See* **go.**

advance, (adv.) In oto-lâ (da); ông-ârôlo (da). My father is going forward in advance of us: *dab maiola met otolâ ârchôrowake.*

advantage, (s.) gain âr-pôlok (da). There is no advantage in going there: *kâto yâuganga-len ârpôlok yâba.*

adverse, (adj.) *See* **contrary.**

advise, (v.t.) ab-chêali (ke).

adze, (s.) wôlo (da); ik-êr-kôpnga (da). I made the entire bow by means of your adze: *wai dô ngia wôlo tâm-tek kârama ârdûru kôpre.*

affectionate, (adj.) ik-pôlnga (da); ôko-jôlowanga (da).

affront, (s.) insult witi (da); ab-tôgo (da).

afloat, (adv.) ôdatnga.

afraid, (adj.) ad-lâtnga (da). We were afraid when the Indian Settlement was first established in this harbour: *ûcha elârûla len chàuga-l'elôtwâlnga gôiya meda m'atlâtnga.*

after, (postp.) 1. in time, in coming, going, etc. . . . ig-nilya (da). 2. in order or position âr-ôlo (da). 3. last in order, hindermost târ-ôlo (da).

afternoon, (s.) bôdo-la-lôringa (da). *See* App. x.

afterwards, (adv.) târôlo-len; târôlo-lik; ngâ-tek.

again, (adv.) ôt-pâgi; ig-pâgi; tâlik; ông-tâli. Make it again: *tâlik ôiyo.*

against, (postp.) in opposition to âkâ-niûrnga. Why are you pulling against me? *michalen ngô d'âkâniûrnga tînapke?*

age, (s.) ad-lâgri (da). My father is of great age: *d'ab-maiola l'ad-lâgri chânag (da).*

age, (v.i.) of animate objects ab-chôroga (ke); ab-janggi (ke).

aged. *See* **old**; also App. vi.

agitate, (v.t.) *See* **shake.**

agony, (s.) nû (da). Prefix ôt, ab, etc. according to the part of the body affected. *See* App. ii.

agree, (v.i.) consent wai (ke).

aground, (adv.) ad-yôboli; ad-chânga-linga.

ague, (s.) . . . did-dirya (da). He is suffering from ague: *wai en did-dirya l'abômoke.*

ah, (interj.) ah!; ai!; widi! Ah! they are falling: *ah! ônta pâke.*

ahead, (adv.) kâto-dê:oto-lâ(da). *See* App. iii.

aid, (v.t.) 1. . . . t-tâ (ke). 2. another in scooping as with an adze itâ-kôp (ke). 3. another in carrying on the shoulder itâ-kâtami (ke). *See* **assist** and **help.**

aim, (v.t.) 1. with bow and arrow idal-l'ôko-nû (ke). 2. with spear ab-wâ (ke).

aimlessly, (adv.) at random. . . . ig-châg-tek. Why do you shoot your arrows aimlessly? *michalen ng' igchâgtek taijke?*

air, (s.) yêla (da).

airing, take an (v.i.) â-ûl (ke); ad-yâuga (ke); ûlnga-mâg (ke). I have got a headache (so) I will take an airing: *wai d'ôt chêta l'ôtyedke d'â-ûlke.*

alas!, (interj.) wada!; kualên! *See* App. iv.

albumen, (s.) of egg molo-l'ôt-elepaij (da).

alike, (adj.) âkâ-pâra (da); âr-lôrnga (da); âr-tâ-lôg (da). *See* **exactly.**

alive, (adj.) 1. . . . ig-âte (da); 2. of fire ngâ-îdal (da). *See* **then** and **fire.**

all, (s.) of any number or quantity âr-dûru (da); ara-dûru (da). ting-ûbai. *See* **whole.** **we all:** mól-l'ârdûru (da), or m'arat-dûru (da). **you all:** ngòl-l'ârdûru (da), or ng'aratdûru (da). **they all:** òl-l'ârdûru (da), or arat-dûru (da). **all these:** ûcha-dûru (da). *See* **friend.**

all-day, (adv.) bôdo-dôga (da).

all night, (adv.) gûrug-dôga (da).
 We danced all night: *meda gûrug-dôga kôire*.
all right, (interj.) ôno! See App. iv.
allow, (v.t.) 1. permit titân (ke).
 See **let** and **permit**. 2. to go ep-tig-lai (ke).
almost, (adv.) nearly lagi-tek; I almost struck (with arrow) the centre of the coconut: *wai dô jêdir kôktâr-len lagitek paitire*.
alone, (adj.) 1. lonely jîba (da).
 2. solitary, single ab-ûba-tûl (da).
 3. apart, separate iji-lâ (da).
along, (postp.) lôringa; ya. Search along the shore: *igôra lôringa-len âtake*.
alongside, (postp.) pêbadi.
aloud, (adv.) âkan-gûru.
already, (adv.) entôba; I have already seen it: *wai dô l'entôba lâre*. Compare âentôbare (elder brother), tôba-tek (meanwhile), tôlaba (wait a little!)
also, (conj.) bédig; ôl-bédig; êâte. Give me a bow, also some arrows, beads, twine and tobacco: *den kârama mân, êâte lelta, êâte chêlem, êâte mōla, êâte chûka*. See **least**. 2. (adv.) See **moreover**.
alter, (v.t.) gôlai (ke).
although, (conj.) êdaia. Although the Chief was angry with me still he spared my canoe: *êdaia maiola d'eb ijirêlre ârek dia rôko-len ôl-tid-dûbure*.
altogether, (adv.) wholly rêa-tek. See **entirely** and **quite**.
always, (adv.) 1. constantly, incessantly ông-tâm; ông-tâm-tek; ar-tâm-tek. See **excellent**. 2. throughout all time kîan-wai. 3. daily ârla-len; ârlalen-ârlalen. See **write**. 4. from time immemorial ârla-dilurêatek. 5. continually, habitually ig-lôinga; ôko-jâranga.
ambush, (v.t.) shoot from an ik-chôpat (ke).
amiable, (adj.) ôko-dûbunga (da).
ambidexter, (adj.) ig-kôri (da).
among, **amongst**, (postp.) 1. with ref. to animate objects tek; ôiot; ôl-paichalen; akat-lôglen; ôiot-lôglen. 2. with ref. to

inanimate objects ig-lôglen; ông-pâlen. See **near** and **search**. Whom do you consider the best among those men? *kat'ad-bûla tek ngô mij'ab-bêringa lûake?* I will distribute the food amongst you: *dô ng'ôiot yât wâlke*. It is not the custom amongst us: *m'ôiot kîanwai yâba*. Tura is now living among the aborigines at Little Andaman: *tûra âchitik pâtang-len ônge l'ôtpaichalen bûduke*. The child is seated among the women: *ablîga chân l'akatlôglen âkâdôike*. See! there is a centipede among those arrows: *ig-bâdig! kâto delta l'iglôglen kârapta (da)*.

among, **selves**, ôyut-bûd-bédig. Why are you quarrelling among yourselves? *michalen ng'ôyut-bûd-bédig âra-tângmôkê?*

amorous, (adj.) ig-nîma (da).

amuse, (v.t.) i-jâja (ke). See **game** and **play**. He is amusing his own children: *ôl êkan ligala-len ijâjake*.

ancestor, (s.) 1. . . . ôl-maia. Thy ancestors, ng'ôl-maia; our ancestors, m'ôl-maia. 2. early, remote chàuga-tâbanga (da); tōmola. A long time ago in the days of our remote ancestors: *ârtâm chàuga-tâ-banga l'idâl-len*.

anchor, (s.) kâna (da), *lit.* that which forbids the canoe to drift. See **forbid**.

anchor-rope, (s.) yôto (da).

anchor, (v.t.) kâna-l'en tōlpi (ke). kâna-l'entōlpi (ke).

anchor, (v.i.) be at â-tâti (ke).

anchorage, (s.) 1. for boats ông (da). There is a good anchorage near our landing-place; *mêtat pâka-len lagiba ông bêringa (da)*. 2. well-sheltered tòng-mûgu-lia (da); Anchor your canoe in the well-sheltered anchorage; *ngia rôko tòng-mûgu-lia-len kâna-l'entōlpi (ke)*. See **bay** and **calm**.

ancient, (adj.) âr-tâm (da).

and, (conj.) bédig; ôl-bédig; êâte. See **also** and **feast**.

Andaman Islands, (s.) êrema (da). See **world**. The prefix *el* in the following place names is used euphonically for *êr* (place) in construction. 1. Islands of N. and N.W. of N. Andaman el-âkâ-châriâr (da).

2. Coast of the northern half of N. Andaman el-âkà-kōra (da). 3. Interior of N. Andaman el-âkà-tābō (da). 4. Coast of southern half of N. Andaman and N.E. corner of Middle Andaman el-âkà-yêre (da); also, el-âkà-jāro (da.) 5. Northern half of Middle Andaman and S.W. corner of N. Andaman with Interview Island el-âkà-kede (da). 6. Coast and interior of central portion of Middle Andaman kâpà-tòng (da), *lit.* leaf of the *Licuala peltata*, which is abundant there. 7. Central portion of E. coast of Middle Andaman el-âkà-kōl (da). *Kōl* means "flower." 8. S.E. corner of Middle Andaman including part of Bârâtâng and adjacent islets el-âkà-bôjig-yâb (da). Bârâtâng means *bâra*-tree; this island being reckoned part of the Middle Andaman. The full name means locality of our type (or kind) of speech. See **our** and **speech**. 9. The Archipelago with Button Islands el-âr-jûru (da), *lit.* the land across the sea. 10. Coasts of S. Andaman and Rutland Island, the Labyrinth Islands, and S.W. corner of Middle Andaman el-âkà-bêa (da), *lit.* the land of spring water. 11. Part of interior of S. Andaman, Rutland, and Bârâtâng Islands, also N. Sentinel el-âkà-jārawa (da). 12. Little Andaman pâtâng (da), *wilima-tāra* (da). Pâtâng is the *Semecarpus* tree which flourishes there, and *wilima-tāra* means "Casuarina trees on the sand."

Andamanese of the following five tribes or septs âkà-yêrewa (da). 1. in the district of el-âkà-châriâr (da). âkà-châriâr (da). 2. in el-âkà-kōra (da). âkà-kōra (da). 3. in el-âkà-tābō (da). âkà-tābō (da). 4. in el-âkà-yêre (da). âkà-yêre (da). 5. in el-âkà-kede (da). âkà-kede (da).

Andamanese of the following five tribes or septs. bôjig-ngijî (da). This term denotes "our (or, fellow-) kinsmen." The bows, arrows, and other articles made and used by these five tribes, besides

other characteristics, distinguish them from the five northernmost tribes (âkà-yêre) and the two jārawa tribes. 1. in the district of kâpà-tòng (da) âkà-jûwai (da). This term means "designs-cut-on-bow." In the map this name has been inadvertently shown as "ôko-jûwai (da)," which is its designation in that tribe's dialect. 2. in el-âkà-kōl (da) âkà-kōl (da). 3. in el-âkà-bôjig-yâb (da). âkà-bôjig-yâb (da). 4. in el-âr-jûru (da). âkà-balawa (da), *lit.* "opposite coast people." 5. in el-âkà-bêa (da). âkà-bêa (da).

Andamanese of the following two tribes or septs, ônge-jārawa (da). 1. occupying el-âkà-jārawa (da). âkà-jārawa (da). This is an off-shoot of the Little Andaman tribe. 2. in Little Andaman. ônge. The name of this tribe for itself; till friendly relations were established (between 1885-90) both were designated "âkà-jārawa (da)."

angel, (s.) celestial spirit. mōro-win (da), *lit.* "sky-creature." The mōrowin are regarded as the children of Puluga (the Creator). The eldest of these spirits is named pîj-chōr, whose duty it is to convey Puluga's orders to the others.

anger, (v.t.). en-tig-rêl (ke). He angered Punga yesterday: *a dîlêa pûnga-ya l'entigrêlre*.

angry, (adj). 1. iji-rêlnga (da); tig-rêlnga (da). He is often angry: *ôl dîrla-rêatek iji-rêlnga (da)*. 2. with another. eb-iji-rêlnga (da). Why are you angry with me? *michalen ngô d'eb iji-rêlnga (da)*? 3. with one's wife, or husband. ig-râknga (da). See **avoid**.

animal, (s.). têt-nàu (da).

animosity, (s.). yôdi (da). See **enmity**

ankle, (s.). ông-tôgur (da).

annoy, (v.t.) molest. ig-ôjoli (ke); ông-tâli (ke).

annually, (adv.). tâlik-tâlik. The fruit-tree bears (fruit) only once annually: *âkà-tâlla ôgun úba-dôga tâlik-tâlik arbâtke*.

another, (adj). 1. not the same. âkà-tedi-bôlya (da); âkà-tôro-bûya (da). Go

in another canoe: *rôko l'âkâtedibôlya len ng'âkangaike*. 2. one more . . . *ñâ (da)*; *tûn (da)*; *tâlik-ûba-tûl (da)*. See! here comes another Jarawa: *igbâdig! jârawa tâlik-ûbatûl kach ònke*. See again and one.

another time, later on, (adv.) . . . *ngâtek*.

another's, (pron.) property. . . *ig-êba (da)*. It is not my property, it is another's: *dîa râmoko yâbada wai igêbada*.

answer, (v.t.) reply, respond . . . *âkâ-tegi-gôl (ke)*. Why don't you answer me? *michalen ngô d'âkâ-tegi-gôlke yâbada?*

ant, (s.) 1. ordinary, small . . . *êma (da)*. 2. large, black, stinging . . . *bûrya (da)*. 3. large, red, tiger . . . *kângira (da)*. 4. white (termite) . . . *bêdara (da)*. The winged white-ant; which appear shortly before the rains are called *ôropa-l'âkâ-yâ (da)* or *ôropa-l'âkâ-châr (da)*.

ant-hill, (s.) . . . *kôt (da)*. When he sat on the ant-hill the ants stung him: *ôl kôt len âkâdôinga-bêdig bûrya l'en kârabre*.

antediluvian, period, (s.) . . . *tômo-l'idâl (da)*, (lit. "in the days of Tomo," who lived before the Deluge). See **period**, **time**.

anticipation of, in (postp.) . . . *ôko-têlim*. Cook some food in anticipation of Bira's arrival: *bîra l'ôkotêlim yôt jôike*.

antidote, (s.) . . . *târ-wûrul (da)*. For ague the application of (lit. to rub) the leaves of the *gugma* tree (*Trigonostemon longifolius*) is a good antidote: *diddirya l'eb gûgma-tàng rârnga-bêdig târwûrul bêringada*.

antifebrile, (s.) . . . *târ-wârta (da)*.

anus, (s.) . . . *ar-tômur (da)*.

anvil, (s.) . . . *rârap (da)*.

anxiety, (s.) . . . *ar-târîki (da)*; *â-dami (da)*. Owing to anxiety my wife will not eat (lit. is abstaining from food): *artârîki l'elâre dai ik-yâte yâpîke*.

anxious, (adj.) uneasy . . . *ar-târîkinga (da)*; *â-daminga (da)*.

any, (adj.) whatever . . . *michima . . . bêdig*. Before I embark give me any food (you have): *d'âkanwêrnge l'entôka michima yât bêdig mân (ke)*.

any one, (s.) any body . . . *ûchin-ôl*. You must not tell lies to any one: *ngôl ûba-waik ûchin-ôllen âtedike yabada*. Bring me any one's bow: *ûchin-ia kârama dat-tôyuke*. See he and his. About any one, *ûchin eb*. See about and lie.

anything, (s.) . . . *michima-mîn*. Is there anything in the bucket? *an michima-mîn dâkar len?*

apart, (adv.) . . . *ijilâ (da)*. The man who is standing apart (from the rest) is my father: *wai ôl ijilâ kâpi yâte d'ârôdinga (da)*.

apart from, (postp). See **beside**.

aperture, (s.) opening . . . *âkâ-jâg (da)*.

apparition, (s.) spectre . . . *châuga (da)*.

appear, (v.i.) 1. be in sight . . . *ar-bang-wêjeri (ke)*. 2. show one's self . . . *ar-dîya (ke)*. 3. as the sun or moon . . . *â-î-dôati (ke)*; *ôko-dôati (ke)*. The full moon always appears (rises) in the evening: *garchâu ârla-dilurêatek dîlaya l'âidôati (ke)*.

appetite, (s.) . . . *un-wêral (da)*.

applaud, (v.t.) . . . *ôt-âli (ke)*.

apply, (v.t.) 1. pigment to an object or one's person . . . *lêne (ke)*; past tense is *lênek (re)*. See **paint**. 2. resinous wax . . . *lêne (ke)*; *leât (ke)*; as in caulking a canoe or in protecting the twine lashings of arrows. 3. bees'-wax to bowstring, etc. . . . *lûnu (ke)*.

appoint, (v.t.) (name) a time . . . *ôko-tig-râu (ke)*.

approach, (v.t.) 1 . . . *ât (ke)*; *chêgal (ke)*. Hush! two pigs are approaching us: *wai mîla! reg ikpôr met âtke*. See **see**. 2. by stealth, in order to surprise . . . *âr-îlaiji (ke)*. 3. as in stalking or attacking an enemy . . . *ig-gôroba (ke)*. See **stalk**, **approach nearer!** *kaich-tûn!*

apron (leaf-), (s.) . . . *ôbunga (da)*. This refers to the leaf or leaves—generally of the *Mimusops indica* ("mowa tree")—worn from motives of modesty by women and girls of the Great Andaman tribes. See App. xiii.

area granosa, (s.) ark-shell . . . *kârada (da)*.

area sp., (s.) ark-shell . . . *pôrma (da)*; *paidek (da)*; *wangata (da)*. See App. xii.

arch, (s.) go-bônga (da).
archer, (s.) ôko-kârama-châm (da).
 The deceased Biala was a good archer:
lachi biala ôko-kârama-châm bêringa l'edâre.
area, (s.) space, tract êr (da).
ardour, (s.) zeal irat (da).
areca catechu, (s.) âbad (da).
areca triandra, (s.) âpara (da).
areca laxa châm (da). See App. xi.
areca-nut, (s.) âkà-ban (da); âbad-ban (da); âpara-ban (da).
arid, (adj). See **parched**.
arise, (v.t.) from sleep or rest ôyu-bôi (ke). See **awake** and **beforehand**.
ark-shell, (s.) See **arca**.
arm, (s.) the limb ig-gûd (da).
arm-pit, (s.) ab-âwa (da).
arm, fore-, (s.) ig-kôpa (da).
arm, upper, (s.) ig-kûrupi (da).
armlet, (s.) gûd-chônga (da); iji-chônga (da).
armed, (adj.) châchnga (da). Owing to (the vicinity of) the Jarawas we all (go) armed when travelling in that jungle: *kât'êrem jâlânga bédig jârâwa l'edâre m'ardûru châchnga* (da).
arms, (s.) weapons châch (da).
around, (adv.) el-lôt-gôwadinga (da).
arouse, (v.t.) especially from sleep gêinta (ke); genta (ke). It is getting late! arouse him or we shall not arrive in time: *ting-gûjuba! en gêin-take, kinig m'ijit-yâda-wanga-ba*.
arrange, (v.t.) 1. put in proper order iglâ-l'ôt-chilyu (ke). See **rear**. 2. put straight kädli (ke). See **straight**. 3. make arrangements for one's return on a certain day ôko-tig-râu (ke).
arrive, (v.i.) 1 âkà-tî-dôi (ke). See **beforehand**. 2. at one's home by canoe kâgal (ke). See **bring by water**, **reach**, and **start**. 3. at an appointed time iji-yâdawa (ke). 4. (or return) late î-târ-jûdu (ke). 5. late in the evening elarît (ke); eba-rît (ke). See **lead** and App. x. 6. of news ik-ôn (ke). Good news has arrived: *târtit bêringa ik-ônre*.

arrow, (s.) 1. . . . delta (da). Generic name for all arrows except the *châm-pâligma* (da). See No. 7 below, and **bundle**. 2. . . . with plain blunt wooden point, for play, or before conversion into a *tirléd*. (See No. 3. . . . râta (da). 3. with sharp wooden point, for shooting fish . . . tirléd (da). 4. with iron point, with or without barb, for shooting fish, pigs, etc. . . . töl bôd (da). 5. with moveable iron-blade-head and barbs, for shooting pigs, fish, etc. . . . êla (da). 6. with fixed iron-blade-head and barbs, for shooting pigs, fish, etc. . . . êla-l'âkâ-lûpa (da). 7. plain wooden, shaped somewhat like an oar, made for ornament or play and in order to show the skill of the maker châm-pâligma (da).
arrow, nock of, (s.) ar-paitôko (da).
artocarpus chaplasha (s.) Jack fruit tree kai-ita (da).
as, (conj.). 1. because edâre. 2. (adv.) ignûrum. See App. i. As he taught me so am I teaching you: *ignûrum ô d'en-îtaire châ dô ng'en-îtaike*.
as much, (adv.) kichikan. See **much** and App. i.
as well, (adv.) together with ôl-bédig.
as well as, (adv.) not less than ârtâ-lôg-lik. I can climb as well as you: *wai dô ng'ârtâlôglik gûtu ke châk-bêringa* (da).
as yet, (adv.) still, hitherto ñgâkâ. See **ascend**.
ascend, (v.t.) 1. a hill kâgal (ke); tôt-gûtu (ke). None of us have as yet ascended that hill: *med'ardûru kâto bôroin ñgâkâ kâgalre yâba* (da). 2. climb a tree or creeper. See **climb**. 3. a creek ôt lôt (ke).
ascend, (v.i.) 1. of the sun or moon kâg (ke). 2. of a soaring bird wâta (ke).
ashamed, (adj.) tek-îknga (da).
ashes, (s.) ig-bûg (da); châpa-l'ig-pîd (da).
ashore, (adv.) têt-gôra-len; kêwa-len. When we get ashore I shall be glad: *meda têtgôralen kâgalnga-bédig d'ôt-kûk-bêringa* (da).

Asiatic, (s.) . . . chàugala. See also **native** and **oriental**.

aside, (v.i.) step. See **step**.

ask, (v.t.) 1. enquire . . . chiura (ke); i chiura (ke). 2. beg, request . . . âkà-pele (ke).

ask earnestly (v.t.) See **beg**.

asleep, (adv.) . . . mâninga (da).

asplenium nidus, (s.) . . . pàtla (da). See **fern**.

assault, (v.t.) See **attack**.

assemblage, (s.) . . . jeg-châu (da), this word is applied to the meetings of members of various encampments when they feast, dance and sing: these entertainments are styled jeg (da). See **body**. idal-ârdûrnga (da); ârdûru-âkâkôranga (da).

assemble, (v.i.) 1. . . . to-tai (ke). 2. for dancing . . . ara-jeg (ke).

assemble, (v.t.) . . . âr-ngaij (ke). The Chief is assembling all the bachelors: *maiola atwâr'ârdûru ârngaijke*.

assent, (v.i.) . . . wai (ke).

assist, (v.t.) . . . i-tâ (ke). As Biala is weak to-day you must assist him in carrying it: *kawai biala l'abmâlainga l'edâre ng'en ubawaik itâ-kâtamike*.

associate with, (v.t.) . . . ig-mûtli (ke). See **enmity**.

assume, a form or part. (v.t.) personate . . . ab-châu-eni (ke). When Tomo died (*lit.* "his-soul-departed") he assumed the form of a whale: *tômo l'ôtyôlo jinnnga-bêdig kâra-dûku l'ab-châu-enire*.

assure, (v.t.) . . . bôtig (ke).

astern, (adv.) . . . âr-tit-len.

astern, (v.i.) go . . . i-târ-tâpa (ke). See **paddle**.

asthma, (s.) . . . ôna-jâbag (da). See **breath** and **bad**.

astonish, (v.t.) . . . ig-likati (ke). I astonished Woi with this: *wai dôl ûcha tek wôi l'iglikatire*.

astonished, (adj.) . . . ig-âgêklinga (da).

astray, (adv.) . . . châtaknga (da). I found my dog astray in the jungle: *wai dô dia bibi êrem len châtaknga ôrokre*.

astride, (adv.) . . . ara-yôbolinga (da).

astringent, (adj.) . . . êre-paich (da).

at, (post p.) . . . len; lat; ya. He lives at Little Andaman: *ôl pâtâng len bûduke*.

at last! (interj.) . . . â-wê!

at once, (adv.) . . . kâ-ôî. Be off at once! *kâgôî ûchik wai ôn!*

at present, (adv.) . . . dîrap-tek. There is nothing more to say at present: *dîrap tek nâ târchînga yâba (da)*.

attack, (v.t.) 1. assault . . . jêti (ke). 2. plan an . . . âkâ-tig-jêti (ke). 3. suddenly, by surprise . . . âr-bang-dôati (ke). If the object be an animal the prefix *âkâ* would be used.

attempt, (v.t.) See **try**.

attend, (v.t.) wait on. See **nurse**.

attend, (v.i.) give heed to . . . iji-wârta (ke). Attend to what your parents are telling you: *ngab maiôl-chânôl l'âkâ-tegi len ijiwârtake*.

audible, (adj.) . . . âkâ-tegi-lôyu. The thunder is still audible: *gôrowanga ngâka âkâtegi-lôyu*.

augur, (s.) See **seer**.

aunt, (s.) . . . chànola. See App. viii.

authority, (s.) power, influence. . . ig-gûru (da). See **influence** and **chief**.

autumn, (s.) . . . râp-wâb (da), *lit.* "season of abundance", (*viz.*, between the middle of February and the middle of May, when the principal fruit-trees are in bearing and honey also is in season). In the autumn large quantities of leaves fall from the trees: *râpwâb len tòng dôgayaâkâ-tâng tek tôlatke*.

avaricious, (adj.) . . . iti-rômad (da).

avenge, (v.t.) . . . ôn-tî-lên (ke). See **blood**.

aversion, (s.) to food . . . âkâ-wârnga-yôma (da).

avoid, (v.t.) shun . . . râk (ke); târ-pejili (ke). On seeing the cane-leaf (funereal) wreaths round the encampment we avoided the place: *âra rôni-yâte igbâdignga-bêdig med'êr len râkre*.

await, (v.t.) . . . tâmi (ke); ab-nadba (ke). Await the Head Chief's arrival before

commencing to dance: *kóinga l'entōka mai'iglā l'ákà-ti-dòingalen tāmike*.

awake, (v.i.) . . . bōi (ke); â-bōi (ke).

awaken, (v.t.) . . . genta (ke); gêinta (ke). *See arouse*.

awake, keep, (v.i.) keep a look out . . . ōto-lâlai (ke). *See look out*.

aware, (adj.) possessing knowledge. *See know*.

away, (adv.) absent . . . ab-yāba (da).

away with you! (interj.) Be off! . . . ūchik wai-ōn! ik-âna! *See threaten*.

awhile, (adv.) for some time . . . mat-aiyāba tek.

awkward, (adj.) . . . ab-dōlopa (da); ig-gûru (da).

awl! (s.) . . . tōlbôd (da).

ay! ay! (interj.) . . . ō! wai!

B

Baby, (s.) . . . ab-dêreka (da). *See App. vii*.

babyish, (adj.) . . . ab-dêreka-naikan.

baby-sling, (s.) . . . chîp (da). This is made from the bark of the *Melochia velutina* and is worn like a sash from the right shoulder to the left hip, usually by women, but occasionally by men when carrying infants. The woman is carrying her own infant in the baby-sling: *châna ékan abdêreka chip len abnôrâke*. *See App. xiii*.

bachelor, (s.) . . . ab-wâra (da). *See App. vii*.

back, (s.) . . . ab-gûdur (da); ab-lân (da).

back-bite, (v.t.) . . . ep-tông-it (ke).

back-bone. *See spine*.

back-water, (v.i.) *See go-astern*.

backwards, (adv.) . . . târ-tâpaya.

bad, (adj.) 1. with ref. to human beings : . . . ab-jābag (da). 2. with ref. to animals and inanimate objects . . . jābag (da). Formerly Woi was a bad character, but now he is a good fellow: *ârtâm wôi ab-jābag l'edâre dôna âchitik âbirîngada*.

bad-looking, (adj.) . . . î-tâ-jābag (da); ig-jābag (da); ig-mûgu-jābag (da).

bag, (s.) of net-work . . . chāpanga (da).

See App. xiii.

baggage, (s.) . . . rāmoko (da).

bake, (v.t.) . . . *See cook*.

balance. *See remainder*.

bald, (adj.) 1. by nature . . . ôt-lûta (da); ôt-tâla-tim (da); ôt-pîj-yāba (da). 2. by shaving . . . ôt-litomo (da); ôt-pîj-yāba (da). *See bare*.

bale, (v.t.) . . . rais (or raij)-êla (ke). *See slop and hiss*.

ball, (s.) . . . môtâwa (da). I hammered the iron with a ball-like stone (*lit.* "stone-ball"): *wai dôl êlatâ taili-môtâwa tek tâire*.

bamboo, (s.) *Bambusa andamanica* 1. male sp. . . . pûa (da); 2. female sp. . . . pō (da). [This word is also applied to specimens of *B. gigantea* which have drifted to their coasts]. 3. *B. nana* . . . pûa-lâr-bā (da); rîdi (da). From this variety the shafts of their fish-arrows are made. *See App. xi and xiii*.

bamboo, joints of the (s.) . . . topa-tāninga (da).

bamboo receptacle, (s.) 1. small water-holder . . . gôb (da). This is made from a variety of bamboo of the ordinary size (*B. andamanica*) and is also frequently used on a journey, or (when hunting or foraging) for holding food which has already been partially cooked in it. When resting for a meal this improvised pot is re-placed over a fire till its contents are sufficiently cooked. *See App. xiii*. 2. large water-holder . . . chârata (da). [This consists of a section 5 or 6 feet long of the *B. gigantea*; when reduced in length in order to serve as a bucket it is styled kopôt (da).] *See App. xiii*.

bandage, (s.) . . . ab-râm (da).

bandicoot, (rat), (s.) . . . îd (da). We even now-a-days sometimes eat bandicoots: *mardûru dirap-tek bédig ñgâtek-ñgâlek id makat-wétke*.

bandy-legged, (adj.) . . . tâ-lâr-têka (da). *See bone and crooked*.

bank, (s.) of a creek or stream . . . ig-pai (da); ig-pê (da). He is sitting on the

bank of the creek: *ôl jîg l'ig-pai len âkâdôike*.

bar, (s.) *See* sandbank.

barb, (s.) of arrow (single) ar-châga (da).

barbs (s.) pair of ô-t-châtmi (da). as in the *êla* arrow. *See* arrow.

barber, (s.) ô-t-jêrngâ (da).

bare, (adj.) 1. cleared, of land êr-tâlimare. 2. naked. *See* naked. 3. hairless. *See* bald. 4. untattooed abiûta (da).

bargain, (v.t.) *See* barter.

bark, (s.) 1. of a dog kânawa (da). 2. of a tree ô-t-êd (da); ô-t-êj (da); ô-t-aich (da); ô-t-aij (da).

bark, (v.i.) as a dog kânawa (ke).

barnacle, (s.) rêkil (da).

barrel, (s.) cask dâkar-bôdia (da). (*lit.* large bucket).

barrel, (s.) of gun bîrma (da). *See* funnel.

barren, (adj.) 1. of a woman ab-êrngâ (da). *See* dry. 2. of a sow rôgo-lûga (da); rôgo-êrngâ (da). 3. of a tree past bearing êrngâ (da); lûga (da). That fruit tree is barren: *kât'âkâ-tâlu wai êrngâ (da)*.

barter, (v.t.) î-gal (ke). We bartered for several young pigs for Punga, for fattening purposes, but at the same time did not forget ourselves: *pûnga l'ôyu chîlyunga l'eb meda reg-wâra jîbaba igalre dôna tôbatek môtô-kûklîre yâba (da)*. *See* day.

base of hill, (s.) bôroin-l'ar-dama (da). *See* buttock.

bashful, (adj.) modest, shy ô-t-tek (da).

bask, (v.i.) ôto-chôï (ke). While the iguana was basking (in the sun) I shot him: *dûku ôto-chôinga-bêdig dôl en taijre*.

basket, (s.) jôb (da). *See* App. xiii.

basket-work, covering for cooking-pot râmata (da). *See* App. xiii.

bat, (s.) 1. (*Pteropus*) wôd (da). 2. *Cynopterus marginatus* pûruki (da); châpila (da).

bathe, (v.t.) chât (ke). (v.i.) 1. in shallow water or on the shore ad-chât (ke). 2. in deep water lûdga (ke).

bay, (s.) tōng-mûgu (da). *See* face and leaf. 2. deep elâkâ-ûla (da); elâr-ûla (da).

be, (v.i.) edâ (ke). It will be hard by this evening: *ôl dîla len chêba l'edângubo*. Let it be! *tôbatik dâke!* (*lit.* in the meantime don't). Be off! (go away!) *ûchik-wai-ôn! ik âna!* *See* hence and threaten.

beach, (s.) 1. sandy târa-l'ôko-pai (da). 2. rocky bôroga (da). 3. . . . foreshore kêwa (da). 4. landing-place pâla (da).

beach, (v.t.) a canoe ô-t-yôboli (ke); ôiyo-kâg (ke). *See* haul.

bead, (s.) chêlem (da).

beak, (s.) 1. straight ôko-naichama (da). *See* point and tip. 2. curved ôko-ngôtôichma (da). That parrot's beak is red; *kât'êyep l'ôko-ngôtôichma wai chêrama (da)*.

beam, (v.i.) shine châl (ke).

beam, (s.) 1. of sun-light bôdo-l'âr-châl (da). 2. of moon-light ôgar-l'âr-châl (da). *See* sun and moon. 3. of a hut barma (da).

bear, (v.t.) 1. *See* carry and suffer. 2. bear fruit bāt (ke); ar-bāt (ke). *See* annually. 3. give birth to ab-êti (ke). past bearing, (adj.) â-êrngâ (da). *See* dry.

beard, (s.) âkâ-âdal-pîj (da). *See* chin.

bearded, (adj.) âdal-l'âkâ-pîj (da).

beardless, (adj.) âdal-pîj-yâba (da); âdal-pîj-la-pitaingata.

beat, (v.t.) 1. vanquish otolâ-ômo (ke). *See* first, fetch and win. 2. beat an inanimate object pâre (ke); râli (ke). 3. beat an animal ô-t-pâre (ke). 4. beat a person ab-pâre (ke); â-pâre (ke). prefix according to part of the body referred to. *See* App. ii. 5. with the fist . . .

ab-taia (ke); ab-tûlra (ke); ab-tûchurpi (ke). prefix as at App. ii. 6. iron on an anvil tâi (ke).

beat, (v.i.) 1. one's self . . . ad-päre (ke). 2. one's own head ôto-päre (ke); 3. one's own face . . . iji-päre (ke). 4. one's hand or foot . . . ôyun-päre (ke). 5. one's mouth âkan-päre (ke). See **hit** and **strike**.

beaten, (adj.) 1. in a fight . . . â-degranga (da). 2. in a race ab-ijinga (da); târ-lûnga (da). 3. struck râlinga (da); päreknga (da). By the prefix (See App. ii.) the part of the person referred to is indicated.

beautiful, (adj.) 1. of human beings ab-ino (da); ig-mûgu-bêringa (da). 2. of birds, animals, and inanimate objects. . . . ino(da).

because, (adv.) edäre. We are not hunting because of the rain: *yûm l'edäre meda deleke* (or *delenga*) *yâbada*.

beche-de-mer, (s.) *Holothuria edulis* pûrud (da).

beckon, (v.t.) ig-ñgêpi (ke).

become, (v.i.) mōk (ke). As it became so hot I was unable to hold it: *ôl kian ûya mōknga l'edäre dô pûchungga chākjābagire*. If you continue scooping the canoe (then) it will become too thin: *mōda ngô rôko len nâ kōpke* (ñgâ) *ōtag rêdeba mōkngabo*.

bed, (s.) 1. of leaves tåg(da). 2. sleeping-mat with or without leaves pärepa (da). See App. xiii. The bedding used by natives of India is styled *tôt-râm* (da). See **cover** and **wrap**.

bee, (s.) râtag (da.)

bee-bread, (s.) âja-bâj (da), i.e., the pollen and honey on which young bees feed.

bees'-wax, (s.) 1. white âja-pîj (da). 2. black tôbul-pîj (da); lêre (da).

beetle, (s.) 1. common species pēti (da). 2. Great *Capricornis* (*Cerabyx heros*) ig-wōd (da). 3. larva of ditto òiyum (da).

before; (postp.) 1. not behind ab-elma-len. 2. facing âkà-elma-len. He

stood before (facing) us: *ôl makat-elma-len kâpire*. See App. ii. for inflexions 3. in respect of time entōba; entōka. He came here before me: *ôl kârin d'entōba ònre*. See **already**. 4. before long, later on. . . . ñgâ-tek. 5. as before (in respect of time) otolâ-naikan. See **rest**, (the) and **like**.

before-hand, (adv.) in advance, before the time ôko-têlim (da). My wife got up beforehand and cooked food for her parents: *dai ikyâte l'ôko-têlim ôyu-bôinga bédig ab maiol-châmol l'at yât-jôire*. See **for**.

befriend, (v.t.) be kind to, of a Chief ôt-râj (ke); ôt-yûbur (ke). See **protect**.

beg, (v.t.) 1. entreat ngâna (ke). He is begging for beads: *ôl chêlem ngânake*. târ-tûpa (ke). This word refers to food only. The exclamation used by one begging is *jê!* followed by *den'â!* or *d'enâ* (I want). 2. request âkà-pele (ke). See **exclaim**.

beget, (v.t.) ar-ôdi (ke).

begin, (v.t.) ôt-mâ (ke); gôî or nga-gôîya; I am beginning to eat: *wai dô gôî-mägke* (or *māknga-gôîya*). I will begin making the bow in the morning: *wai dô wainga-len kârama gôî-kōpngabo*.

begone, (interj.) be off! ûchik-wai òn! kâtik-lîr!

behalf of, on (postp.) ôyu; en; at; ik; ûl. On behalf of Wolga: *wôlog'ia l'ôyu*. See **for**.

behead, (v.t.) ôt-tikilpi (ke).

behind, (postp.) âr-ête-len. See **loin**. He is seated behind us: *ôl marat-ête-len âkà-dôike*. See App. ii. for inflexion.

behind-hand, (adv.) nîlya.

behold, (v.t.) ig-bâdi (ke); lû (ke). See **look** and **see**. Behold! ig-bâdi(g)!; wai-gêlib!

belch, (v.t.) âkà-dûbul (ke). (v.i.) âgi (ke).

believe, (v.t.) lûa (ke). I believe he is at home: *wai dô lûake anya ôl êkan-bûd-len*.

belly, (s.) abdomen ar-mûga (da). To be stabbed in the belly with a hogspear

is fatal: *ar-mûga-len erdûtna tâm-tek jêra-linga wai ôlobaijinga (da)*.

belly-ache, (s.) See **stomach**.

below, (adv.) beneath, under *târ-mûgum-len*. The sky is above and the earth below: *môro tânglen, êrema târmûgumlen*.

belt, waist, (s.) 1. . . . *âr-êtainga (da)*. (Generic term for all varieties; see App. xiii). 2. made of Pandanus leaves with tail-like appendages of same *bôd (da)*. See App. xiii. 25. 3. plain, made of young Pandanus leaves without appendage *rôgun (da)*. This is worn by all maidens and adult women. 4. ornamented, worn by both sexes and consisting of a fringe of shells of the *Dentalium octogonum* strung together *garen-pêta (da)*. 5. ornamented with fine net-work *garen-râb (da)*.

bend, (v.t.) *dîdali (ke)*; *gômoli (ke)*.

bend, (v.i.) *ad (or ôto)-dîdali (ke)*; *ad (or ôto)-gômoli (ke)*; *ad (or ôto)-bîl (ke)*. See **stoop**.

beneath, (adv.) See **below**. (postp.) under shade or cover *eb-êr-tegi-len*. See **elude**.

benefit, (s.) *âr-pôlok (da)*.

benighted, (p.a.) *êb-rîtnga (da)*. See **awn**.

bequeath, (v.t.) *jîriba (ke)*.

berry, (s.) *ôt-rôkomo (da)*.

beside, (postp.) 1. an animate object *âkâ-pâ-len*; *ôt-paicha-len*; *îa-paicha-len*. The child is sitting beside me: *ablîga d'ôt-paicha-len âkâ-dôike*. 2. an inanimate object *âr-dôd-len*; *ông-pâ-len*. 3. apart from *îji-ya*. Beside Lipa there is no other blind man in that village: *lipa l'îjiya kâ baraij-len itâpa l'ârdilu-ba*. See **omit**, **other** and **not**.

besides, (adv.) See **moreover**.

besmear, (v.t.) *gûj (ke)*.

bespeak, (v.t.) *râda (ke)*.

bespoken, (v.i.) *râdanga (da)*. This shoulder of pork is not mine. it is *bespoken* by Bâa: *ûcha reg-l'ôt-chäg dia yâba (da) b' lia râdanga (da)*.

best, (adj.) *bêringa-l'iglâ (da)*. The bow which he has just made (that same) is the best; *kârama ôl gôl kôp-yâte ôl-bêdig bêringa-l'iglâda*.

bestow, (v.t.) *mân (ke)*; *â (ke)*.

bestride, (v.t.) *ar-yôboli (ke)*.

betel-nut tree, (s.) *Areca catechu* *âbad (da)*. fruit or seed of. . . . *âbad-ban (da)*. See **areca**.

betel-pepper, (s.) *Piper*, or *Chavica betle* *yême (da)*. leaf of. . . . *yême-l'âr-tông (da)*.

betroth, (v.t.) *âkâ-yât-mäg (ke)*.

betrothed, child (s.) *ông-yât-mäknga (da)*.

better, (adj.) superior, preferable *târ-bûinga (da)*.

between, (postp.) 1. . . . *mûgu-châl-len*; *âkâ-lôg-len*. He is seated between them; *ôl ôntat mûguchâl-len âkâ-dôi (ke)*. 2. . . . *tek mat*. Between this place and that (*lit.* from here as far as there): *kârin tek kâto mat*.

beware, (v.t.) regard with caution *êr-gôra (ke)*. Beware! (take care!) *â-ûcha!* Beware! (keep a look-out!) *ôt-lâlai!*

beyond, (adv.) on the further side *lâbadi*; *timar-tek*.

biceps, (s.) *ig-gôra (da)*. See App. ii.

big, (adj.) *bôdia (da)*; *dôga (da)*; *chânag (da)*; *tâbanga (da)*; *rôchobo (da)*. When applied to human beings, *â* is prefixed to the first and *ab* to the remainder. See **large** and **immense**. How big it is! *ai, pîbî!* Females cry, *ô!* (prolonged). What a big . . . *badi . . . !* What a big canoe this is! *badi ûcha rôko!*

bind, (v.t.) 1. fasten together *chô (ke)*; *î-chô (ke)*; *bât (ke)*. See **fasten**. 2. enwrap *rôni (ke)*; *ôt-chô (ke)*.

bird, (s.) *chûla (da)*.

bird's-nest, (s.) 1. . . . *âr-râm (da)*; *ar-bârata (da)*. 2. edible *bilya-l'ar-bârata (da)*.

bird's-nest-fern (s.) *Asplenium nidus* *pâtla (da)*.

birth, (s.) . . . ad-wêjinga (da); ad-êtinga (da). The infant died at its birth: *abdereka ad-êtinga-len okolire*.

birth, give (v.t.) See **bear**.

birth-name, (s.) See **name**.

bit, (s.) 1. piece, portion of wood, etc. . . . ôt-jôdama (da); idûgap (da); See **fragment**. 2. of food, in order to taste . . . âkà-bôka (da). 3. of some brittle substance . . . âkà-pâj (da); âkà-paich (da). A bit of a broken pot (pot-sherd) . . . bûj-l'âkà-pâj (da).

bite, (v.t.) 1. as in eating . . . châpi (ke); also as a snake or centipede. See **may**. 2. as a dog or insect . . . kârap (ke). See **sand-fly**. 3. as a snake . . . kôp (ke); châpi (ke).

bite off, (v.t.) . . . ôt-châpi (ke).

bitter, (adj.) . . . êre-paich (da).

bittern, (s.) . . . chôkab (da).

bivalve, (s.) the shell . . . âkà-tâ (da). the flesh of . . . âkà-paicha (da); that of the *Tridacna* and *Pinna* is styled âkà-dama (da). See **flesh**. For distinctive names of molluscs. See App. xii.

black, (adj.) . . . pûtunga (da); black skin . . . pûtung'-êj (da).

blacken, (v.t.) by means of smoke or paint . . . pûtai (ke).

blacksmith, (s.) . . . tit-tâinga (da). (*lit.* one who hammers metal).

bladder, (s.) . . . ar-ûlu-lia-ër (da). (*lit.* urine-its-place); âr-ûla (da).

blade of steel, (s.) . . . ar-kûna (da).

blade, cutting edge of . . . ig-yôd (da). The blade of my knife is broad and its edge is very sharp: *ďia kôno l'arkûna pêketo (da), ig yôd bédig rînama dôga (da)*.

blade of paddle, (s.) . . . ông-tâ (da).

blame, (v.t.) . . . ig-râl (ke); pâreja (ke).

blaze, (v.t.) 1. mark trees to indicate as course through jungle . . . âkà-tâ-kar (ke). 2. bend twigs in reverse direction for the same purpose . . . elâkà-kûjuri (ke). (v.i.) flame . . . dal (ke); pûd (ke).

blaze, (s.) of fire or torch . . . ar-châl (da). owing to the blaze of the bonfire: *ûdama l'ar-châl l'edâre*.

bleed, (v.t.) . . . tûp (ke).

bleed, (v.i.) . . . ti-l'âr-wêjeri (ke).

blind, (adj.) 1. . . . i-tâpa (da). 2. of one eye . . . dal-l'âr-târak (da). You're as blind as a bat!: *ng'idal-kûbe!*

blind-man's-buff, (s.) . . . iji-tâpa-lirnga (da).

blink, (v.t.) . . . ig-bê-bingik (ke).

blister, (s.) 1. raised by friction . . . â-ôn-tûbuli (da). 2. caused by fire . . . â-ôn-ûdul (da). 3. caused by boiling water etc. . . . raich-l'ôto-mônga (da).

bloated, (adj.) . . . lâpinga (da); dûnga (da). See **swell** and **large**.

blockhead, (s.) . . . mûgu-tig-pîcha (da); pîchanga (da); ab-kâlenga (da).

blood, (s.) . . . ti (da); têi (da). prefix ôt, ông, ab, etc., according to the part of the body referred to. See App. ii.

bloody, (adj.) 1. . . . ôt-ti (da); ông-ti (da); ar-ti (da); etc., according to the part of the body referred to. 2. bloody . . . ti-lamîchlanga (da). (*lit.* blood-stained).

bloom, (s.) blossom . . . âkà-dâ (da). The blossom of the *Chickrassia tabularis* is beautiful: *ôro l'âkà-dâ wai inô (da)*.

blow, (s.) 1. with fist . . . tûlra (da). with prefix ab, ig, ôt, ar, etc., according to part of the body referred to. See App. ii. 2. with hand (slap) . . . pedi (da). with prefix as foregoing.

blow, (v.t.) with the breath . . . tôpuk (ke). 2. in kindling a fire . . . pûwu (ke).

blow, (v.i.) 1. as the wind . . . ûl (ke); wûl (ke). 2. pant, breathe hard . . . âkan-chaiati (ke).

blow one's nose, (v.i.) . . . ôkan-lô (ke).

blubber, (s.) of whale or dugong . . . ôt-jîri (da).

blubber, (v.i.) . . . ônaba (ke).

blue, (adj.) . . . êle-paich (da); mōro naikan (skylike).

blunt, (adj.) 1. not sharp ig-lêtawa (da); ig-lâtawa (da). 2. of an adze . . . ig-yôb (da).

boar, (s.) ôt-yêregnga (da). Tell me what occurred at the boar-hunt: ôt-yêregnga delenga bêdig michibare den itai. See what.

board, (s.) plank pâtema (da). 2. sounding-board used as an accompaniment in dancing pûkuta (l'ôt)-yemnga (da). See App. xiii.

boast, (v.i.) ara-gâli (ke).

boat, (s.) 1. of any description rôko (da). 2. barge, lighter, etc. . . chêlewa (da). 3. steamer . . . birma-chêlewa (da); chêlewa-birma (da); âkâ-birma (da). cutwater of. . . . rôko-l'ôt-yâ (da). See canoe, occiput, and App. ii.

body, (s.) ab-châu (da). (in constr.) tâ (da); tâla; t'. See clay and jump over.

boil, (s.) âmu (da). prefix according to part of body affected. See App. xiii.

boil, (v.t.) 1. food wêr (ke). 2. water âr-jôi (ke). (v.i.) bôa (ke); bôag (ke). Go and boil some water quickly: ûchik ng'âryêre ûtan-ârek ina ng'âr-jôi.

bold, (adj.) daring î-târ-mîl (da). See brave.

Bombax malabaricum, (s.) gereng (da). See App. xi.

bondar, (s.) (*Paradoxurus andamanensis*) baian (da).

bone, (s.) tâ (da); prefix ông, ôt, ar, etc., according to the part referred to. I broke my thigh-bone yesterday: dîlêa d'ab (paicha)-tâ kûjurire.

bon-fire, (s.) ûdama (da). See blaze.

bore, (v.t.) make a hole rêunga (ke).

born, (p.p.) brought into life ara-dôatire; ad-êtire. My son was born this morning: dia ôta dîlmaya ad-êtire. See App. viii. First-born, (s.) â-entôha-yâte (da).

borrow, (v.i.) maia-îk (ke).

bosom, (s.) ôt-kûg (da); ôt-kûk (da). See App. ii.

both, (adj.) ik-pôr (da). Both the pigs that were shot yesterday died during the night: reg ikpôr dîlêa taij-yâte gûrug-ya oko-lire.

bottle, (s.) bijma (da).

bottom, (s.) 1. of a pot, bucket, etc. . . . âr-ôno (da). 2. of a boat or canoe (inside) âr-ôdam (da). 3. keel, submerged surface of a boat or canoe. . . . âr-ête (da). 4. of the sea, well, etc. . . . pâketo (da).

bough, (s.) branch âkâ-châti (da); ig-gûd (da).

boundary, (s.) limit ig-râklik (da).

bow, (s.) of a ship or boat. . . . ôt-mûgu (da); ôko-mûgu (da); ig-mûgu (da). The Nicobar out-rigger canoe is unsuitable for turtling, the narrowness of the bow preventing one from making full use of the harpoon (lit. because the bow is narrow it incommodes the long bamboo shaft of the harpoon): malai lia chârigma ôt-lôbinga len yôma-ba, ôt-mûgu kinab l'edâre ôl tög-len tâklake. See bow of canoe.

bow, (s.) 1. for shooting arrows. . . . kârama (da); karama (da). (This description is used by the tribes in the southern half of Great Andaman, excepting the Järawas). See map. 2. chôkio (da), the bow made and used by the Northern tribes. 3. taijnga (da). Fetch me my bow: dia taijnqa (or kârama) ômo. See shoot.

bow, parts of (s.) 1. nock of kârama-l'ôt-châma (da). 2. lower end of kârama-l'ar-châma (da). 3. nocking-point of (s.) tâne-tâmli (da), i.e., where the arrow is adjusted. 4. "whipping" round the nocking point (s.) tât-chônga (da). 5. handle of bow (s.) ûn-tôgo (da); 6. bow-string (s.) kârama-tât (da); kârama-l'âkâ-tât (da). 7. "eye" of bow-string (s.) ar-jâg (da).

bow, (s.) no longer serviceable : . . . taijnga-rûka (da).

bow, string a (v.t.) ôt-ngôktoli (ke); 2. unstring a bow â-tôri (ke). 3. draw a bow-string târ-jâlagi (ke).

bowels, (s.) . . . ab-jôdo (da).
box-on-the-ear, (s.) See **blow, slap**.
boy, (s.) 1. small . . . ab-lîga (da). 2. big . . . âkà-kâdaka (da); ab-lîga-ba (da) (*lit.* not a small boy.) We big boys are going to hunt pigs to-day : *makat-kâdaka ka-wai reg-dele* (ke). See App. vii.
boyish, (adj.) . . . ab-lîga-naikan.
bracelet, (s.) . . . tōgo-chōnga (da). See App. xiii.
brackish water, (s.) . . . rôgodi (da).
brag. See **boast**.
braid, (v.t.) . . . têpi (ke).
brain, (s.) . . . ô-t-mûn (da). See App. ii.
branch. See **bough**.
brand, (s.) firebrand . . . châpa-l'idal (da.) See **firewood, fire and eye**.
brass, (s.) . . . êlerâ (da). See **iron, metal and Dendrobium**.
brave, (adj.) . . . î-târ-mil (da); ô-n-târ-mil (da); ad-lâtnga-ba.
bravo! (interj.) . . . kâka-tek!; tât!
break, (v.t.) 1. fracture . . . kûjuri (ke); ô-t-kûjuri (ke); if more than one . . . kûjra (ke). 2. a bone by a blow or fall . . . î-tâ-kûjuri (ke). 3. brittle objects . . . pâchi (ke); pâtemi (ke). 4. (or cut) twine or rope . . . tōp (ke); tōpoti (ke)
break, (v.i.) 1. become fractured . . . ôto-kûjuri (ke); ôyun-têmar-kûjuri (ke); 2. . . brittle substances . . . ôto-pâtemi (ke); ôkan-pâchi (ke). 3. . . of all one's pots . . . âkà-pâra-pâte (ke). See **same**. 4. rope, twine, etc. . . . ôyun-têmar-tōpati (ke). See **blaze**.
break off, (v.t.) . . . tōp (ke); tōpati (ke).
break off, (v.i.) ôyun-têmar-tōp (ke). See **snap**.
break to pieces, (v.t.) . . . â-tōra (ke).
break to pieces, (v.i.) . . . ôkan-pâchi (ke).
break up, (v.t.) . . . ô-t-tō (ke).
break up, (v.i.) . . . ôto-tō (ke).
breakers, (s.) . . . pâlara-la-yeng-eknga (da) (*lit.* laughing-waves, in allusion to the sound when breaking on the shore). See **laugh**.

breakfast, (s.) . . . âkà-nâ (da).
breakfast, (v.t.) . . . âkà-nâ (ke).
breast, (s.) 1. bosom . . . ô-t-kûg (da); ô-t-kûk (da). 2. mamma . . . ig-kâm (da); nipple of . . . kâm-l'ô-t-chêta (da); kâm-l'ôko-pât (da).
breath, (s.) . . . âkà-ōna (da). He extinguished it with his breath : *ôl âkà ôna-tek l'igtûpukre*.
breathe, (v.i.) 1. . . . ōna (ke); âkà-ōna (ke). 2. breathe heavily . . . kông-aj (ke). 3. quickly, be breathless . . . âkan-chaiati (ke); âkan-chaiat-l'âr-tâlagi (ke) (the latter in an excessive degree).
breeze, (s.) . . . ûlga-bâ (da); wûlga-bâ (da).
bride, (s.) 1. about to be married . . . ab-dêrebil-pail (da). 2. for a few days after marriage . . . ông-täg-gô-i-pail (da).
bridegroom, (s.) 1. before the marriage . . . ab-dêrebil (da). 2. after the ceremony, for a few days . . . ông-täg-gô-i (da). See App. vii.
bridge, (s.) 1. . . . tâng-len-tinga (da). (*lit.* "overhead-road.") See **above**. 2. invisible (mythological) cane-bridge supposed to connect this world with Hades . . . pîdga-l'archauga (da). 3. of nose . . . ig-chōronga-lânta (da).
briefly, (adv.) . . . âr-ûla-len. Tell me briefly : *den ârûlalen târchi*.
bright, (adj.) 1. of a blade . . . kârnga (da); 2. of the sun, or a flame . . . î-kârnga (da).
brim, (s.) rim, edge . . . âkà-pai (da); âkà-pê (da).
brimful, (adj.) . . . ôto-têpere; tar-bûtre.
brimming over, (adj.) . . . ôto-êlanga (da).
bring, (v.t.) 1. of an inanimate object . . . tōyu (ke); kach-îk (ke); kach-ômo (ke). See **fetch and hither**; kōrot (ke). I will bring something for you one of these days : *ngâtek dô ngat mîn tōyu* (ke). See **for**. We have brought all the things : *meda mîn ârdûru kōrotre*. Bring it here : *kach ôyu*. Bring it here quickly : *kach îk rêo*.

2. of an animate object ab-tôyu (ke).
 3. bring forth. *See* bear. 4. bring away,
 of an inanimate object. . . . ik (ke). 5. bring
 away, of an animate object. . . . ab-ik
 (ke). 6. bring up. *See* adopt and rear.
 7. bring one's arm to one's side ad-
 mêmati (ke). *See* shut. 8. by water
 âkâ-wêr (ke); ûn-târ-tegi (ke). Perhaps
 the incoming steamer is bringing things
 for us: *tilik birma-chêlewa kâgal-âte nâ mîn*
met âkâ-wêrke.

brinish, (adj.) briny tōlainga (da).

brink, (s.) edge ig-pai (da); ig-pê (da).

bristle, (s.) stiff hair of swine châra-
 pid (da); châra-pij (da).

brittle, (adj.) kōta (da).

broad, (adj.) pân (da); pêketo
 (da). *See* blade.

broaden, (v.t.) bēngali (ke).

broil, (v.t.) pûgat (ke). *See* cook.

broken, (adj.) 1. of a mat, net, thatch,
 or leaf-screen râchatnga (da). 2. of
 a pot, canoe, bucket, shell, sounding-board,
 etc. . . . oko-pâj (da). 3. of a bow, knife,
 etc. . . . iji-pâj (da). 4. of an adze, arrow,
 spear, etc. . . . ôkan-têa (da).

brood, (s.) litter ôto-pêladonga (da).

brook, (s.) jîg-bâ (da).

broom, (s.) êr-bûjnga (da).

broth, (s.) ab(dama)-rai (da).

brother, (s.) elder â-entōbanga (da);
 â-entōbare; â-entōkanga (da); â-entōkare.
 Wologa's elder brother died yesterday:
wolog' â-entōbanga dilêa okolire. See App. viii.

brother, younger, or half- 1. (consanguine)
 ar-dôatinga (da). . . . ar-wêjnga (da);
 ar-wêjeringa (da). 2. (uterine) âkâ-
 kâm (da). Bira's younger brother has
 fallen: *biri' awêjnga pâre.* 3. elder or half
 (uterine or consanguine) ar-châbil-en-
 tōbare; ar-châbil-entōkare. *See* App. viii.

brother-in-law, (s.) 1. wife's brother (if
 one's senior) mâma. 2. (if of same
 age) mâma. 3. (if junior his name
 would be used). Husband's brother 1. (if
 senior) maiola. 2. (if of same age).

. . . . mâma. 3. (if one's junior) âkâ
 bā-bûla (da).

brother-in-law, 1. elder sister's- husband
 maiola. 2. younger sister's husband
 ôtōniya. For all relationships. *See*
 App. viii.

brow, (s.) forehead ôt-mûgu (da).
 Eye-brow (s.) ig-pûnyur (da); ig-puin-
 ñur (da). brow-ache, (s.) î-tâla-yâb (da).

brown, (adj.) tãremia (da).

Bruguiera gymnorhiza, (s.) jûmu
 (da). B. sp. ngâtya (da). Fruit of
 both of these is eaten.

bruise, (s.) contusion châriga (da);
 with prefix ab, ôt, etc., according to part
 referred to. *See* App. ii.

brush off, (v.t.) wil (ke).

brushwood, (s.) el-ôt-rûkuma (da).

bubble, (s.) bôag (da).

bucket, (s.) 1. made by scooping a block
 of wood dâkar (da). 2. made from a
 joint of *Bambusa gigantea* kopôt (da)
See bamboo and App. xiii.

bud, (s.) âr-môl (da).

bug, (s.) kila (da).

build, (v.t.) bûd-eni (ke); butâni
 (ke).

bullet, (s.) âr-bô-bâ (da).

bump, (s.) swelling î-gûdal (da); ig-
 bûtuk (da).

bump, (v.t.) ôt-tûchurpi (ke).

bunch, (s.) of plantains, etc. . . . ûgul
 (da).

bund, (s.) embankment yûkur (da).
 This word was originally employed to des-
 cribe the ridge made round a hut in rainy
 weather to keep out the wet. Bund is not
 an English word but is so much used in
 British-India that it is here introduced as
 such.

bundle, (s.) 1. of food o-dêknga (da).
 2. small bundles of food oko-bâga (da);
 î-kôrotnga (da). What food have you in that
 (small) bundle? : *michiba kang'oko-bâga (da)?*
 3. miscellaneous bundles, when moving from
 one encampment to another êr-tôyunga

(da). 4. of firewood *chōrognga* (da).
5. of bows and arrows *ōto-chōnga* (da).
6. tightly-fastened *ōto-nilibnga* (da).
We have now very many bundles of arrows
with us (in our possession): *mōtot-paichalen*
āchitik delta ōto-chōnga jībaba. See **with**.

bung, (v.t.) *nāt-ke*.

bungle, (v.t.) *ōt-nūrām* (ke).

buoyant, (adj.) *ōdatnga* (da); *lūtōr-*
nga (da).

burden, (s.) See **load**.

burial, (s.) 1. interment *ōt-būguknga*
(da). 2. disposal (of corpse) on tree platform
. . . . *ab-teginga* (da). The platform itself
is styled *i-tāga* (da). 3. Mock-burial in
sand *ab-nātnga* (da). (a children's
game).

burn, (s.) *jōi* (da). (with prefix *ar*,
ōng, *ig*, etc. See App. ii, when reference
is made to some part of a living body.)

burn, (v.t.) 1. any animate object
ab-jōi (ke); *pūgat* (ke). 2. an inanimate
object *ōko-jōi* (ke); *ōko-pūgat* (ke). See
fire. (v.i.) 1. take fire. kindle *dal* (ke);
pūd (ke). 2. one's self *ad-jōi* (ke).
3. one's hand *ōng-jōi* (ke). See **scorch**.
4. of itself *ōkan-jōi* (ke); *bada-kīni*
(ke). See **fire**. 5. a light *chōi* (ke).

burrow, (v.t.) *kārai* (ke). See **detach**
and **scoop**.

burst, (v.t.) *tāchu* (ke); *ā-dādā* (ke)
(as a bamboo, etc., on fire).

bury, (v.t.) 1. inter *buguk* (ke);
ōt-būguk (ke). 2. on tree-platform *ab-*
tegi (ke). 3. bury seeds of the *Artocarpus*
haplasha for future food use *jūra* (ke).

bush, (s.) *ig-rūngemo* (da).

business, (s.) *ōn-yōm* (da); *tēp* (da).
The first word refers to making huts, canoes,
nets, etc., the second to hunting, fruit and
honey gathering, etc.

busy, (adj.) engaged in work *ōn-*
yōmnga (da); *ar-gūjunga*; *tēpnga* (da).
Don't interrupt me, I am busy: *den tār-*
chiurake dāke, dō d'ōn-yōmnga (da).

but, (conj.) 1. on the other hand, neverthe-
less *dōna*. He is short but his elder

brother is tall: *ōl abjōdama dōna adentōbare*
ablāpanga (da). The Chief called you but
you did not come: *maiola ng'ārngērere, dōna*
ngō ōnre yāba (da). 2. in addition to that
. . . . *ñê*. I will not only beat you but both
of you: *dōl ōgun ng'ōtpāreknga-ba ñê ng'ik-*
pōrlen. 3. (postp.) with the exception of
. . . . *ijiya*. All but my younger brother are
singing: *d'ākā-kām ijiya ārdūru rāmid-tōyake*.
4. (adv.) only, no more than. See **only**.

butterfly, (s.) *pāmila* (da).

buttock, (s.) 1. human *ar-dama* (da);
ar-ōno. See App. ii. 2. animal *ar-*
tō (da).

by, (postp.) 1. denoting the agent
la. Let (permit) the bow be made by Lipa:
līpa la kārāma kōpnga l'itān. 2. over (a
course) *len*. by land: *tinga-len*. See
path. by canoe (if inland): *jīg-len*. See
creek. by sea: *jūru-len*.

by-and-by, (adv.) *a-rēringa* (-len);
tār-ōlo (-len); *ngā-tek*.

by chance, (adv.) *ōt-badali*.

C

Cachelot, (s.) *biriga-tā* (da).

calamus, sp., (s.) *ām* (da); *chāng*
(da); *chōb* (da); *bōl* (da). See App. xi.

calf of leg, (s.) *ab-chālta-dama*
(da); *tā-lār-dama* (da). See **shin**.

call, (v.t.) 1. summon, send for *ār-*
ngēre (ke). 2. name, style *ār-taik*
(ke); *ting-lār-eni* (ke). Yesterday you
called us all knaves: *dilēa ngō marat-*
dūru len at-jābag ng'ārtaikre. 3. Call
to *pek-ik* (ke). See **shout**. (v.i.)
1. cry aloud *ērewā* (ke). 2. call, of
a bird *ngūdri* (ke).

calm, (s.) 1. sea *lia* (da). One likes
a calm sea for turtle-hunting: *yādi lōbinga*
l'edāre lia len bēringa-lūake. 2. (adj.)
of the sea *lia-ia-chēnga* (da).
3. weather (s.) *lil* (da). 4. (adj.) of
the weather *lilnga* (da).

can, (v. aux.) be able. 1. with reference
to skill or strength of limb *ar-chāk-*
bēringa (ke); *ar-paicha-bēringa* (ke). Can

you climb that tree? : *an ngô kât'âkà-tâng len ngâlàunga (ar) châk-bêringa (ke)*? Yes, I can : *uba (da)*. See **leg, thigh** and **yes**. 2. with reference to the senses *ôko-bêringa (ke)*. I can see : *d'ûdal ôko-bêringa (ke)*. I can hear the man's voice (*lit.* "my ear is able") : *dig pûku âbûla l'âkà-tegi l'ôko-bêringake*. 3. be permitted. See **may**.

cane, (s.) *Calamus*. 1. slender variety, for making baskets, etc. . . . *pîdga (da)*. 2. thick ground rattan *bôl (da)*. See App. xi

cannibal, (s.) *châuga-tirôpo (da)*.

cannon, (s.) *birma-bôdia (da)*

cannon-ball, (s.) *âr-bô (da)*.

cannot, (v. aux.) be unable, 1. physically *ar-châk-jâbagi (ke)*; *ar-paicha-jâbagi (ke)*. 2. with reference to the senses *ôko-jâbagi (ke)*; *ôko-wâr (ke)*. I cannot sleep : *dig-ârla l'ôko-wârke (or l'ôko-jâbagike)*. We cannot see : *mitig dal m'ôkot-wârke*. 3. may not. See **may**.

canoe, (s.) 1. with or without outrigger *rôko (da)*. 2. large and without outrigger *gilyanga (da)*. 3. outriggered *chârigma (da)*. Andamanese canoes are frequently named from the description of the tree from which they are made : *e. g.*, *maii (da)*; *bâja (da)*; *yêre (da)*; *kôkan (da)*. See App. xi. 4. bow of canoe *ôt-mûgu (da)*. See **forehead** and **fall**. 5. stern *âr-tit (da)*. 6. gunwale *âkâpai (da)*. See **lip**. 7. bottom (inside) *ar-ôdam (da)*. He is sitting in the bottom of the canoe : *ôl chârigma l'ar-ôdam len âkâ-dôike*. 8. keel and submerged surface *âr-ête (da)*. See **loin** and **behind**. 9. sides of *ab-pâritâ (da)*. See **rib**.

cape, (s.) headland *tôko-chôronga (da)*. See **nose**.

capsize, (v.t.) on water *ôt-pf (ke)*; *ôt-rôgi (ke)*. (v.i.) *ôto-pî (ke)*; *ôto-rôgi (ke)*. 2. (v.t.) on land *ôt-wêdai (ke)*. (v.i.) *ôto-wêdai (ke)*.

captor, (s.) *ôt-châtnga (da)*.

capture, (v.t.) *ôt-chât (ke)*. See **adopt** and **prisoner**.

carcass, (s.) *â-pîl (da)*.

care, take, (v.i.) be watchful *êr-gêlep (ke)*.

careful, (adj.) *ông-rêwa (da)*.

careless, (adj.) *ông-wêlabnga (da)*.

He was careless and burnt the hut and then said it was my fault (*lit.* excused himself at my expense) : *ôl ông-wêlabnga-bêdig châng pûgatre, ngâ d'endûrare*.

care for, (v.t.) take care of *gôra (ke)*; *ab-gôra (ke)*; *i-gôra (ke)*. See **protect**.

caress, (v.t.) fondle *lûraicha (ke)*; with prefix. See App. ii. 2. fondle an infant *i-gôr (ke)*; *âr-ûmla (ke)*; *ig-pête (ke)*; *ik-iji-pâte (ke)*.

cargo, (s.) *jârabnga (da)*.

carry, (v.t.) 1. on one's back *tâbi (ke)*. I carried my wife and children on my back from the hut to the boat : *wai dô dab-pail ôl-bêdig bâlag len rôko lat tâbire*. When I was carrying the bundle Wologa tried to make me carry the pig as well, so I left it : *wai dôl odêknga tâbinga-bêdig wôloga rôgo bêdig d'endûrare ngâ dô l'en ijire; ngôro (ke)*; *ab-ngôro (ke)*. 2. on one's head *âr-yôboli (ke)*. 3. on one's shoulder *kâtami (ke)*. 4. in one's arms *ar ôdi (ke)*. 5. an infant in the sling *ab-nôra (ke)*; *âr-ngôtoli (ke)*. See **distinguish**. 6. in the hand *lôdapi (ke)*. 7. a heavy weight on the shoulder *âkan-tebi-kâtamike*. 8. a heavy weight with the assistance of others *kûrudai (ke)*. 9. on one's back by means of a cord across the shoulders *tat-wi (ke)*; *tât-pi (ke)*.

carry away, (v.t.) *ik (ke)*.

carried away by current, (p.p.) *lôlokare*.

carve, (v.t.) 1. wood, make or shape *ôiyô (ke)*. 2. meat *chôl (ke)*; *ôt-kôp (ke)*; *ôt-kôbat (ke)*; *kâjili (ke)*.

Caryota sobolifera, (s.) *bârata (da)*.

See App. xi. The core of the stem is eaten.

cascade, (s.) *ina-l'âr-châr (da)*.

cash, (s.) See **coin**.

cask, (s.) dâkar-bôdia (da). (*lit.* "large bucket".)

cast away, (v.t.) kôr (ke). *See throw and throw away.*

casuarina, (s.) wilima (da). *See App. xi.*

cat, jungle-. *See Paradoxurus.* The domestic cat is called *puchi* from the English word "puss."

cat's-cradle, (s.) jîbra (da).

catarrh, (s.) ôko-ôrôij-ja (da).

catch, (v.t.) 1. an inanimate object eni (ke); ôro (ke). 2. an animate object ab-eni (ke); ab-ôro (ke). 3. an animal alive chûla (ke). 4. more than one animate object ar-mâl (ke). 5. fish with a net yât-pâne (ke). *See just as.* 6. fish with the hands yât-chôgo (ke). 7. by shooting with bow and arrow yât-taij (ke). 8. turtles by harpooning yâdi-dût (ke). 9. one turtle by harpooning yâdi-jêrali (ke).

catch fire, (v.i.) ôkan-jôi (ke); bada kîni (ke). *See fire.*

caterpillar, (s.) gûrug (da). A common variety.

cattle, (s.) gâri (da). This is one of many words adopted since the British occupation.

caudal fin, (s.) yât-l'âr-pîcham (da).

caulk, (v.t.) close up, seal nât (ke); nê (ke); oko-mali (ke.) I caulked your canoe this morning with black (honey) wax: *wai dô dîlmaya ngîa rôko len lêre tek nâtre.*

cause to, (aux. verbal prefix denoting) en; *e.g.*, cause to be angry (anger, v.t.). *See anger, anchor* (v.t.) and **make**.

causelessly, (adv.) without cause ôt-kâlyâ.

caution, (v.t.) yâbnga-l'itai (ke).

cautious, (adj.) kédangnga (da).

cave, (s.) ig-jâg (da); ig-bang (da).

cease, (v.i.) 1. . . . târ-lû (ke). 2. from work ep-tôt-mâni (ke); ûn-darî (ke) 3. from grieving kûk-l'âr-lû (ke.) 4. from walking kâpari (ke). **Cease!** Be quiet! *mîla!*

ceaselessly, (adv.) oko-jâranga.

censure, (v.t.) ig-râl (ke).

centipede, (*Scolopendra morsitans*), (s.) kârapta (da). May no centipede bite you! (*lit.* your hand or your foot): *kârapta la ngông chapikok!*

centre, (s.) koktâr (da). *See inside and middle.*

certain, (adj.) el-ôt-tâknga (da).

certainly, (adv.) 1. without doubt. . . . et-lûmu-tek. He will certainly die from that wound: *kâto chûm l'edâre ôl et-lûmu-tek oko-lîngabo.* 2. without fail wai-kan; ûba-yâba (ba). *See of course and yes.*

certainly!, (interj.) keta-ô!

chafe, (v.t.) rîr (ke).

chaff, (v.t.) âka-nôyada (ke).

chair, (s.) seat tōknga (da).

chalk, (s.) tâla-ôg (da). *See App. xiii.*

chance, by (adv.) târjiâu.

change, (v.t.) 1. alter gôlai (ke); ôt-gôlai (ke). 2. exchange gôl (ke); î-gal (ke).

channel, (s.) 1. navigable by boats lôg (da). 2. between islands jîg-chân-châu (da). *See strait.*

chaplet, (s.) gô (da); iji-gônga (da). *See charm.*

char, (v.t.) lôrom (ke).

charcoal, (s.) bûg (da); châpa-lig-bûg (da).

charm, (s.) against pain, sickness or misfortune târ-wûrul (da). *See medicine and necklace.* 1. Human bone cincture chàuga-tâ (da). 2. when worn on the head iji-rōninga (da). 3. worn on the arm iji-chōnga (da). 4. worn on the thigh ab-chōnga (da). 5. worn round the waist ôto-chōnga (da). 6. worn round the chest ôt-chōnga (da). *See App. ii.* For the various similar charms made of animal bones, shell, coral, cane, wood, etc., *see App. xiii.*

chase, (v.t.) 1. pursue î-gâj (ke).

2. hunt. *See hunt.*

chase, (s.) hunting, the hunt ût (da). *See hunting.*

chaste, (adj.) ôyun-têmar-barminga (da).

chastise, (v.t.) 1 ab-päre (ke).
2. two or more tar-mâli (ke).

chatter, (v.i.) ed-wi (ke); yâbnga-châm (ke).

chatterbox, (s.) ed-winga-tâpa (da).

cheat, (v.t.) âr-îtai-chî (ke).

cheek, (s.) ig-âb (da). See App. ii.

cheer, (v.t.) comfort, encourage
lêje (ke). (v.i.) applaud ôto-âli (ke);
ôto-yêla (ke).

cherish, (v.t.) ôko-jeng'e (ke); ôko-jeng'ge (ke).

cheroot, (s.) mōtnga (da). (A modern word. See roll.)

chest, (s.) 1. thorax ôt-chälma (da);
ôt-kûg (da). 2. deep-chested ôt-kûk-dôga (da). 3. narrow-chested ôt-kûk-kî nab (da).

chew, (v.t.) gânnga (ke).

chief, (s.) 1. head of a small community mai-ola. [His wife chän-ola]. Did you see the chief? *an ngô mai (ola) l'igbâdigre?* 2. head of a large community mai'iglâ (da). [His wife chän'iglâ (da)]. These two chiefs are head-chiefs: *kât'maiag' ikpôr maiag' itiklâ (da)*. 3. one possessing most authority in a tribe ôt-yûbur (da).

child, (s.) ab-liga (da). See App. vii.

children, (s.) 1 ligala; bälaga. 2. having one or more (said of either parent) ün-bâ (da). 3. (with reference to the father) (a) whether male or of both sexes arat-ôdila; (b) whether female or of both sexes ông-bâ; (da). 4. (with reference to the mother) (a) whether male or of both sexes at-êtila; at-wêjila; (b) whether female or of both sexes ar-bâ (da). I saw your children here yesterday (addressing a mother): *wai dô dilêa ng'at-wêjila kârin igbâdigre*.

child-birth, (s.) ad-gînnga (da). Woi's wife died in child-birth: *wôi l'ab-pail ad-gînnga len okolîre*.

childhood, (s.) ab-liga-l'îdal (da); abliga-yôma (da). (signifying respectively the *time* and *state* of being a child).

childish, (adj.) abliga-naikan. See like.

childless, (adj.) 1. never having had a child ab-lûga (da); ûnbâ-yâba (da); 2. having no living child ligala-garat-lôglik; (*lit.* "children-ground-present", i.e. buried.) See ground and presence.

chilly, (adj.) gûrba (da).

chin, (s.) âka-âdal (da).

chink, (s.) jâg (da).

chip of quartz, (s.) tölma-l'ôko-tûg (da).

chips, (s.) See bit and fragment (of wood).

choke, (v.t.) 1. throttle âkâ-pêtemi (ke). 2. block up, stop up âr-nât (ke). 3. (v.i.) in swallowing food âkan-tôai (ke).

choose, (v.t.) ôt-nân (ke); ôt-gêne (ke); ar-lâp (ke).

chop, (v.t.) ôt-kôp (ke).

chorus, (s.) singing together : : : : râmid-châu (da).

chrysalis (or nymph) of *Cerambyx heros*. . . . ig-wôd-l'ôt-dêreka (da).

churlish, (adj.) ôko-dûbunga-ba.

cicada beetle, (s.) rengiti (da).

cicatrix, (s.) 1. if raised bôrta (da). 2. if not raised gâda (da). The prefixes ông, ar, ab, ôt, etc., according to location. See App. ii.

cigarette. See cheroot.

cincture, (s.) round the waist âr-êtainga (da). See charm and ornaments, (personal).

cinders, (s.) âr-pid (da); âr-pij (da).

circle, (s.) kôr (da).

circular, (adj.) as a ring kôrnga (da). See round.

civilized, (p.a.) : chàugala-walagare. (*lit.* "grown up as a native of India.") See grow and native.

claim, (v.t.) ôt-titân (ke).

clam, (s.) 1. *Cyrena* û (da). 2. *Tridacna crocea* chôwai (da). In order to specify the *shell* tâ(da) is added, e.g., chôwai-tâ (da). 3. *Tridacna squamosa* kônop (da).

clang, (v.t.) tâi (ke).

clap, (v.t.) 1. . . . pedi (ke); ab-pedi (ke) 2. one's hands . . . tôku (ke). See **slap**.

clasp, (v.t.) 1. . . . rëa (ke); yûa (ke); with prefix. See App. ii. When the boat capsized he clasped me (round the waist): *rôko ôto-pnga bédig ôl d'ôto-rëare*. 2. another person's hand . . . ôyun-rë (ke). 3. one's own hand . . . ôyun-têla (ke). 4. another person or animal unconsciously . . . ôt-päglä (ke).

claw, (s.) 1. of an animal . . . ông-bôdoh (da). 2. of a crab or lobster . . . ông-kôro (da); ig-wât (da). 3. of a bird . . . ông-päg (da).

claw, (v.t.) ngôtowa (ke).

clay, (s.) 1. earth gara (da). 2. that of which their pots are made bûj-pâ (da). 3. light grey used for smearing the body . . . ôg (da). 4. white description used for ornamental painting of the person or of bows, buckets, etc. . . . tâla-ôg (da). 5. olive-coloured chûlnga (da). 6. ochreous, containing oxide of iron . . . kôio-b-chûlnga (da). When this is dried and baked to a powder preparatory to use it is called ûpla (da) which, when it is mixed with animal-fat for application to the person or to weapons, utensils, etc.—ornamentally or otherwise—is called kôio-b (da). 7. clay-lump as worn on the head by mourners . . . dela (da).

clean, (adj.) nâlama (da).

clean, cleanse, (v.t.) 1. by washing chât (ke). 2. by wiping râr (ke). 3. by scraping pôr (ke); pōrowa (ke). Clean the nautilus shell which I found on the foreshore this morning: *dîlmaya bōroga len dôl ôdo ôrok-yâte wai pōrowake*. 4. out entrails of an animal before cooking âr-tûbuli(ke). 5. of a fish

ar-wâk (ke). 6. of a turtle ôyu-tôlat (ke).

clear, (adj.) 1. of a cloudless night â-tâlimare. One can see the Milky Way only on a cloudless night: *ôgun gûrug l'âtâlimare tōya-l'âkâ-pârag igbâdignga*. 2. of the day . . . mōro-bêringa (da). (*lit.* sky-good). 3. of water . . . olôwia (da); ig-nâlama (da). See **clean**. 4. open jungle, no undergrowth êr-wâlak (da); êr-wâlag (da). 5. sighted ig-bêringa (da). 6. -voiced âkâ-tegi-wâlak (da).

clear, (v.t.) 1. jungle el-ôt-wâl (ke); êrem-kôp (ke); êrem-l'ârlikati (ke); êrem-l'ârtâlima (ke). 3. the way tinga-l'ôt-wâl (ke); tinga-bûj (ke) (*lit.* path-sweep). 3. one's throat ôiar(ke).

clearing, (s.) in jungle elôt-wâlnga (da); êr-tâlimare.

cleared and level, piece of land, (s.) yâu (da).

cleave, (v.t.) châlat (ke). See **split**.

clench, (v.t.) the fist mōtri (ke); ôyun-têla (ke).

clever, (adj.) 1. intelligent mûgu-tig-dai (da). See **face** and **know**. 2. in handiwork ûn (or ông,) bêringa (da). 3. sharp-sighted ig-bêringa (da). 4. good "all round" ûn-tig-bêringa (da). 5. in climbing, jumping, etc. . . . ar-châk-bêringa (da); ar-paicha-bêringa (da). See **thigh** and **leg**. 6. at sport ô-choringa (da).

cliff, (s.) white pârag (da). The ship avoided the white cliff: *chêlewa-l'âkâ-dâdi pârag l'ig-râkre*.

climb, (v.t.) 1. up a rope or hanging creeper gûtu(ke). [The past tense is gûtukre]. He climbed there without any trouble: *ôl ôngwêlab yâbalen kâto gûtukre*. 3. up a small tree ngâlau (ke). 3. "swarm" up a big tree chōgra (ke).

clip, (v.t.) cut short kâjili (ke).

clod, (s.) of earth gara-dela (da).

close, (adj.) oppressive elâkâ-ûya (da).

close, (adj.) near, at close quarters lagiba; lagya. I shoot pigs at close quarters.

but he is afraid of that sort of thing: *wai dól lagya reg taijke dóna ôlâralât-tâgke* (lit. "afraid-sort-of.") See **near**.

close, (v.t.) See **shut**.

clot, (v.i.) of blood, coagulate . . . *mûrudi* (ke).

clothe, (v.t.) cover the person with a garment . . . *ab-lôtòk*(ke). See **admit**, **enter**.

clothes, (s.) . . . *yôlo* (da). (prefix *ia*.) See **sail**.

cloud, (s.) *nimbus* . . . *yûm-li-diya* (da). 2. *cumulus* . . . *tôwia* (da). 3. *stratus* . . . *âra-mûga-barnga* (da). *Nimbus*, *cumulus* and *stratus* clouds are now all visible together: *yûm-li-diya tôwia ôra-mûga-barnga bêdig âchitik êr-ûbalik ârwâlak* (da).

cloud, (v.i.) become overcast with clouds . . . *yûm-la-kâg* (ke); *cla-dil* (ke).

cloudless, (adj.) . . . *môro-bêringa* (da). (lit. sky-good.)

clumsy, (adj.) . . . *gigâunga* (da); *ôn-dêreka* (da). See **infant**. 2. in walking . . . *î-nâunga-jâbag* (da).

cluster, (s.) bunch . . . *ûgul* (da).

cluteh, (v.t.) . . . *âr-kôta-ôrok* (ke).

coal, (s.) . . . *taili-châpa* (da); ((lit. stone-fuel); *taili-lig-bûg* (da). (lit. stone-charcoal.)

coast, (s.) 1. shore . . . *tôn-mûgu* (da); *tôt* (or *i*)-*gôra* (da). See **walk**. 2. foreshore . . . *kêwa* (da). 3. above high-water mark . . . *î-gôra* (da); *tôt-gôra* (da). 4. rocky . . . *bôroga* (da). 5. having little or no foreshore . . . *pârag-bôroga* (da). While going there in the steamer I saw several of my own tribe turtling along the (rocky) coast: *kâto bîrma-chêlewa-len ôto-jûru-teginga-bêdig d'igbûdwa jîbaba bôrogaya lôbi-yâte igbâdigre*.

coast-man, (s.) . . . 1. one (living)-on-the-coast . . . *âr-kêwa* (da). 2. one (who uses)-harpoon-lines-and-nets . . . *âr-yôto* (da). 3. an-outside (jungle)-man . . . *târ-wâlak* (da). 4. a-sea-man . . . *âkâ-jûru* (da).

5. one-fond-of-sea-water . . . *âkâ-râta-châm* (da). This is a term of ridicule applied by inland dwellers. Of the foregoing *âr-yôto* is usually applied to all coast-dwellers in contra-distinction to *êrem-tâga* (jungle-dwellers).

coast-wise, (adv.) 1. by land . . . *î-gôra-len*. 2. by water . . . *lôbinga-len* (by poling canoe).

coax, (v.t.) 1. a sick person to eat . . . *ig-nôrâ* (ke). 2. another to grant a favor . . . *ûgête* (ke).

cob-web, (s.) . . . *ûgônga-kûd* (da).

cockle, (s.) shell-fish . . . *pâkara* (da).

cockroach, (s.) . . . *pîti* (da).

coconut tree, (s.) . . . *jêder* (da).

cohabit (v.i.) of a married couple . . . *ik-ad-bar* (ke).

coil, (s.) of cord or rope . . . *kôdo* (da).

coil, (v.t.) . . . *ôt-kôdo* (ke); *ôt-kôt* (ke).

coin, (s.) of any description . . . *ik-pûku* (da). See **slice**.

cold, (adj.) . . . *ritipa* (da).

cold (s.), absence of heat . . . *châuki* (da); *chôki* (da). He is shivering with (by reason of being) cold: *ôl châuki l'edâre bêredike*.

cold, (s.) catarrh. See **catarrh**.

cold, be (v.i.) . . . *châuki* (ke); *chôki* (ke).

colic, (s.) . . . *jôdo-l'i-châm* (da).

collar-bone, (s.) . . . *âkâ-gôdla* (da). See App. ii.

collect, (v.t.) 1. honey, fruit, yams, fibre, etc. . . . *ôt-pûj* (ke). 2. shell-fish, jack-fruit seeds, meat, iron, stones, etc., in a heap . . . *jeg* (ke), *ôt-jeg* (ke). He collected jack-fruit seeds for (consumption in) the rains: *ôl gûmul leb kaita-ban jegre*. See **disappointed**. 3. bows, arrows, or other implements and ornaments, also animate objects . . . *âr-ngaij* (ke.) The head-chief collected his neighbours for a hunt: *mai-l'iglâ ekan érya û! leb âr-ngaijre*. See **gather**.

collection, (s.) of bows, arrows, etc., in a bundle . . . *ôto-chônga* (da).

colour, (s.) 1. hue, tint . . . *ôt-paicha* (da). The colour of this *Cypræa* shell

is beautiful: *úcha tēlim-tā l'ôt-paicha vai ino (da)*. 2. paint. See **clay, pigment**. 3. of complexion. See **complexion**.

ccmb, honey, (s.). . . . *kānga (da)*. Wax cells of. . . . *kānga-tā (da)*.

come, (v.i.) 1. . . . *òn (ke)*. See **another**. Come here! *(kâ)-min (-i)-kaich!*; *kaich*; *kaich-ê!*. See **here and hither**. Come here quickly! *kaich (-ng'ig)-rêo!* Come away from there! *kaich-òn!*; *kaich-wai-ka-òn!* 2. come across (or over) (as from opposite bank). . . . *ig-bala (ke)*. 3. come later on (delay in coming). . . . *ig-ilya (ke)*. 4. come back. See **return**. 5. come inside (of hut, etc.) See **enter**. 6. come outside (of hut, etc.). . . . *wâlakîni (ke)*. 7. come out of a hole, etc. . . . *dôati (ke)*. See **appear and emerge**.

comfort, (v.t.). . . . *lêje (ke)*; *ôt-lêje (ke)*.

comic, (adj.) laughable. . . . *âkan-ye-ngatnga (da)*.

command, (v.i.) order, direct. . . . *kânik-yâp (ke)*.

commence, (v.t.). . . . *ôt-mâ (ke)*. (v.i.) *ig-râ (ke)*. While I was staying at Kyd Island the honey-season commenced: *dô dúratâng pòli-yâte râp-wâb igrâre*.

commencement of, at the (adv.), on commencing to *nga-gôiya*. See **begin**. On commencing to scoop this canoe I cut off a piece of my finger: *úcha rôko (elôt) kôpnga-gôiya dô dôyun kôro l'ep-tôpatire*.

commend, (v.t.) praise. . . . *yômai (ke)*.

common, (adj.) not scarce. . . . *ûbaba*; *ôt-ûbaba*; *ar-tâng (da)*.

companion, (s.). . . . *ik-yâte (da)*. (plur.) *itik-yâte (da)*.

company with, in, (postp.) 1. . . . *ik*; (plur.) *itik*. They walked in company with us: *ôl m'itik náure*. 2. . . . *ôt-paicha-len*. See **with**.

compatriot, (s.). . . . *ig-bûdwa (da)*.

compel, (v.t.) See **make and cause**.

compensation, (s.). . . . *î-gal (da)*.

complain, (v.i.). . . . *âra-chî (ke)*.

complete, (v.t.). . . . *âr-lû (ke)*. See

accomplish and finish.

completed, (adj.) finished. : . . . *âr-lûre*.

completely, (adv.) See **altogether, quite**.

complexion, (s.) colour of *European* *î-têrem-ya (da)*. 2. Asiatic *î-târawa (da)*.

comply, (v.i.). . . . *iji-wârta (ke)*.

comprehend, (v.t.) *dai (ke)*.

comrade, (s.). . . . *ig-mûtlinga (da)*.

conceal, (v.t.). . . . *mâre (ke)*.

conceal one's self (v.i.) *iji-mâre (ke)*.

conceited, (adj.) vain *ûbala (da)*.

conceive, (v.i.) become pregnant *ôto-râng'a (ke)*.

conch, queen-, (s.) *til (da)*. 2. **king-** (s.). . . . *ûyo (da)*.

conciliate, (v.t.). . . . *âkâ-lêje (ke)*.

conflagration, (s.) *bada-kininga (da)*.

confusion, (s.) See **disorder**.

congratulate, (v.t.) *ngâgi (ke)*.

conquer, (v.t.) *otolâ-omo (ke)*.

consent, (v.i.) *wai (ke)*.

consequence of, in (adv.) *edâre*.

consequently, (conj.) See **therefore**.

consider, (v.t.) 1. regard, estimate. . . . *lûa (ke)*. 2. observe closely *kûk-l'âr-êr-gâd (ke)*. (v.t.) reflect, ponder *mûla (ke)*; *gôb-jôi (ke)*.

console, (v.t.) *kûk-l'âr-lêje (ke)*.

conspire, (v.t.) plot *ab-chî (ke)*.

constantly, (adv.) *ông-tâm*.

constipation, (s.) *âr-mêtênnga (da)*; *âr-bô-chêba (da)*.

contented, (adj.) satisfied *ôt-kûk l'âr-bêringa (da)*.

continually, (adv.) habitually *ôko jâranga*; *ig-lôinga*. This stream continues to flow. (*lit.* flows continually) like this even in the dry season: *úcha jîg-bâ yêre-bôdo len bêdig kichikan ôko-jâranga la yâlke*.

continue, (v.aux.) persist *îâ (ke)*. See **become**.

contradict, (v.i.). . . . *âkan-tegi-gôl (ke)*.

contrary, (adj.) 1. adverse, as wind or tide *âkâ-tânnga (da)*. 2. to custom

. . . . ad-êranga-ba. See **practice**. 3. to orders târ-pōrowanga. Contrary to the chief's orders he remained idle all day in his hut: *maiola târpōrowanga ôl ékan bûd ya bôdo-dôga ârgêringa pòlire*.

contusion, (s.) See **bruise**.

convalescent, (adj.) tig-bôinga (da).

converse, (v.i.) i-jên (ke); iji-yâp (ke).

convcy, (v.t.) 1. with reference to animals or things ik (ke). 2. with reference to a person ab-ik (ke). 3. referring to removing persons, or things, by water only ûn-târ-tegi (ke); âkà-wêr (ke).

convulsions, (s.) picha (da).

cook, (v.t.) 1. . . . jôi (ke); i-jôi (ke). 2. broil pûgat (ke). 3. roast târi (ke). 4. roast in leaves ôt-jôi (ke). 5. boil meat wêr (ke). 6. boil water, fruit, seeds, etc. . . . ar-jôi (ke). 7. by means of heated stones gûruda (ke).

cook, (v.i.) rôch (ke); ôto-jôi (ke).

cooked, (adj.) 1. partially chilika (da). 2. ready-cooked yât-rôcha (da). We must keep some food ready-cooked for our friends as they will soon be returning from the hunt: *mitig jâugam l'en ûba-waik yât-rôcha môtol paichalen tegike cû ût tek iji-ékalpinga l'edâre*.

cooking-pot, (s.) earthen bûj (da). See **make** and App. xiii.

cooking-pot cover, (s.) of wicker-work bûj-râmata (da).

cooking-stones, (s.) lâ (da). See **cook** and App. xiii.

cool, (adj.) gûrba (da).

cool season, (s.) pâpar (da). See App. ix.

copper. See **metal**.

copper-coloured, (adj.) i-târawa (da). This is said of natives of India, Burma and the Nicobars.

coral, (s.) taili (da) (*lit.* "stone"). Generic name for all coral, though for certain varieties they have distinctive names: *e.g.* 1. *Gorgonidae* bêwa (da). 2. *Poritidae* dôrogi (da). 3. other varieties

. . . . ôro (da); ôro-tôto (da); rail-tâ (da). 4. coral-reef jôwio (da).

cord, (s.) slender rope, or thick line bêtmo (da). See **harpoon** and App. xii.

corner, (s.) kûnu (da).

corpse, (s.) â-pîl (da).

corpulent, (adj.) ab-rôchobo (da).

correct, (adj.) ûba-wai (da); ûba-bêringa (da).

corrupt, (adj.) rotten enoru-re; ch̄runga (da).

costive, (adj.) bô-chêla (da); âr-mêtênnga (da).

cotton, silk- (s.) of the *Bombax malabaricum* gereng-i'âkà-kôpya (da).

cough, (s.) ô-dag (da).

cough, (v.i.) ô-dag (ke). See **hawk** (v.i.).

cough, cure a (v.t.) ô-dag-la-pôrowa (ke).

count, (v.t.) ar-lâp (ke).

country, (s.) êrema (da). That European soldier is going in this steamer to his own country: *kâto bôigoli ékan êrema lat ûcha bîrma-chêlewa l'ôto-jûru-tegi ke*.

country-man, (s.) ig-bûdwa (da). Why are your country-men taller than ours? *michalen ngitig-bûdwa m'andûru tek at tâ-banga (da)?*

couple. See **pair**.

courage, (s.) i-târ-mil-yôma (da).

court, (v.t.) See **woo**.

cousin, (s.) m. and f. (elder and younger) See App. viii.

cover, (v.t.) 1. the head, hands, etc. râm (ke) with prefix according to the part referred to. See App. ii. 2. food or any inanimate object ôt-râm (ke). 3. a sore, or wound, with leaves as a plaster ig-râm (ke). 4. the eyes with one's hands, as when weeping iji-mûju (ke). 5. the mouth and nostrils, when astonished, or laughing, or because of an offensive odour ôkan-mûju (ke). 6. put on a cover âkà-rôgi (ke). 7. one's nakedness ar-michla (ke).

cover, (s.) lid ôt-râmnga (da); âkà-rôginga (da).

covering of leaves, (s.) wrapped round a bundle tîrcha (da).

covet, (v.t.) pòichati (ke); kûk-l'ar-ûju (ke); iji-dal-tek-chike). Do not covet another's property: *ôtbaiâ râmoko pòichatike dâke*.

covetous, (adj.) pòichatinga (da).

coward, (s.) ar-lât-chânag (da).

cowry. See *Cypræa*.

crab, (s.) small edible variety kâta (da). 2. large edible variety bad (da). 3. hermit ôla-lig-wôd (da). 4. land kilag (da). There are other varieties named, kûrum (da), gôro (da), kôti (da), gab (da), êlewadi (da), all of which are eaten except the hermit-crab.

crab-hole, (s.) (l')ar-bang (da). See *hole*.

crab-hook, (s.) kâta-ngâtanga (da). Used for picking up live crabs among the rocks. See App. xiii.

crack, (s.) in wood, glass, etc. yilitnga (da).

crack, (v.t.) 1. a bow, paddle, etc. . . . ig (also ôt-)târali (ke). 2. as by driving a nail into a thin plank âchalpi (ke). 3. any brittle object, as a pot dâli (ke); pêtemi (ke); pâchi (ke). 4. as a nut, with the teeth or in a vice kôroma (ke).

crack, (v.i.) 1. . . . ôyun-têmar-târali (ke). 2. owing to heat tûchu (ke).

crackle, (v.i.) of burning leaves kôroti (ke).

crackling, (s.) of pork ôt-âgam (da). He cut off some crackling and gave it to me: *ôl ôt-âgam kâjilinga-bêdig den âre*.

cramp, (s.) muscular contraction mâlainga (da).

cramp, suffer from (v.i.) î-dôla (ke).

cramped for space, (p.p.) ad-nilibnga (da).

cramped (confined) space (s.) êr-chô-paua (da); êr-nilibnga (da).

crank, (adj.) 1. liable to upset gîgàu-nga (da). My canoe is no longer crank: *dîa rôko âchitik gîgàunga yâba (da)*.

2. top-heavy gîdatnga (da).

crave, (v.t.) beg with importunity ôt-ângâr (ke). (v.i.) 1. long for, yearn î-gâri (ke). 2. with reference to food mûgum-len-pòichat (ke). See *long*.

crawl, (v.i.) as an infant or insect laia (ke); iji-châk-tegi (ke). The centipede is crawling towards you: *kâapta la ng'eb iji-châk-tegi*.

cray-fish, (s.) wâka (da); têt (da). The latter word is applied to young crayfish.

create, (v.t.) môt (ke). Puluga created the world: *pûluga êrema môt*.

creator, (s.) môt-yâte (da).

creek, (s.) 1. . . . jig (da). 2. main-creek jig-chân-châu (da). 3. branch-creek jig-bâ (da).

creep, (v.i.) See *crawl*.

creeper, (s.) plant yôto (da); tât (da). The former refers to large and the latter to small varieties.

crest of wave, (s.) âkà-elri (da).

crevice, (s.) âkà-jâg (da).

crew, (s.) of canoe or ship bâraicha (da); ôt-râla-jâtnga (da).

crime, (s.) See *offence, sin*.

crinum lorifolium, (s.) bâga (da). The fronds are used in making torches.

cripple, (s.) âr-tê (da). Now that Woi is a cripple no one is afraid of him: *wôî kawai ârtê yâte mîja arlât yâba (da)*. (lit. "who afraid not?")

cripple (v.t.) ôn-gôd (ke).

croak, (v.i.) rôtia (ke).

crocodile, (s.) kâra-dûku (da). See *iguana*.

crook, (s.) hooked stick for gathering fruit tōg-ngâtanga (da). See App. xiii.

crooked, (adj.) tēka (da).

crooked, become, (v.i.) as a spear or arrow after hitting some hard object gôm (ke).

cross, (adj.) ill-tempered tig-rêl-tâpa (da).

cross, (adj.) transverse âr-châti (da).

cross-paths, (s.) tinga-l'âr-châti (da).

cross, (v.i.) pass over tedi-yâ (ke); târ-têta (ke); rôko-arwaichari (ke).

cross-legged, sit (v.i.) 1. like a tailor â-rôdi (ke). 2. when crossed at the knees âra-têla (ke). 3. when legs are extended and ankles are crossed môr (ke).

crow, (s.) *Corvus culminatus* bâtkâ (da).

crowd, (s.) *See assemblage*.

crown, of head (s.) *See head*.

crowded, (adj.) ad-nilibnga (da).

cruel, (adj.) kûk-l'eb-tôponga (da); târ-tôknga (da).

cruelty, (s.) kûk-l'eb-tôponga-yôma (da); târ-tôknga-yôma (da).

crunch, (v.t.) kûrûma (ke); ôt-kuram (ke); ig-kârap (ke).

crush, (v.t.) 1 pêtemi (ke). 2. an insect by treading on it dûruga (ke). 3. as a tree or other heavy object in falling mâpâ (ke). The tree which fell yesterday while crushing his hut spared mine: *âkâtâng dîlêa pâ yâte ia bûd len mâpànga-bêdig dîa bûd l'ôt-tid-dûbure*.

crushed, (p.p.) 1. of an animate object â-tâ-kûjuringa (da). 2. of an inanimate object pêkalnga (da).

cry, (v.i.) 1. weep têt-kik (ke); tî-tôlat (ke). (*lit.* "drop tears") 2. cry together, as two or more on meeting (a custom after lengthy absence) i-tâ-têkik (ke); âkan-pâra-têkik (ke). 3. as a child for something it wants iti-rômad (ke). 4. loudly. *See shout*.

cuff, (s.) *See blow, slap*.

cultivate, (v.t.) yât-bûguk (ke). *See food and bury*.

cunning, (adj.) sly mûgu-tig-dai (da).

cup, (s.) ôdo (da). (*lit.* nautilus shell). *See App. xiii*.

curable, (adj.) 1. of a wound yêlenga-lôyu. 2. of a disease tig-bôinga-lôyu.

cure, (v.t.) 1 iti-gôr (ke). 2. a cough ôdag-la-pôrowa (ke).

curl, (v.t.) ôt-kêtik (ke).

curl, (s.) 1. of a coil or any spiral ôt-kêtiknga (da). 2. of hair ôt-kitnga (da).

curlew, (s.) kôrakâte (da).

current, (s.) 1. tidal chârat (da). 2. running stream ôp (da).

curse, (v.t.) âkâ-bang-tek-pâreja (ke). When it rains heavily while we are hunting we are in the habit of cursing (the rain) in this way, "May the hamadryad bite you": *meda delenga-bêdig yûm dôga la pâ-yâte met'ekâra kichikan âkâbangtek-pârejanga* "wai wâra jôbo châpikok!"

curve, (s.) ête (da).

curve, (v.t.) ngôchowa (ke).

curved, (p.p.) ngôchowanga (da).

custom, (s.): **customary**, (adj.) kianwai (da); ekâra (da); ad-êranga (da). It is not our custom (customary) to hunt pigs while it is raining: *yûm la pângâ-bêdig kianwai reg-delenga yâba* (da). *See practice*.

cut, (s.) 1. gash ôto-pôlo (da). 2. scratch, as from a thorn ngâli (da). 3. scratch from claw or nail ngôtowa (da), with prefix according to part of person referred to. *See App. ii*.

cut, (v.t.) 1. another ab-ngâli (ke). 2. with *Cyrena* shell pòin (ke). 3. a stick, as when making foreshaft of arrow kâ-tâi (ke). 4. "cut" another socially i-tên (ke). 5. cut down with adze kôp (ke). He cut down this post for his hut: *ôl ia bûd l'at ûcha dagama kôpre*. 6. cut off (with a knife) kâjili (ke). *See crackling*. 7. cut off (lop) tôp (ke); (ôt-) tôpati (ke). 8. cut off (sever) ep-tôpati (ke). *See commencement*. 9. cut out a piece of wood kât (ke) as in order to make a paddle, bow, etc. 10. cut up food, e.g., turtle, pork, yams, etc. . . . chôl (ke). 11. cut up food into small pieces for distribution ôko-tôpati (ke). 12. cut up, dismember, disjoint a carcass or

large fish . . . wârat (ke). **13.** cut to pieces . . . ôt-degeri (ke). cut one's self (v.i.) . . . ad-ngâli (ke). See **wound**.

cut-water, (s.) of boat . . . rôko-l'ôt-yâ (da). See **occiput** and App. ii.

cuticle, (s.) scurf-skin . . . waiña (da). (prefix. ar, ôt, ông, etc., according to part of the body referred to.) See App. ii.

cuttle-fish, (s.) . . . lûdu (da).

cycas rumphii, (s.) . . . ñgêbêr (da).

cyclone, (s.) . . . ûlnga (or wûlnga)-dôga (da).

cypræa, sp. (s.) **1.** the mollusc . . . têlim (da). **2.** the shell . . . têlim-tâ (da).

cyrena, sp. (s.) **1.** the mollusc . . . û (da); jirka (da); rôkta (da). **2.** the shell . . . û-ta (da); jirka-tâ (da); rôkta-tâ (da). See **clam**. The first of these words is exceptional in expressing the shell by "ta" and not "tâ".

D

Daily, (adv.) . . . ârlalen-ârlalen.

dam, (s.) bund . . . yûkur (da).

damage, (v.t.) . . . jâbagi (ke): êche (ke).

damp, (adj.) . . . ôt-ina (da).

damsel, (s.) . . . ab-jadi-jôg (da). See App. vii.

dance, (s.) . . . ar-kôi (da).

dance, (v.t.) **1.** in generic sense . . . ar-kôi (ke). **2.** some specific dance . . . tik-pâ (ke). **3.** with others . . . itik-tâ-kôi (ke). **4.** complimentary, "by request". . . en (or ûl)-kôi (ke). Dance to oblige us! (lit. "for our sakes"): met (or mûlat) kôi. **5.** as performed by the hosts . . . ar-waia (ke). This takes place after the guests (or visitors) have executed their dance. **6.** on termination of the mourning-period . . . î-tôlat (ke). (lit. "tears-drop"). On this occasion the symbols of mourning are removed. **7.** wantonly, in order to give offence, or amorously . . . âr-yena (ke).

dancer, (s.) . . . ar-kôinga (da).

dancing-board, (s.) . . . pûkuta-yemnga (da). See App. xiii.

dancing-ground, (s.) . . . bûlum (da). This is situated on a cleared site in the midst of the encampment.

dandle, (v.t.) . . . â-rôro (ke).

danger, (s.) . . . ar-adami (da).

dangerous, (adj.) . . . ar-adaminga (da).

dangle, (v.t.) . . . ar-lêla (ke).

dappled, (adj.) . . . bâratnga (da): i-tôna taininga (da).

dare, (v.t.) venture . . . i-târ-mil (ke); (v.i.) ôyun-tepe-gôri (ke).

daring, (p.a.) . . . i-târ-mil (da); itâr-milnga (da).

dark, (adj.) **1.** as a moonless night . . . yêchar (da), pêwôi (da), this with reference to fishing and turtling. **2.** of a cave, room, etc. . . . el-âkâ-gûrug (da); el-âkâ-râjaba; el-âkâ-pûtunga (da); mêt (da); pûtainga (da).

dart, (v.t.) with an arrow . . . i-teg-jêrali (ke).

dash, (v.t.) . . . ik-ele-paidli (ke). (v.i.) **1.** against a reef . . . iji-tem (ke). **2.** against a rock . . . ad-mâu (ke).

daub, (v.t.) **1.** ôg on another's face . . . ig-leät (ke). **2.** on one's own face . . . iji-leät (ke). **3.** ôg on another's body . . . ab-leät (ke). **4.** on one's own body . . . ad-leät (ke). **5.** kôicb on another's face . . . ig-eäp (ke). **6.** on one's own face . . . iji-eäp (ke). **7.** kôicb on another's body . . . ab-eäp (ke). **8.** on one's own body . . . ad-eäp (ke). See **paint** and App. xiii.

daughter, (s.) under three years of age . . . kâta (da). See App. vii. She gave birth to a daughter this morning: ôl dîlmaya kât'abêtirc. **2.** over three years of age . . . bā (da). Whose daughter (is this)? : mijia bā? Whose daughters are those? : mijia kâbā-lông-kâlak?

daughter-in-law, (s.) . . . ôtîn (da). See App. viii.

dawdle, (v.t.) . . . ting-gûju (ke). You're dawdling! ting-gûjuba! (lit. "dawdle not.")

dawn, (s.) . . . wânga (da). He must leave this at dawn or he will be benighted: ôl wângalen ûba-waik pûto-kînike kînig

(ôl) *ebritnga* (da). Let us start at dawn : *môcho ela-wânguya tôl-mîkarike*. See App. x.

dawn, (v.t.) begin to grow light
châl (ke). See **light**.

day, (s.) 1. of 24 hours *ârla* (da).
 During the few days we stayed there, we
 bartered for a lot of sucking-pigs : *kâto*
ârla ikpôr len med' pòlinga bédig reg-bâ
l'ârdûru leb igalre. 2. from sunrise to
 sunset *bôdo* (da). See App. x.
 3. period, time *idal* (da). A long
 time ago in the days of our remote
 ancestors : *ârtâm chàuga-tâbanga l'idal len*.
 4. all day . . . *bôdo-dôga* (da). 5. by day
 *bôdo-len*. 6. to-day *ka-wai*
 (da); in constr. *ka-wai; ka-wai-bôdolen*.

day-light, (s.) *bôdo-la-chôinga* (da).

day after tomorrow, (s.) *târ-wainga*
 (da).

day-break. See **dawn**.

day before yesterday, (s.) *târ-di-*
lêa.

dazzle, (v.t.) *ig-wâr* (ke); *idal-*
l'ôt-wâr (ke). (v.i.) *i-kârang* (ke).

dazzled, (p.p.) *i-kârang-re*.

dead, (p.p.) *oko-lire*.

deadly. See **fatal**.

deaf, (adj.) *ig-mûlwa* (da); *chôma*
 (da).

dear, (adj.) precious *âr-inga* (da).
 See **refuse** (to give).

death, (s.) *châuga-l'âpîl* (da).
 There were two deaths in that encampment
 this morning : *kâto bârai len dilma-ya*
châuga-l'âpîl ikpôr l'edâre.

decamp, (v.i.) *iji-kâj* (ke); *ôto-*
nûyu (ke).

decapitate, (v.t.) See **behead**.

decay, (v.i.) *chôro* (ke).

deceased, the, (adj.) *lachi*. (Pre-
 fixed to the name of the person referred
 to, and is equivalent to the English expres-
 sion "the late".)

deceitful, (adj.) *âka-yengatnga* (da).

deceive, (v.t.) . . . *âka-yengat* (ke).

decent, (adj.) modest *ôt-teknga*
 (da); *wilibanga* (da).

decline, (v.t.) See **refuse**.

decompose, (v.i.) of flesh or vegetation
 *chôro* (ke).

decorate, (v.t.) any inanimate object
êr-yâm (ke.) See **paint**.

decrease, (v.i.) diminish . . . *ara-likati* (ke).

decrepit, (adj.) *âr-tâ* (da); *âr-*
tê (da).

deep, (adj.) 1. of the sea *jûru-dôga*
 (da). 2. of a pit or well *lôyaba*.
 See **distant**.

defeat, (v.t.) in a fight *ôt-degra*
 (ke); *otolâ-ômo* (ke); (*lit.* "first fetch".)

defeat, (s.) in a fight *ôt-degra*
 (da).

defecate, (v.i.) *chê* (ke); *chêl*
 (ke); *rî-chê* (ke.) See **issue**.

defend. See **protect**.

defer, (v.t.) postpone *ngêtebla* (ke).

defiant, (adj.) *târ-ngêrenga* (da).

defile, (v.t.) 1. by dust, dirty wrapping
 or leaves *ig-bêra* (ke). Why have
 you defiled my food? : *michalen nga dîa*
yât l'ig-bêrare? 2. by dirt or mud
lada (ke).

deformed, (adj.) *kû* (da); *gigau-*
nga (da); *têka* (da). Prefix according to
 the part of the body to which reference is
 made. See App. ii.

defraud. See **cheat**.

defy, (v.t.) *ik-ông-rêli* (ke); *ig-*
rêo (ke).

deity, the (s.) *Pûluga* (da); *Môt*
yâte (da). See **creator**.

dejected, (p.a.) *bûlabnga* (da).

delay, (v.t.) *ab-nêdba* (ke). (v.i.)
 *chê-bang* (ke); *gôli* (ke). They
 must be delaying on account of the squall :
ûinga-tôgori l'edâre ed'ûbawaik gôlike.

delicious, (adj.) *âka-yâmalinga* (da).

delicious! (exclam.) . . . *ñâm*!

delight, (s.) *kûk-l'âr-wâlakîni* (da).

delighted, (p.a.) *kûk-bêringa* (da);
kûk-l'âr-wâlakîninga (da). (latter in ex-
 cessive degree).

delirious, (adj.) pîchanga (da).
deluge, the (s.) . . . el-ôt-ôtpînga (da).
demand, (v.t.) claim ôt-titân (ke).
demon, (s.) 1. of the jungles êrem
 chàngala; nîla (da). 2. of the sea
 jûru-win (da). 3. of the sky chôl
 (da).
Dendrobium secundum, (s.) 1 râ
 (da). See App. xi and xiii. The yellow
 skin is much used for ornamental purposes.
2. d. umbellatum (s.) jûlaij (da).
 The seeds are eaten.
dense, (adj.) close. impenetrable
 tōbo (da); dense jungle êrem-tōbo
 (da).
Dentalium octogonum, (s.) garen
 (da). See App. xiii. These are much used
 in the manufacture of personal ornaments.
deny, (v.t.) ôt-tig-pûluga (ke).
 (v.i.) akat-yê (ke).
depart, (v.i.) 1. leave ad-lômta (ke).
 See leave. 2. go away ôto-lû-
 pati (ke). 3. of the soul at death
 jîn (ke). When I die my soul will depart:
dôl okolînga-bêdig d'ôtyôlo la jinngabo.
deposit, (s.) mineral ôto-jegnga (da).
depressed, (p.a.) dejected mûlanga
 (da); bûlabnga (da). As Wologa is depress-
 ed he is eating nothing: *mûlanga l'edâre*
wôloga magke yâbada. See sad.
descend, (v.i.) 1. from a higher position
 tōl (ke); tōlpi (ke). 2. from a tree
 âr-ôt (ke). 3. a creek âr-dô-
 ati (ke).
descendants, (s.) ôt-bôrta-wîchi (da).
(lit. "tattooed seedling.") Perhaps our
 descendants will be wiser than we: *tîlik*
môtot bôrta-wîchi mar-ârdûru tek mûgutig-
daingabo.
describe, (v.t.) î-tai (ke). See
 explain, relate.
description. See sort.
desert, (v.t.). See abandon.
design, (s.). See pattern.
desire, (v.t.) feel need of en-â-
 (ke); reflex. See want. (v.i.) 1. long, yearn

. . . . î-gâri (ke). See long. 2. feel desire.
 lat (ke). See wish.
desirous, (adj.) anxious to obtain
 gâringa (da). prefix, î, âkà, or ôn.
despise, (v.t.) ig-pôkiba (ke).
destroy, (v.t.) 1. by breaking kû-
 juri (ke). 2. by burning pûgat (ke).
 3. by other means tedi-jâbagi (ke).
detach, (v.t.) a honey-comb from a branch
 âkà-kâraij (ke).
detest, (v.t.). See dislike, hate and
 loathe.
devil, (s.). See demon.
devour, (v.t.) of an animal rôpok
 (ke).
dew, (s.) yôتما (da).
dexterity, (s.) skill in handiwork
 ông-yôma (da).
dexterous, (adj.) ûn (or ông)-
 bêringa (da).
dhani-leaf palm (*Nipa fruticans*), s. . . .
 pûta (da). The seed is eaten. See App.
 xi.
dialect, (s.) âkà-tegîli-l'îglâ (da).
 In the South Andaman dialect this kind
 of stone is called tōlmada: *âkà-bêa l'âkà-*
tegîli-(l'îglâ) len ûcha naikan taili l'ôt-ting
tôlma (da).
diarrhoea, (s.) âr-bêlanga (da); âr-
 bô-pûlatma (da).
die, (v.i.) 1. . . . oko-li (ke). 2. about
 to die âkan-tûg-dâpi (ke). (*lit.*
throw one's teeth.) See disinter.
different, (adj.) 1. distinct ig-lâ
 (da). 2. another, some other âkà-
 tedi-bôlya; âkà-tôro-bûya. See another,
 some other. 3. In different directions
 î-kânga (da).
differently, (adv.) See otherwise.
difficult, (adj.) 1. of any physical task
 ông-wêlabnga (da). 2. of a language
 ôt-kûtunga (da); ôt-châram (da).
 The language of the white people is very
 difficult: *tâplola l'âkà-tegîli ôtchâram*
dôgaya.

dig, (v.t.) êr-kôp (ke). 2. Dig up, by one person ar-bang (ke). See **yam**. 3. by two or more persons ar-banga (ke).

digest, (v.t.) ab-dût (ke).

digestible, (adj.) lûlianga (da); ab-dûtnga-lôyu.

dilatory, (adj.) ar-gôlinga (da).

dim, (adj.) ig-nâlama-ba.

dim-sighted, (adj.) ig-kârangnga (da). ig-jābag (da).

diminish, (v.t.) ar-kâtai (ke). (v.i.) ara-chêr (ke); ôyun-êche (ke); ara-lîkati (ke).

dinner. See **supper**.

direct, (v.t.) order, command kânik-yâp (ke).

direction?, in which (adv.) interrog. . . . tekari? 2. from which direction? tekari-tek? 3. in different directions î-kānga (da).

dirt, (s.) gûj (da); lada (da). See **mud**.

dirty, (adj.) 1. . . . gûjnga (da); ladanga (da); î-târa (da). 2. from eating or distributing honey ôt-lûbunga (da).

disagree, (v.i.) of food ab-kôktâr-wâr (ke). Does it disagree with you? (*lit.* "inside dislike"): an ng'ab-kôktâr wârke?

disagreeable, (adj.) 1. with ref. to any object târ-rênga (da). 2. with ref. to persons ûn-wêlab (da).

disappear, (v.i.) ara-lâmya (ke); ara-lôtok (ke); elôt-nûyu (ke).

disappointed, (p.a.) 1. . . . ôt-kûk-jābaginga (da). As you have so much in stock (*lit.* so many things collected in your possession) we were disappointed at your not sending us more: ngôt-paichalen mîn ârdâru ôt-jegnga l'edâre nâ met ititânnga gâhilen meda môtot-kûk-jābaginga l'edâre. 2. at missing a shot ig-bûjyanga (da).

disapprove, (v.i.) iji-kila (ke).

disarm, (v.t.) ôn-lûru-baiji (ke).

disbelieve, (v.t.) ig-ñgê (ke).

discharge, (v.t.) an arrow tig-pai-ti (ke).

discomfort, (s.) âkà-wêlab (da).

This word is used in connection with the painting with kôjob and ôg (*see daub*) by those unaccustomed to its use, especially in respect to the "dela" or lump of ôg worn for weeks on their heads by newly-made widows.

discontented, (adj.) kûk-l'âr-jābag (da).

discover, (v.t.) 1. find (after search) ôt-bam (ke). 2. casually ôro (ke). See **find**.

disease, (s.) rûm (da).

disembark, (v.i.) töl (ke); tölpi (ke); yôboli (ke).

disentangle, (v.t.) wêlep (ke).

disguise, (v.t.) âr-jîli (ke).

disgust, (s.) aversion, to food only âkà-wâr-yôma (da).

dish, (s.) wooden food-tray pûkuta-yât-māknga (da). See App. xiii.

dishonest, (adj.) ôko-tâpnga (da).

disinter, (v.t.) exhume ôi (ke); êr-ôi (ke). While Wologa was dying he said to me "when my skull is disinterred and cleaned I wish you to be the first to carry it": wologa tûg-lâpinga-bêdig den târchî dôt chêta kârai-j-yâte ôl-bêdig ôi-yâte châtnga-bêdig ngô l'entôba tâbike dô kichikan litke.

disjoint, (v.t.) dismember wârat (ke).

dislike, (v.t.) 1. any person or object, except food jābag-lûa (ke); î-târ-êr (ke). I dislike pig-hunting on stony ground: wai dól elôt-tâ len rej-delenga jābag lûake. I dislike Punga's younger brother: wai dô punga l'âkà-kâm len itâr-êrke. 2. certain food, âkà-wâr (ke). He dislikes the flesh of the Paradoxurus: ôl baian dama len âkà wârke.

dislocate, (v.t.) gôdoli (ke).

dismiss, (v.t.) âkà-târ-tôai (ke).

disobedient, (adj.) tegi-kôrnga (da); âkan-lêtainga (da); tegi-l'ôt-mâlinnga-ba.

disobey, (v.t.) tegi-kôr (ke). (v.i.) âkan-lêtai (ke).

disorder, (s.) gôjarnga (da).

î-chōma (da). 3. cheerless . . . *ig-wêlabnga* (da). 4. weather (overcast). . . *ela-dînga* (da).

dumb, (adj.) . . . *yâbnga-ûla* (da). See **mute, silent**.

dung, (s.) . . . *âr-bô* (da).

durable, (adj.) . . . *âr-chêba* (da) ; *gōra* (da).

during, (postp.) . . . *nga-bêdig len*. During the night : *gûrug len*. During your absence : *ng'ab-yâba len*. He was often unconscious during his illness : *ôl abyednga-bêdig ârka-réatek lêtarînga* (da).

dusk, (s.) . . . *êr-lôko-rînga-gôî* (da) ; *ela-rînga* (da).

dusk, (v.i.) become . . . *ela-rît* (ke). See **late** and App. x.

dust, (s.) . . . *êr-l'ôt-pûpya* (da) ; *êr-l'ôt-bûbut* (da) ; *bûbra* (da).

duty, (s.) . . . *tig-yâm* (da). It is our duty to obey orders : *maratdûru lîa tigyâm kânik tegi-l'ôtmâlin* (ke).

dwarf, (s.) . . . *âr-dêdeba* (da)

dwel, (v.t.) 1. for an indefinite time . . . *bûdu* (ke). 2. temporarily. . . *pôli* (ke) ; *pâli* (ke). 3. permanently in same locality. . . *âr-titegi* (ke). This is said of certain of the inland-tribes who live in permanent villages, while the coast-tribes more or less frequently move from one encampment to another.

dwelling, (s.) *bûd* (da). See **hut**.

dysentery, (s.) . . . *âr-bô-chêrama* (da) ; *âr-tî-la-wêjeringa* (da) ; *âr-tî-la-chêlînga* (da). See **blood** and **issue**.

E

each, 1. (adj.) every one, separately considered . . . *ûba-ijilâ* (da). Before distributing the food Wologa called each man by name : *yât wâlna l'entōka wōloga bûla ûba-ijilâ ting-l'âr-enire*. 2. (pron.) each one . . . *ûbatûl-tûl* (da). Each of those women will return to her home to-day, carrying her infant all the way in her (chîp) sling : *ka-wai kât âpail l'ong-kâlak len ûbatûl-tûl ab-nōrâ-yâte tinga-dûru wîjke*.

eager, (adj.) . . . *î-ratnga* (da).

eagle, fish- (s.) 1. (*Blagrus leucogaster*) . . . *badgi* (da). 2. a small variety. . . *âranga* (da).

ear, (s.) 1. . . *ig-pûku* (da). 2. lobe of ear . . . *ig-pûku-l'âr-dêreka* (da). 3. -wax . . . *âkâ-yâ-mûruwin* (da). 4. orifice of . . . *ig-pûku-l'âkâ-bang* (da). 5. ear-ache . . . *ig-pûku-châm* (da) ; *ig-pûku-yed* (da). 6. ear-less. . . *ig-pûku-lûpa* (da). 7. ears, shut one's (v.i.) . . . *âkan* (or *aiyan*)-*mûju* (ke).

early, (adv.) . . . *jâlwa-lingi*. early to-day . . . *ka-wai jâlwa-lingi*. early morning. See **dawn**.

earth, (s.) 1. the world . . . *êrema* (da). See **world**. 2. soil . . . *gara* (da). See **clay**.

earthquake, (s.) 1. . . *êr-yûanga* (da). We were all frightened yesterday when (*lit. in*) the earthquake (occurred) : *dîlîa êr-yûanga len m'ardûru mat-lâtre*. 2. (diminutive) . . . *êr-yûyukanga* (da).

earth-worm, (s.) . . . *wîlidim* (da).

ease, (adj.) rest from work . . . *pôlinga-yōma* (da).

easily, (adv.) . . . *ûn-ôjomaich-tek*.

east, (s.) . . . *el-âr-mûgu* (da). N.E. wind, and N.E. monsoon. See **north**.

easy, (adj.) to make or do . . . *ûn-ôjomaich* (da).

eat, (v.t.) with reference to one person . . . *mâg* (ke) ; *meg* (ke) ; *mâk* (ke). 2. with reference to two or more . . . *âkâ-wed* (ke) ; *âkâ-wet* (ke). 3. one kind of food . . . *lê* (ke). Don't eat any more of that, there will be none left for the others : *ngô lât lîka dâke ! wai arat-dîlu lat âkâ-kîchal yâba* (da). What has been eaten of yours ? : *ngîa : mîchiba lêngata ?* taking food with lips, not hands . . . *pai* (ke). See **lip**. 5. greedily . . . *ig-nōma* (ke). 6. eat up, devour . . . *âr-lêreka-mâg* (ke). See **devour**.

eating, (p.a.) **engaged in** . . . *âkâ-kâd* (ke). We parents are now busy eating : *môiot-bâ âchitik makat-kâd* (da). Don't call

the dog, he is at his food (engaged in eating): *bibi len ârîgêreke dâke, ôl âkà-kâd (da)*.

eatable, (adj.) See **edible**.

eaves, (s.) âr-tō (da). Rain is falling from the eaves of your hut: *ngia châng lâr-tō tek yâm la pâke*.

ebb, (v.i.) of the tide ela-êr (ke).

ebb-tide, (s.) ela-êrnga (da).

ebony, (s.) tōti (da).

echo, (s.) âkà-tegi-l'adwêtinga (da).

See **voice** and **escape**. *kōlwōt* (da). See note at **hiccough**.

eclipse, (s.) 1. of the sun bōdo-la-jābaginga (da). 2. of the moon ôgar la-jābaginga (da).

eddy, (s.) 1. iji-kêti (da); 2. caused by the propeller of a steamer âr-gôloîn (da).

edge, (s.) 1. of a precipice ig-pai (da); ig-pe (da). 2. of a blade or paddle ig-yôd (da).

edible, (adj.) māknga-lôyu. *ed. bird's nest* (s.) bilya-l'âr-râm (da). See **nest**. *ed. roots*. (s.) See **yam**.

eel, (s.) l'âlak (da).

egg, (s.) mōl-o (da). 2. yolk of mōlo-l'ôt-chêrama (da). 3. white of mōlo-l'ôt-elepaij (da).

either, 1. (pron.) ūchin-ûba-tûl (da). Give me either (one) of those bows: *kâto kârama tek ūchin-ûbatûl den â*. 2. (conj.) ūchin-ûba. He is either dead or dying: *ôl ūchin-ûba oko-lîre an âkan-tûg-dâpinga (da)*.

elbow, (s.) ig-kōpa-l'âr-naichama (da). (*lit.* "point of fore-arm.")

elder, (adj.), senior ab-dôga (da). Elder brother (or sister) (s). See App. viii.

elderly, (adj.) ab-chōroga (da). See **old**.

eldest child, (s.) first-born ablîga-l'entōba-yâte (da).

elephant, (s.) ūchu (da).

elephantiasis, (s.) ar-lâpi (da). This word has been adopted since becoming acquainted with the disease among the Nicobarese.

else, (adv.) 1. instead of, in place of ông-têka. Why did Bia give you something else? : *michalen bîa ngen mîn l'ôngtêka mânre?*

2. in addition to, besides nâ. Woi gave me nothing else (*lit.* more): *wôi den mîn nâ mânre yâba (da)*. 3. otherwise kîinig. Go away (or) else I'll be angry: *ûchik wai òn, kîinig dô tigrêlke*

elsewhere, (adv.) êr-l'ôtbaia-lôm (da); kâto-men (da).

elude, (v.t.) 1. by superior speed tû-laiña (ke). 2. by strategem târ-pejili (ke); ig-pòlokîni (ke). While we were all hiding under the shade of the tree the boar eluded us: *môl'ârdûru âkâtâng l'ebârtegi len märenga bédig ôtyêregnga târ-pejilire*.

emaciate, (v.i.) ab-maiña (ke).

emaciated, (p.a.) ab-maiña (da)

embankment, (s.) yûkur (da).

embark, (v.i.) âkan-wêr (ke).

embers, (s.) ar-pîj-l'ig-ûya (da).

embrace, (v.t.) 1. as when meeting after a long separation ôt-pûnu (ke). 2. as foreigners âkan-tebi-gôl (ke). This word has been adopted to indicate the custom among Indians after long absence. See! two natives of India are embracing: *wai gêlib! chàugala l'ikpôr âkan-tebi-gôlke*.

emerge, (v.i.) come out from concealment teg-wêjeri (ke). The Jarawas obtain iron by emerging from the jungle (i.e. from wrecks on the coast) or in some such way: *jârawa la teg-wâjeri-tâg-nga-bédig tōlbot-tâ ôroke*. See **sort**. 2. as an insect out of a hole. See **issue**.

empty, (adj.) of a building or bucket âr-lûa (da). 2. empty-handed after a hunt or search ông-târlûa (da); ông-kâlaka (da). (*lit.* "hands-bare.")

encampment, (s.) 1. occupied bâraij (da); bûd-l'ârdûru (da). 2. unoccupied êr-ârlûa (da). 3. old-established bâraij (da). An encampment without a Chief is called, "bâraij-bôloda." (*lit.* "an orphan encampment.") 4. ancient (abandoned) See **kitchen-midden**.

enceinte, (adj.) *See* **pregnant**.

enclose, (v.t.) *î-tûrko* (ke). *See* **surround**.

encounter, (v.t.) meet as an adversary *jêti* (ke). We big boys being fully-armed are not afraid to encounter Järawas: *mat-lîqaba cháchnga bédig jārawa jétînga leb marat lâtke yāba* (da) (v.i.) meet casually or unexpectedly. *See* **meet**.

encourage, (v.t.) 1. urge on *ab-ngê* (ke). 2. instigate *kûk-l'âr-lôda* (ke); *ông-jîg* (ke). 3. give comfort or cheer *kûk-l'âr-lêje* (ke).

end, (s.) 1. extremity *âr-rêwa* (da); *ôko-tâp* (da). Hold the end of my stick: *dîa pûtu l'âr-rêwa pûchuke*. 2. pointed-end *naichama* (da). *See* **beak** and **point**. 3. conclusion of any work or narrative *âr-lû* (da).

endeavour, (v.t.) *See* **try**.

endure, (v.t.) *See* **suffer**.

enemy, (s.) *yôdinga* (da).

energetic, (adj.) *îratnga* (da).

engaged, in work. *See* **busy**.

English. *See* **European**.

enjoy, (v.t.) *ad-yêla* (ke). We all enjoy paying a visit to Calcutta: *mardûru la kalkata len êrtâlnga leb adyêlake*. *See* **air**.

enlarge, (v.t.) *êr-dôga* (ke).

enmity, (s.) *yôdi* (da). Owing to enmity the Järawas do not associate with us: *yôdi l'edâre jārawa marat-dûru l'itigmût-like yāba* (da).

enormous, (adj.) 1. of an animate object *rôchoba* (da). 2. of an inanimate object *bôdia-dôga* (da); *chânag-dôga* (ad). There are enormous clams (*tridacna*) here: *kârin chôwai rôchoba* (da). *See* **big**.

enough, (adj.) sufficient *dûruma* (da). One is enough: *ûbatûl dûrumada*. Enough food is as good as (*lit.* "equal to") a feast: *yât dûruma wai yât dôga l'âkâ-pâra* (da).

enough, (interj.) *dâke!*; *kian-wai!* That's enough: *kianwai dâke!*

enquire. *See* **ask**.

enrage, (v.t.) *en-tigrêl* (ke).

ensnare, (v.t.) entrap *yôto-pai* (ke); *kôrla* (ke).

Entada pursoetha, (s.) *châkan* (da). The seeds of this tree are eaten during the rains. *See* App. xi.

entangle, (v.t.) *ôt-chô* (ke).

enter, (v.t.) *lôti* (ke); *lôtok* (ke).

entertainment, (s.) *yât-dûrnga* (da); *yât l'ôt-jegnga* (da).

entire, (adj.) *See* **sound** and **whole**.

entirely, (adv.) *rêatek*; *ûbaya*. That is entirely bad: *kâto jâbag rêatek*.

entrails, (s.) *ab-jôdo* (da).

entrance, (s.) 1. to hut *êr-l'ôko-kâlaka* (da). *See* **place** and **uncovered**. 2. to creek *ôt-lôtînga* (da). 3. to cave *jâg-lik-lôtînga* (da).

enumerate, (v.t.) *ig-lâp* (ke). He enumerated all the things in his possession: *ôl ôt-paichalen mîn ârdûru l'iglâpre*.

envious, (adj.) *ôt-lêbenga* (da).

envy, (v.t.) *ôt-lêbe* (ke).

epilepsy, (s.) *pîcha* (da).

equal, (adj.) *âkâ-pâra* (da); *lôrnga* (da).

erase, (v.t.) *gûdu* (ke).

erect, (v.t.) *ar-tig-jêrali* (ke).

erect, (adj.) upright *tig-jêralinga* (da); *ôto-lômnga* (da).

eruption, (s.) rash *â-rût* (da); *â-rûtu* (da).

escape, (v.i.) 1. flee, run away *ad-wêti* (ke). 2. after being shot or harpooned *â-jûd* (ke). 3. from being struck by a missile, (a) by eluding it *bitra* (ke); *chôdo-kini* (ke). (b) owing to misdirection *ôto-lâlai* (ke). 4. from infection, *ôto-lâlai* (ke). [i.e. through misdirection of the demon conveying the disease]. When we suffered from measles last year, only those living at Port Mouat escaped infection: *tâlik l'âtâri med' â-rûnga bédig gun târa-châng lat búdu-yâte ôtot-lâlaire*.

especially, (adv.) tûl (da). I want arrows, especially wooden-pointed fish ones: *wai dô delta d'enâke, tûl tîrléj (da)*.

essential, (adj.) ârainga (da).

etcetera, "and other (or such) things" â-wêh! See App. v, para 1.

European, (adj.) tãp-lola. (s.)
1. race or people. . . . tãp-lola-dâlag (da). 2. soldier or sailor bôigoli.
3. official kaptân (i.e. "Captain").
4. complexion (colour of skin) lîremya (da).

evaporate, (v.i.) ôto-nûyai (ke).

even, (adj.) See flat, level.

even, (adv.) actually aba. See return.

evening, (s.) dila (da). See App. ix.
This evening kawai-dîlalen; kawai-lilaya. Yesterday evening dîlêa-dîlalen.
To-morrow evening wainga-dîlalen.

ever, (adv.) eda; úchik-wai; kichik-wai; eba-káchya. Have you ever speared turtles at Kyd Island?: *an ngó dúratâng ya eda yádi dútre?* For ever and ever ông-tâm.

every, 1. (adj.) (a) all possible. . . . ârdûru (da). Fetch at once every bow you can find in my hut: *dîa búd tek kârama l'ârdûru ng'ôt bâm-yâte kâ-gói ômo (ke)*. The Chief burnt every hut: *maiola búd l'ârdûru l'ôko-jôire*, (b) each. See each.
2. (pron.) every one úba-tûl-tûl (da). Bia gave honey to every one in the village: *bîa úbatûl-tûl len bâraiylat ája mânre*. See each. Every day ârlalen-ârlalen. He is up to some mischief every day: *wai ôl ârlalen-ârlalen ôt-jâbagi (ke)*. Every month, ôgarlen-ôgarlen. Everywhere, êr-dilu-rêatek. (lit. "place-throughout".)

evil, (s.) ôt-jâbag-yôma (da).

evil spirit. See demon.

exactly, (adv.) 1. precisely, punctually badinga; ar-gôlinga-ba. I arrived at

home exactly at noon: *wai da búd len bôdo-châu badinga kâgalre*. See about, delay and not. 2. quite, just úba. Our bows are exactly alike: *wai meta kârama úba l'âkâ-pâra (da)*.

exactly so! (interj.) úba (da)!; kichikan-úba (da)!

exaggerate, (v.t.) âr-chî (ke). Don't exaggerate!: *yâba, l'ârchîke dâke!* (Here yâba is prefixed to express disbelief.)

examine, (v.t.) 1. an inanimate object tál (ke). 2. an animate object ar-tál (ke).

exasperate, (v.t.) en-tigrêl (ke). See anger.

excavate, (v.t.) êr-l'ôt-kôp (ke); kâraiyl (ke).

exceedingly, (adv.) See excessively.

excel, (v.t.) tig-bêringa (ke).

excellent, (adj.) tâpa (da); (in construc. tâpa-ya). They were always excellent divers: *eda arat-tâm tek tikpâ-teminga tâpaya*.

except, (postp.) with the exception of îjiya. All except my younger brother are dancing: *d'âkâ-kâm îjiya ârdûru kôike*.

excess, (s.) surplus kichal (da); âkâ-kichal (da). (The latter word is used with ref. to food.) See remainder.

excessive, (adj.) dûnga (da).

excessively, (adv.) dôgaya, chánagya; bôtaba.

excessive quantity or number (s.) ôn-têpe-dûrai (da).

exchange, (v.t.) gôl (ke); î-gal (ke); iji-gôlai (ke).

exchangeable, (adj.) î-galnga-lôyu.

exclaim, (v.t.) péle (ke). See beg. He exclaimed that what you say is quite false: *wai ô pèlere anya ngô târchî-yâte âtedinga rêatek*.

excrement, (s.) âr-bô (da). *See* **rust**, **bullet**.

excrete, (v.t.) ig-chêl (ke); ig-chê (ke).

excuse, (v.t.) release tig-lai (ke); âr-tidûbu (ke). *See* **ex.** at **remainder**. (v.i.) 1. one's self for one's failure ara-yâr (ke). 2. one's self at the expense of another en-dûra (ke). *See* **ex.** at **carry** and **careless**.

execrate, (v.t.) âkà-bang-tek-päreja (ke).

exhausted, (p.p.) dama-l'âkà-châmre.

exhausting, (p.pr.) dama-l'âkà-châmnga (da).

exhibit, (v.t.) *See* **display**.

exhume, (v.t.) ôi (ke). *See* **disinter**.

exist, (v.i.) have being edā (ke). Crows do not exist at the Nicobars up to the present time: *ñgâkâ nâkôbâ len bâtkâ (edâke) yâba (da)*.

expect, (v.t.) âba (ke).

expectorate, (v.t.) ôiar (ke).

expedite, (v.t.) rêwa-karinga (ke); ûchurpi (ke).

expedition, (s.) âra-tig-barminga (da).

expeditious, (adj.) î-tô-kîninga (da).

expel, (v.t.) dîringla (ke).

expend, (v.t.) use up bûjautinga (ke), as *e.g.*, bees-wax in making (sealing) wax (kânga-tâ-bûj), which is used in making arrow-heads. *See* App. xiii.

expert, (adj.) 1. in handicraft ûn (or ông)-bêringa (da). 2. sharp-sighted ig-bêringa (da). 3. in ref. to dexterity and sight ûn-tig-bêringa (da). 4. as an archer ûn-yâb (da); ôko-kârama-châm-bêringa (da). *See* **can** and **superior**.

expire, (v.t.) 1. die oko-lî (ke); (âkan—) tûg-dâpi (ke). The latter word sig-

nifies ("be moribund"). 2. as a light iji-târi (ke).

explain, (v.t.) 1. tell, teach, narrate, show î-tai (ke). He explained to me the method of stringing the bow: *ôl den itaire kichikachâ ôt-ngôtolike*. 2. with ref. to speech î-tâ-yâp, (ke). (*e.g.*, how to pronounce or translate a word), *lit.* assist-speak.

explode, (v.t.) âr-tûchu (ke). (v.i.) ara-tûchu (ke). *See* **kiss**.

explore, (v.t.) êr-tâl (ke); in search of honey ig-lâp (ke).

extend, (v.t.) *See* **enlarge**, **lengthen**, **reach** and **stretch**.

exterior, (s.) outside wâlak (da).

exterminate, (v.t.) 1. with ref. to animals, etc. . . . ti-tàu (ke). 2. with ref. to a community âkà-ti-tàu (ke).

extinguish, (v.t.) 1. with water ig-êla (ke). 2. by blowing ig-tûpu (ke). 3. by other means î-târi (ke).

extinguished, (p.p.) of a light iji-târi-re.

extract, (v.t.) take out lôti (ke). Bia extracted the pig-arrow from my leg without (inflicting) much pain: *bîa d'ar châng tek yed dôga yâbalen éla lôtire*.

extraordinary, (adj.) wonderful ig-ñgêklinga (da).

extremity, (s.) *See* **end**.

eye, (s.) 1. î (or ig)-dal (da); î-dô (da). 2. Eyebrow (s.) ig-pûnyur (da). ig-puin-ñur (da). *See* **raise**. 3. Eye-lash î (or ig)-dal-l'ôt- pîj (da). 4. Eye-lid î (or ig)-dal-l'ôt-êj (da). 5. Eye-tooth, (s.) âkà-naichama (da). 6. pupil of the eye, (s.) î (or ig)-dal-l'ôt-pûtung-êj (da). 7. white of the eye, (s.) î (or ig)-dal-l'ôt-olôwia (da). 8. having only one eye î (or ig)-dal-l'âr-târak (da). 9. Shut the eye, (v.t.) ig-mêmati (ke).

(v.i.) *idal-itāri* (ke). 10. open the eye, (v.t.)
 *i-dal-l'ôt-tēwi* (ke). (v.i.). . . . *iji-wāre*
 (ke).

F

face, (s.) 1. *ig-mūgu* (da); *i* (or
ig)-*tā* (da). 2. profile *aiya-tīmar* (da).

facing, (postp.) fronting *ākā-elma-*
len; *ab-elma-len*. My husband is facing
 us: *dab bāla makat-elma-len*.

fade, (v.i.) *ōto-keleto* (ke).

faded, (adj.) of vegetation *galpa-*
ba (da).

faeces, (s.) *ār-bō* (da).

faggots, (s.) 1. firewood *chāpa* (da).
 2. bundle of *chōrognga* (da).

fail, (v.i.) 1. through inability
ōkan-maijla (ke). 2. fail to find *el-*
ōt-nūyai (ke). 3. fail to comply *iji-*
kīla (ke). 4. fail to hit, miss *lākā-*
chī (ke). without fail *waikan*. See
 doubtless.

faint, (adj.) despondent *kūk-la-tō-*
latnga (da).

fall, (v.i.) 1. from any cause *pā*
 (ke). I fell from the tree but fortunately
 broke no bones: *dōl ākā-tāng tek pāre,*
dōna ōt-yāb-len itā-kājurire yāba (da).
 2. drop, of any object *tōlat* (ke); *pā*
 (ke). 3. owing to a push or jolt *ara-*
gōdai (ke). 4. as ripe fruit from a tree
ākan-gōdoli (ke). 5. of the tide *ela-*
ēr (ke). 6. overboard *ōto-jūmu* (ke).
 Owing to the narrowness of the bow of the
 Nicobarese out-rigger canoe, when poling for
 turtle, it frequently causes us to fall over-
 board: *malai chārigma l'ōtmāgu kīnab l'edāre*
mōtot-lōbinga bēdig me'ōng-tāla mōtot-jūmuke.

false, (adj.) *ā-tedinga* (da).

falsehood, (s.) *ā-tedi* (da).

family, (s.) *bang-ūba* (da). Wolo-
 ga's family is large: *wōlog'ia bang-ūba dīya*
 (da).

famished, (p.a.) *ākan-wēralinga*
 (da).

fan, (s.) *ūl* (da); *wūl* (da).

fan, (v.t.) a flame (chāpa-lig)-*ūl*
 (ke); *wūl* (ke).

far, (adj.) *el-ar-pāla* (da); *lōyaba*;
 (postp.) as far as mat. as far as there
 *kāto-mat*. I paddled as far as Kyd
 Island encampment but did not see any
 signs of a dugong (*lit.* a dugong body):
wai dō dūratāng mat tāpare dōna tegbūl-chāu
d'igbādignga-ba. not so far (less far)
tek-elarpāla-yāba (da). His hut is not so
 far from here as mine: *kāre-tek ia būd dīa būd*
tek elarpāla-yāba (da).

farewell, (v.i.) bid- *ōto-gōli* (ke).
 Farewell! (interj.) See good-bye.

farther, (adj.) 1. from here *kārin*
 (or *kāre*)-*tek-elarpāla* (da). 2. from there . . .
kāto-min-elarpāla (da). 3. a little farther
 *ka-wai-lagiba* (*lit.* now near).

farthest, (adj.) *elarpāla-l'iglā* (da).
 Your hut is the farthest of all from here:
ngia būd kārin-tek-elarpāla l'iglā (da).

fast, (adj. & adv.) 1. of a runner or swim-
 mer *ār-yēre* (da); *ār-rēwa* (da); *ār-*
rīnima (da). Your son (addressing the
 father) is growing fast: *ngar-ōdīre yēre*
abdōga (ke). 2. of a ship, canoe, bird, etc.
 *rīnima* (da); *yēre* (da); *rēwa* (da).
 Fast! (Quickly!) *kūro*! Faster *tek-*
aryēre (da). Bira runs faster than Woi:
wōi tek bira āryēre kājke. Faster! *tūn*-(ng')
ār-yēre! Go faster! *tān ng'āryēre*! *dō d'ōng-*
ngātake!, (*lit.* "I am hooking my feet," i.e.
 restraining my pace). Fastest . . . *ār-yēre-*
l'iglā (da).

fast, (v.i.) 1. when sick, in trouble, or
 during a lad's novitiate *yāpi* (ke); 2.
 Fasting period of a novice *ākā-yāp*
 (da). Youths of both sexes for two or three
 years before attaining puberty abstain from

eating turtle, honey, fruits and the kidney-fat of the pig. During this period—before and after which the individual is *bôtiga* (da) (i.e. free from such restrictions)—he (or she) is described as *âkà-yâb* (da) or *âkà-yāba* (da).

fasten, (v.t.) 1. tie *chō* (ke); *i-chō* (ke). See **bind**. 2. to a post *ōko-rōni* (ke). 3. tightly *nīlip* (ke). 4. an animal by the neck *ôt-rōni* (ke); *lōropti* (ke). 5. round one's waist *âr-êtai* (ke); *ōto-chō* (ke).

fastening. See **lashing**.

fat, (s.) *âla-chîr* (da); *âgam* (da). Prefix *ab*, *ôt*, etc. See App. ii.

fat, (adj.) 1. human *â-pâta* (da). 2. animal *pâta* (da). 3. fatter *tek-âpâta* (da). 4. fattest *â-pâta-l'iglā* (da).

fat, become (v.i.) 1. of human beings *â-pâta* (ke). 2. of animals *pâta* (ke).

fatal, (adj.) 1. of an injury *yêle-ba*. See **heal**. *pâraij-tinga* (da); *olo-baijinga* (da). 2. of a disease *teg-bôinga-ba*. See **recover**.

father, (s.) 1. *ab-maiola*; *ar-ôdinga* (da); *ab-châbil* (da). 2. having one or more children *ûn-bā* (da). The fathers of those two men are head-chiefs: *kât'bulā l'ikpōr l'arat-ôdinga wai maiag' itik-lā* (da). I saw my father's bow in his own hut: *wai dô dab-châbil līa kârama êkan bûl len igbâligre*. Is your younger brother a father?: *an ng'âku-kâm ûn-bā* (da)? 3. Step-father *ab-chabil* (da). 4. Father-in-law *nâmola*, (p.p.) *dīa*, *ngīa*, etc. See App. ii. 5. Fatherless, (adj.) *â-bôlo* (da); *bôloka* (da); *ab-maia-ab-yāba* (da).

fathomless, (adj.) *jûru-dôga* (da).

fatigue, (s.) 1. with ref. to hands or feet *ông-wêlab* (da). 2. with ref. to the body *tâ l'âr-wêlab* (da).

fatigued, (p.p.) 1. of the back only *mal-laire*. 2. of the whole body *dama-l'âkà-châmre*.

fatiguing, (p.pr.) *wêlabnga* (da). Prefix *ông*, *ab*, etc. See App. ii.

fatten, (v.t.) for slaughter *chīlyu* (ke).

favor, beg a, (v.t.) *ōto-yâp* (ke).

favourable, (adj.) of wind, tide or current *âr-dûdupinga* (da); *âr-lûad-inga* (da). The tide is favourable: *kāla wai ârlûad-inga* (da).

favourite, 1. (s.) popular person *ô'rê* (da). 2. (adj.) of a dog, bow, &c. . . . *ik-lirnga* (da). See **with** and **go**.

fear, (v.t.) regard with fear *ar-lâd* (ke); *ar-lât* (ke). (v.i.) be afraid *ad-lât* (ke).

fearless, (adj.) *ad-lâtnga-ba*; *i-târ-mil* (da). See "**follow tracks**."

feast, (s.) 1. *yât-dûrnga* (da); *yât-l'ôt-jegnga* (da). 2. mock-feast (a children's game) *gab-māknga* (da).

feast, (v.t.) on the completion of a novice's probationary fast *gûmul-lê* (ke); *gûmul-mäg* (ke). While their Masters Woi and Irajodo, seeing the fat pigs for which they (*lit.* their bellies) craved, broke their pig-fast: *mar wôi ôl-bêdig îra-jôdo kâto regpâta l'igbâdig-yâte mûgum len pòichxnga l'edâre reg-gûmul-lêre*. During the first two or three months the novice is called *âkà-gôi* (da), after which—and until he becomes a father or fairly senior—the term *âkà-gûmul* (da) or *gûma* is applied to him. A young woman continues to be *âkà-gôi* (da) till she becomes a mother or has been married some years.

feather, (s.) *pîd* (da); (in constr. *pîj*) (*lit.* hair). The prefix *ôt*, *ig*, etc. is used to denote the part of the bird referred to. See App. ii.

feeble, (adj.) See **weak**.

feed, (v.t.) âkà-bilij (ke).

feel, (v.t.) 1. any animate object â-pā(ke). 2. any inanimate object ēr-pā(ke); kōto (ke); the latter in the sense of feeling anything in a net or cover in order to ascertain its nature, size or quantity.

fell, (v.t.) a tree kōp (ke). See **clear jungle**.

fellow-countryman, (adj.) ig-būdwa (da). Is he a fellow-countryman of yours?: *an ôl ng'igbūdwa (da)?*

fellow-tribesman, (s.) or kinsman ab-ngiji (da). I will return here after visiting my kinsmen (*lit.* fellow-tribesmen): *dat-ngiji len lōinga-bēdig-(ngā-tek) dōl kārīn wījke*.

felspar, (s.) tōug-lūtunga (da).

female, 1. (s.) â-pail (da). 2. (adj.) pail (da).

fen. See **swamp**.

fence, (s.) turkōnga (da).

fern, (s.) 1. . . . rôpan-tōng (da). (*lit.* "Toad-leaf.") 2. bird's nest, f. (*Asplenium nidus*) pātla (da).

ferocious, (adj.) ig-rêl-tōponga (da).

festival, (s.) See **assembly** and **feast**.

fetch, (v.t.) 1. go and bring an animate object ab-ômo (ke). My father fetched Woi yesterday from Port Mouat: *d'arōdinga dīlā tāra-chāng tek wōi l'ab-ômore*. I fetched a fat pig for our own consumption (*lit.* for ourselves): *mākan leb reg-pāta ūba-tūl d'ab-ômore*. 2. go and bring an inanimate object ômo (ke). He is fetching firewood for me: *ôl dat chāpa ômore*.

fever, (s.) ague did-dirya (da). Bia as yet has never had fever: *ngākā bīa len eda did-dirya yāba (da)*.

few, (adj.) ik-pōr (da) (*lit.* two); yāba (da); bā (da). See **receive** and **self**.

fibre, (s.) chālim (da). See App. xiii for three varieties employed.

fidget, (v.t.) ôjoli (ke); ūnya (ke).

fierce, (adj.) See **ferocious**.

fight, (s.) ara-tāng-mōk (da). (v.i.) 1. . . . ara-tāng-mōk (ke); rēli (ke). 2. together without interference ōng tekli (ke).

fifth, (adj.) See App. iii.

figure, (s.) form ab-dāla (da).

file, (s.) rasp tālag-bā (da). (v.t.) jīt (ke).

fill, (v.t.) 1. any vessel with fluid âkà-ēla (ke). 2 a bamboo with food gōb (ke). 3. fill up any receptacle ô-tôpe (ke). See **full**. (v.i.) fill one's mouth akan-ēla (ke).

filled, (p.p.) ô-têpere.

filth, (s.) lada (da).

filthy, (adj.) ladanga (da).

fin, (s.) 1. pectoral (yât-l') ig-wād (da). 2. ventral (yât-l') âkà-wād (da). When situated near the anal fin "âr" is substituted for "âkà." 3. dorsal (yât-l') ô-t-pāyu (da). 4. caudal (yât-l') âr-pāyu (da). 5. anal (yât-l') âr-pīcham (da). 6. fin's rays (yât-l') ô-t-chūkul (da). See **thorn**.

find, (v.t.) 1. after search ô-t-bam (ke). 2. by chance ōro (ke). Where the white honey is found there is also the black kind: *mīnya dja ōroke ôl-bēdig tōbul-ya*. See App. i.

find fault with (v.t.) See **blame** and **scold**.

fine, (adj.) 1. excellent ūba-bēringa (da). 2. beautiful īnō (da). 3. of weather lilinga (da). (s.) fine weather līl (da). See **calm**.

finger, (s.) 1. ông-kōro (da). 2. middle finger ông-kōro-mûguchâl (da). 3. little finger ông-iti-pîl (da). 4. finger-nail ông-kōro-bôdoh (da). 5. finger-tip ông-kōro-naichama (da).

finish, (v.t.) 1. ar-lû (ke); kâdli (ke). He has now finished thatching the hut: *ôl kâgôl châng tépinga kâdlire*. 2. any manual task ông-kâdli (ke); ik-ông-kâdli (ke); ig-ñgâtîli (ke). If I were to work all day and night I should finish (making) this bow: *môda dôl ârla âma d'ôn-yômkeûcha kârama d'igñgâtîli* (ke).

fire, (s.) 1. î-dal (da). 2. firewood châpa (da). 3. burning fuel, firebrand châpa-l'idal (da). My fire has gone out: *dîa châpa-l'idal itärire*. 4. fire-place (a) for cooking purposes châpa-l'ig-bûg (da); (b) where fires are burnt to drive away insects el-ôt-châpa (da); (c) as used by natives of India taili-tôknga (da). fire-fly bôla (da). (v.t.) 1. kindle châpa-l'ig-ûl (ke); châpa-l'ig-pûgat (ke). See **blow and burn**. 2. set fire ôko-jôi (ke). 3. make a fire châpa-l'ôko-jôi (ke). 4. fire a gun ôt-pûguri (ke). See **throw**. (v.i.) 1. catch (take) fire ôkan-jôi (ke); bada-kîni (ke). 2. be on fire dal (ke); pûd (ke).

firm, (adj.) as a post âr-chêba (da).

first, (adj.) 1. in order otolâ (da); entôba (da). See **win and disinter**. He was the first (as in a race): *ôl otolâ (l'edâ)-re*. 2. of a row or line ôko-tâp (da). 3. first turn (in rotation) otolâ-ka. See **ex. at steer**. 4. first-rate, prime, of excellent quality gôl (da). 5. first-born â-en-tôba-yâto (da). 6. first quarter of moon

. ôgar-chânag (da). 7. first-time idlia-gôiya. On seeing white soldiers for the first time I was afraid: *idlia-gôiya bôigolî d'igbâdignga-bêdig da d'adlâtre*.

fish, (s.) 1. generic term for all food yâd (da). (in constr. yât). This large fish leapt into the canoe and died there: *ûcha yât bôdia rôko koktâr len tâbalpinga-bêdig okôlire*. 2. when shot with arrow yât-taijnga (da). 3. when netted yât-pânenga (da). 4. (fish) fin. See **fin**. 5. (fish) gills yât-l'ig-jâg (da); âkâ-yâ (da). 6. fish-roe. (spawn) yât-l'ia-bêr (da). 7. fish-scales yât-l'ôt-êd (da). 8. fish-arrow. See **arrow**. 9. fish-hook yât-ngâtanga (da). 10. dog-fish lêkia (da). 11. flying-fish (*Exocoetus volitans*) bili-châu (da). 12. shell-fish ôla (da). For various species see App. xii. 13. fish-eagle See **eagle**.

fish, (v.t.) 1. by shooting with arrow yât-taij (ke). 2. with harpoon yât-dût (ke); yât-jêrali (ke). 3. with hard-neus yât-pâne (ke).

fisherman, (s.) âkâ-jûru (da); âr-yôto (da).

fishing-stakes, (s.) turko (da). This word is applied to the bamboo stakes made and used by Malay and other alien fishermen.

fishing-station, (s.) yât-l'âkâ-âu (da); ik-eli-tân (da).

fissure, (s.) jâg (da).

fist, (s.) ông-môtringa (da). strike with fist. (v.t.). See **strike**.

fit, (s.) (convulsions) pîcha (da).

fit, (v.t.) 1. as a fore-shaft in the socket of a harpoon or pig-arrow ôko-jêrali (ke). 2. as in measuring a limb for an ornament î-târ-tâl (ke). (v.i.) 1. as an

arrow-head in its socket *ōkan-jêrali* (ke). 2. as an ornament on the arm *iji-târ-tâl* (ke).

fit, (adj.) 1. suitable *yōma* (da). This canoe is not fit for turtling : *ûcha rôko lôbinga l'eb yōma-ba. nōma* (da). See ex. at **suitable**. 2. ready, in a state of preparation *ôt-paiad-bêringa* (da). 3. proper, right *tōlata*. See ex. at **right**. 4. meet, adapted to *lōyu*. That netted fish is fit to eat : *ká yât-pânenga māknga-lōyu*.

fitly, (adv.) suitably *yōma-tek* ; *nōma tek*.

fix, (v.t.) 1. as into a socket *ōiyo-lōtî* (ke). 2. arrange, determine, as a day for one's return *ōko-tig-râu* (ke).

flake, (s.) 1. of quartz *tōlma-l'ōko-tûg* (da). 2. of glass *bîjma-l'ōko-tûg* (da).

flame, (s.) *ar-châl* (da). See ex. at **blaze**.

flap, (v.i.) as a bird's wing *iji-pâpya* (ke).

flappers of a turtle, (s.) 1. hind *ar-päd* (da). 2. fore- *ig-(or ông)-päd* (da).

flash, (v.i.) 1. as sun on rippling water *êlemja* (ke). 2. of lightning *bêla* (ke). See **lightning**.

flat, (adj.) 1. of a piece of land *lingiriya* (da). See **land**. 2. as a turtle's flappers *pänab* (da).

flatten, (v.t.) *lingiriya* (ke).

flatter, (v.t.) cajole See **wheedle, coax** and **illiberal**.

flavour, (adj.) *âkà-yōma* (da). See **relish**.

flavourless, (adj.) *gôloga* (da).

flaw, (s.) *ig-kòij* (da).

flay, (v.t.) *ôt-êj-kât* (ke).

flea, (s.) *pêta* (da).

flee, (v.i.) escape, run away *ad-wêti* (ke).

flesh, (s.) 1. of any kind except that of small shell-fish *dama* (da). 2. of small shell-fish *paicha* (da).

flesh, lose (v.i.) *ab-maiñ* (ke).

flexible, (adj.) *yâragap* (da) ; *ōto-yôb* (da).

fling, (v.t.) any missile *dâpi* (ke).

flip, (v.t.) with the finger *î-tòlgi* (ke) ; *dōrap* (ke).

flirt, (v.i.) *iji-yaima* (ke) ; *iji-yōmal* (ke) ; *iji-paidla* (ke).

float, (v.t.) *jûmu* (ke). (v.i.) *ôdat* (ke). See ex. at **surface**.

flock of birds, (s.) *âr-pōrod* (da).

flog, (v.t.) *âr-nât* (ke).

flood, (s.) the Deluge *elôt-ôt-pînga* (da). A long time ago, in the days of our early ancestors, after the Flood God gave this command, "Thou must not regard any as God in place of Me" : *ârtâm elôt-ôtpînga târôlo chàuga-tâbanga l'idâl len pûluga kichikan-naikan kânîk-yâbre, "ngól úbawaik d'ông-téka ârdilu len pûluga lûake yâba* (da)."'

flood-tide, (s.) *ela-bûnga* (da) ; *kâla-bûnga* (da).

floor, (s.) of a hut *târ-dôd* (da).

flow, (v.i.) 1. of a river *chêlecha* (ke) ; *châr* (ke). 2. sluggishly (of a stream) *yâl* (ke). 3. with great force (as a cascade) *yâla* (ke). 4. of the tide *bû* (ke).

flow over, (v.i.) *ōto-êla* (ke).

flower, (s.) *âkà-kôl* (da). Flower-name. See **name**.

fluid, (s.) *raij* (da) ; *raich* (da).

flutter, (v.i.) *iji-pâm* (ke).

fly, (s.) 1. the insect *bûmila* (da). The large stinging-fly which frequents creeks is (like the large stinging-ant) called *bûrya* (da). 2. sand-fly, (s.) *ñipa* (da).

fly, (v.i.) 1. . . . *ad-pâpya* (ke); *iji-âcha-tâ* (ke). fly upwards. 2. . . . *wâta* (ke). 3. fly over, (v.t.) *wâta-pi* (ke) (*lit.* fly upwards and fall). See **jump over**.

flying-fish, (s.) (*Exocoetus volitans*) . . . *bili-châu* (da).

flying-fox, (s.) (*Pteropus*) *wōd* (da). (in constr. *wōt*). See **shot**.

foam, (s.) 1. from the mouth *âkâ-bôag* (da). 2. of the sea (*pâtara-l'*) *âr-bôag* (da). See **froth**. (v.t.) *âkâ-bôag* (ke).

fœtus, (s.) *ôt-bôdi* (da).

fog, (s.) mist *pûlia* (da).

fold, (v.t.) of a mat, etc. . . . *ôt-kôt* (ke). (v.i.) one's limbs *ôyun-tâli* (ke).

foliage, (s.) 1. of one variety *i-tông* (da). 2. of several varieties . . . *êrem-l'ôt-pij* (da) (*lit.* "jungle hair").

follow, (v.t.) 1. . . . *âr-ôlo* (ke). I am following you: *dô ng'ârôlo* (ke). 2. follow after *ep-tid-mûda* (ke). 3. follow last of all (bring up the rear) *ig-ilya* (ke). 4. follow tracks *ûn-pâg-ik* (ke). I will follow the tracks myself, I am not afraid: *dôl d'ôyun-batâm ûnpâg-ikke d'adlâtnga-ba*.

fond, (adj.) 1. . . . *ig-yâmalinga* (da); *ôko-châm* (da); *bêringa-lûanga* (da). 2. of any kind of food *âkâ-châm* (da); *ôko* *pòichatnga* (da). Being fond of honey I ate it all: *d'ôko âja pòichatnga-bédig dôl ârdûru lère*.

fondle. See **caress**.

food, (s.) 1. . . . *yâd* (da) (in constr. *yât*). They gave me food of their own

accord: *ed 'akat-ûmu-tek den yât mânre*; *mâk-nga-tâ* (da). 2. bundle of food *oko-bâga* (da). 3. food-tray (wooden) *pukuta-yât-mâknga* (da). See App. xiii.

fool, (s.) *mûgu-tig* (or *tî*)-*pîcha* (da). Don't be a fool!: *mûgu-tig-pîcha ka dâke!*

foolish, (adj.) *ig-pichanga* (da).

foot, (s.) 1. . . . *ông-pâg* (da). 2. sole of *ông-elma* (da). 3. foot-print (a) human *ûn-pâg* (da). (b) animal . . . *âkâ-kôij* (da). 4. foot-path . . . *tinga-bû* (da). 5. foot-mat *ar-pât* (da). 6. sure-footed, (adj.) *tèripa* (da).

for, (postp.) 1. for the sake of *ûl*. See **dance**, **give**, **make**, and App. ii. 2. on account of *ik*. See **give**. 3. with a view to, for the needs of *at*. See **bring**, **cut down** and **gather**. 4. on behalf of *ôya*. See **ex.** at **barter**. I am making this canoe for the Chief: *wai dô ûcha rôko mai l'ôyu kôpke*. 5. in order to, for the purpose of *eb*. Bira has gone to the jungle for honey: *bira êrem len âja-kâraiŋga l'eb kâtikre*. See **adapt**. 6. in place of *ông-têka*; *i-gal*. See **instead of**. 7. because *edâre*. I was angry for he grossly abused you: *ôda ng'ab-tôgonga dôgaya l'edâre da tigrêlre*. 8. in preparation, or readiness for *ôko-têlim*. I am cooking food for my husband who is turtle-hunting: *dab-bûla yâdi-lôbi-yâte l'ôko-têlim dô yât-jôike*.

for ever, (adv.) *ông-tâm*.

forbear. See **refrain**.

forbid, (v.t.) *ab-kâna* (ke). See **anchor**.

force, (s.) *lûchur-yôma* (da). Owing to the force of the surf the canoe was broken:

pâtara l'ia lûchur-yôma l'edâre rôko la kûjuringata.

force one's way, (v.i.) through undergrowth akan-mâl (ke). *See part the hair.*

forcibly, (adj.) gôra-tek.

ford, (s.) kêleto (da).

fore-arm, (s.) ig-kôpa (da).

fore-father, (s.) ôt-maia (pl. maiaga). According to our traditions our forefathers were more numerous and larger than we are: *môkot-târtâknga l'ekâra môtot maiaga mardûru tek mat-ûbaba mat-tâbanga bédig.*

forehead, (s.) ôt-mûgu (da).

foreign, (adj.) ôt-baia (da). **foreign country**, (s.) êr-l'ôtbaia (da).

foreigner, (s.) ôt-bûd-l'ig-êba (da); ig-lîa (da).

forenoon, (s.) bôdo-la-kâgnga (da); bôdo-la-kâgalnga (da); bôdo-chânag (da); bôdo-la-ad lâjalînga (da). *See App. x.*

fore-shaft of arrow. *See head.*

fore-shore, (s.) 1. kêwa (da). 2. rocky bôroga (da.) A coast having little or no foreshore is called pârag-bôroga (da). 3. extensive, sandy, and sheltered . . . yâula (da). Encampments are invariably found in such places, as being favourable for turtling and fishing. 4. a little beyond tâlawâ (da). Fish are shot here at low spring-tides.

forest, (s.) tâla-maich (da); êrem (da). *See note at jungle.*

foretell, (v.t.) ig-garma (ke).

forget, (v.t.) ôt-kûklî (ke). So it is! I forgot; *ana-keta! meda m'ôtkûklîre.* We

forgot: *meda m'ôtot-kûklîre.* (v.i.) forget one's self ôto-kûklî (ke). *See ex. at barter.*

forgive, (v.t.) ep-tig-lai (ke). *See excuse.*

fork, (s.) for eating âkâ-châti (da). obviously of modern adoption. *See branch and cross.*

form, (s.) figure ab-dâla (da); ab-châu (da).

form, (v.t.) construct, fashion, shape . . . *See do, make, shape.*

formerly, (adv.) 1. a short time ago kâtin-wai. 2. some time ago mat-ai-yâba. 3. a long time ago mat-ai-yâbaya. 4. a very long time ago ârtâm (da).

formidable, (adj.) ar-gôra-bôtaba. *See dangerous.*

forsake, (v.t.) îji (ke); ôt-mâni (ke). *See abandon.*

fortunate, (adj.) ôt-yâbnga (da).

fortunately, (adv.) ôt-yâb-len.

forward, (adj.) in front, in advance oto-lâ (da).

foster, (v.t.) ôko-jeng'e (ke); ôt-chât (ke). (s.) 1. foster-father ab-mai-ôt-châtnga (da). 2. foster-mother ab-chân-ôt-châtnga (da). 3. foster-child ôt-châtnga (da). Your foster-child is a good shot: *ng'ôt-châtnga (wai) ûnyâb (da).*

foul, (adj.) *See dirty.*

fourth, (s. & adj.) 1. of five mûgu-châl-târôla (da). 2. of six ôto-tîr (da).

fowl, (s.) 1. jungle têlyu (da). 2. *Gallinula phœnicura* bâra (da).

fragile, (adj.) brittle, kôta (da).

fragment, (s.) of wood, etc. *rûb* (da). *See bit*.

fragrant, (adj.) *ôt-àu-bêringa* (da).

frequently, (adv.) *ông-tâle*.

fresh, (adj.) 1. green, of vegetation *galpa* (da). 2. new *gôi* (da). 3. fresh-water *ina* (da). 4. fresh water shell-fish *ina-ôla-tâ* (da).

friend, (s.) *âkan-jeng'enga* (da); *ôko-dûbu* (da); *ig-jîugam* (da). All these are my friends: *ûcha-dûru mâkan-jengenga* (da).

friendless, (adj.) *âkan-jengenga-ba*.

friendly, (adj.) *ôko-dûbunga* (da).

friendship, (s.) *ôko-jôlowa* (da).

frighten, (v.t.) 1. alarm *ig-wâ* (ke); *ârat* (ke); *en-adlât* (ke). 2. by night *âr-yûya* (ke), by personating some demon. 3. frighten away, scare *âr-yâdi* (ke).

frightened, (p.p.) *ad-lâtnga* (da).

fringe, (s.) *yâmnga* (da).

frog, (s.) *lêdek* (da). Is eaten.

from, (postp.) *tek*. I have just come from the heart of the jungle: *wai dô êrem chàu tek gôi ònre*.

front, (s.) of a hut, etc. *ig-wâlak* (da). The front of my hut: *dîa bûd l'igwâlak* (da).

front-tooth. *See tooth*.

front, in (adv.) in advance, ahead *otolâ* (da). In front of (postp.) facing *âkà* (or, ab) *elma-len*.

froth, (s.) : : : . *âr-bôag* (da).

frown, (v.t.) : : : . *ig-pûnyur-l'âr-myû* (ke), or *kâti* (ke). (v.i.) *iji-pûnyur* (ke).

fruit, (s.) *chêta-tâla* (da); *yâd* (da); (in constr. *yât*); *yât-bâtnga* (da) the last in contradistinction to the word for fish. *See food*.

fruit-tree, (s.) *âkà-tâla* (da). *See tree*.

fruit, bear (v.t.) *ar-bât* (ke).

fruitful, (adj.) *ar-bâtnga* (da).

fry, (v.t.) *pûgat* (ke).

fuel, (s.) *esp.* firewood *châpa* (da). *See fire*.

full, (adj.) 1. *têpe* (da). 2. brimming over *ôto-êlanga* (da). 3. Half-full *âkà-tâpi* (da). *lit.* "light" (not heavy). . . . 4. full-grown *See App. vii.* (s.) full face *ig-mûgu* (da); *î-tâ* (da). full-moon *ôgar-châu* (da).

fully, (adv.) at full length, the whole story *âkà-lôr*; *âr-lôr*. *See tell*.

fun, (s.) *î-jâj* (da).

funereal wreath, (s.) suspended round a burial-place *âra* (da).

fungus, (s.) *pûluga-l'âr-âlang* (da).

funnel, (s.) (of steamer) *bîrma* (da). Also denotes gun-barrel, both signifying a cylinder emitting smoke.

furious, (adj.) very angry *îj-ânanga* (da).

furnish, (v.t.) *mân-ak-tâg* (ke); *â-tâg* (ke). *See give and sort*.

fury, (s.) *îj-âna* (da).

future, (s.) *iji-lêjenga* (da). In future (adv.) *ka-wai-tek*, (*lit.* from now, or to-day).

G

gabble, (v.i.) ed-wi (ke).
gain, (v.t.) win otolâ-ômo (ke).
 (v.i.) be successful otolâ (l'edā) (ke).
 (lit. "be first.")
gain, (s.) advantage, profit ar-pōlok (da).
gait, (s.) ar-ladya (da). *See recognize*.
gale, (s.) ūlga-tōgori (da).
Gallinula phoenicea, (s.) bâra (da).
game, (s.) play i-jāj (da). The following is a list of the best-known games:—
 1. See-saw ad-yênenga (da). 2. blind-man's buff iji-tâpa-lirnga (da).
 3. leap-frog koktâr-ti-dôatinga (da).
 4. hide-and-seek ab-âtanga (da).
 5. mock pig-hunting ad-regingna (da).
 6. mock night attack with soft-headed arrows iti-taijnga (da). 7. searching for jungle demon êrem-chàugala-atêpnga (da). 8. swinging themselves by means of long pendent tree-creepers ig-lêlanga (da). 9. flinging two pebbles fastened separately at the two ends of a short piece of cord into the tree-tops, the highest branch reached being the prize aimed at tûtemo (da). 10. throwing Cyrena shells horizontally (convex side uppermost) âkâ-kêchianga (da). 11. "ducks-and-drakes" with flat stones along the shore chêchekanga (da). 12. Cat's cradle jîbra (da). 13. mock-burials in sand (by children) ab-nâtnga (da). 14. sham banquet (by children) gab-māknga (da). 15. wrestling ad-lênga (da).
gap, (s.) jāj (da).
gape, (v.i.) âpa (ke).
gar-fish, (s.) chîpro (da); tōko-dānu (da).
gargle, (v.t.) âkan-ûdu (ke).
garter, (s.) tâ-chōnga (da). *See App. xiii*.
gash, (v.t.) ab-ngāta (ke). The prefix, ab, ar, ông, etc., depends on the part of the person referred to. *See instead of*.
gash, (s.) ôto-pōlo (da).

gasp, (v.i.) 1. âkan-chaiati (ke); ông-aj (ke). 2. be at the last gasp tûg-dāpi (ke).

gather, (v.t.) 1. fruit by climbing on to the branches or by knocking down gôd (ke). 2. by twisting the stem gôdla (ke). 3. ripe fruit which has fallen gît (ke). 4. fruit with a hooked implement ngāta (ke). 5. by shaking the tree with the hands yûa (ke). 6. fruit by shaking the tree with the feet rûdla (ke). 7. the fruit of the Nipa fruticans kôp (ke). 8. fruit from bushes or branches within reach, also flowers and mushrooms tōp (ke). 9. honey âja-pûj (ke); âja-kârai (ke). Are you gathering honey for them?: *an ngól et at âja-pûj-ke?* *See for and App. ii*.

gaze, (v.t.) i-têreli (ke).

generous, (adj) 1. in giving food ôn-yât-bêringa (da). 2. in giving food or presents ûn-rân (da).

gesticulate, (v.i.) iji-wêwingi (ke).

get, (v.t.) procure ôro (ke); lōi (ke); (ôt-)pûj (ke). *See gather*. Get some fuel quickly from the jungle: *êrem tek yêre chāpa lōike*. *See obtain*. Get whatever you can. (lit. what is even bad): *ngô michima jābag ôdig pûjke*. Get out of this. Be off!: *ûchik wai ôn!* Get out of the way!: *ng'ad-ôchai!* Get up, (v.i.) (after sleep) ôyu-bōike. *See up*. Get up (lit. "stand")!: *kāpi!*

ghost, (s.) chàuga (da); chàugala.

giant, (s.) â-rôchobo (da).

giddiness, (s.) ig-lêleka (da).

giddy, (adj.) ig-lêlekanga (da); êlam-janga (da).

gift, (s.) 1. present êr-mân (da); ar-lûa-mân (da). *See receive*. 2. if received from a stranger yād (da). (in constr. yât.)

gill, (s.) of fish yât-lig-jāj (da); âkâ-yâ (da).

gird, (v.t.) âr-êtai (ke). (v.i.) one's self ôto-chō (ke).

girdle, (s.) waistbelts in general, whether plain or ornamented *âr-êtainga* (da).
1. plain description, made of young Pandanus eaves *âr-bâtnga* (da), *viz.* (a) that worn by both sexes is provided with a tail (bushy for women) *bôd* (da). (b) without tail (in addition to *bôd*, worn by women only) *rôgun* (da). **2.** ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum* shells *garen-pêta* (da). See App. xiii.

girl, (s.) See App. vii for terms denoting approximate age.

give, (v.t.) bestow, make a present *mân* (ke); *â* (ke). Give him a little for my sake!: *d'ûl en yabâ mân!* I will give you this canoe: *ûcha rôko wai dô ng'en â*. Give me!: *den â!* Give! (begging) *jê!* Give back. See **restore**. Cause to give. See **make**. Give more *lât* (ke). Give birth. See **bear**.

glad, (adj.) *ôt-kûk-bêringa* (da). Very glad, delighted *ôt-kûk-l'âr-wâlakîninga* (da). Are you glad?: *an ng'ôt-kûk-bêringa* (da)?

gland, (s.) **1.** *âkâ-kôro-tim* (da). **2.** of the groin *eb-âr-kôro-tim* (da).

glare, (s.) of the sun or torch *ar-châl* (da).

glare, (v.i.) in anger *î-têreli* (ke).

glass, (s.) **1.** of window or mirror . . . *tig-oâdignga* (da). See **see**. **2.** bottle . . . *bijma* (da). (From bottles flakes are produced for shaving, tattooing, and scarifying).

glitter, (v.i.) glisten *kar* (ke).

globular, (adj.) *ôt-bana* (da); *môtâwa* (da). See **ball**.

glow, (s.) of setting sun *bâra* (da).

glow-worm, (s.) *bêla* (da).

glutton, (s.) *id-nômanga* (da).

gnash, (v.i.) *ûg-l'ôko-châpi* (ke).

gnat, (s.) *ñipa* (da).

gnaw, (v.t.) a bone *kûrûma* (ke).

gnetum edule, (s.) *pîlita* (da). (The fibre of the bark is extensively used). See App. xi and xiii.

go, (v.i.) **1.** in a general sense *îr* (ke). Where are you going?: *tekarichâ*

ngô lîrke? (also, *tekarichâ ngôke?* *lit.* whither you?) See **hope**. **2.** Go to a known or specified place *kâtik* (ke). When are you going to Woi's village?: *tain ngô wôi l'îa baraij len kâtikke?* See **thither**. **3.** Go, especially to one's home *wij* (ke). Let us go home: *môcho wijke*. **4.** Go for a walk *â-ûl* (ke); *yâuga* (ke). See **airing and walk**. **5.** Go forward, advance. See **advance**. **6.** Go forward in advance *oto-lâ* (ke). See **first**. **7.** Go forward to meet *kâka* (ke); *î-kâka* (ke). **8.** Go a journey, travel by land *tinga-len nàu* (ke). **9.** Go a long journey *â-tinga-lûmu* (ke). **10.** Go direct, without a halt *lûpati* (ke). Go away, depart *ôto-lûpati* (ke). Go away!: *ûchik wai òn!* Go and shoot some fish: *ûchik wai yât taij* (ke). (*lit.* hence indeed fish shoot. See **hence**). **12.** Go by, pass *ig-pôrowa* (ke). **13.** go in a body, as when hunting or visiting *pôrod* (ke). **14.** Go in a body, as when migrating (*î*) *jâla* (ke). **15.** Go inside, enter *lôti* (ke). **16.** Go outside *dôati* (ke); *walya* (ke); *wâlakini* (ke). See **emerge**. **17.** Go uphill *kâgal* (ke). **18.** Go down-hill *tôl* (ke); *tôlpi* (ke). **19.** Go slowly *âr-gîn* (ke); *âr-dôdo* (ke). Go slowly!: *ng'ârdôdo(ke)!* **20.** Go quickly *âr-yêre* (ke). Go quickly!: *ûchik ng'âryêre (ke)!* (*lit.* hence go quickly). Go faster! See **faster**, also App. iv. **21.** Go round an obstacle *kili* (ke). **22.** Go round an island *târ-kili* (ke). **23.** Go astray. See **wander**. **24.** Go together, of two *ik* (ke); of three or more *itik* (ke). See **accompany**. We all went there together: *med'âr-dûru kâto mitikre*. **25.** Go on shore. See **land**. **26.** Go on board. See **embark**. **27.** Go along the shore on foot *tôko-dele* (ke). **28.** Go to and fro in a purposeless manner, as when in grief or pain *iji-yûluma* (ke) *iji-lûma* (ke). **29.** Go out, be extinguished, (of fire, torch, etc.) *iji-târi* (ke). **30.** Go by water (by canoe)

... âkan-gai (ke). We all went (by canoe) to Kyd Island village which is at some distance to the north: *med'ârdûru dûratâng baraij elârjana lôyaba yâte len makangaire*. See **make, compel**. 31. Go a long voyage ... ôto-jûru-tegi (ke). 32. Go astern, back-water with paddle ... târ-lô (ke); î-târ-tâpa (ke). See **paddle**. 33. Go across, cross over. See **cross**. 34. Go in the morning (after sunrise) ... lili (ke). 35. Go tomorrow morning ... liti (ke).

goat, (s.) (also sheep) ... tûtma (da). Derivation not traceable.

gobble, food (v.t.) ... i-châplat (ke).

God, (s.) ... Pûluga (da). God created the world: *Pûluga êrema môtire*.

goggle, (v.t.) ... ig-elri (ke).

gold, (s.) See **metal**.

good, (adj.) of animals and inanimate objects ... bêringa (da). of human beings ... â-bêringa (da). See **Ex. at bad**.

good-looking, (adj.) ... î-tâ-bêringa (da); dâla-bêringa (da); ab-îno.

good-bye, bid, (v.i.). See **Farewell**. Good-bye! (said by one person) ... kam wai dôl! (lit. "here indeed I"). Good-bye! (said by more than one) ... kam wai môleichik!

good gracious! ... kualêh!

goodness, (adj.) virtue ... ô-t-bêringa-yôma (da).

gore, (s.) ... mûrudi (da). Prefix ab, ôt, etc. See **App. ii**.

gore, (v.t.) as a wild boar ... ab-ngâta (ke).

gorge, (v.t.) ... ab-jôdo (ke); ig-nôma (ke). Don't gorge yourself! *ng'ab-jôdoka dâke!*

gorgonidae, (s.) ... bêwa (da). So called "red coral" having jointed and ramified stalks. The connection with *isidae* is recognized, also the distinction between these groups and corals.

Governor, (s.) Head Chief (one possessed of supreme authority) ... ô-t-yûbur (da).

gradient, (s.) ... ôko-chûrma (da).

gradually, (adv.) ... ig-yôgonga-len; ôko-lôdonga-len. See **one by one**.

grain, (s.) ... ô-t-ban (da).

grand-father, (s.) (also great-uncle) ... maiola; grand-mother (also great-aunt) ... châbola; grand-son (also great-nephew) ... bâlola; grand-daughter (also great-niece) ... bâlola-pail (da). See **App. viii**.

grasp, (v.t.) ... môtri (ke).

grass, (s.) ... yûkala (da).

grass-hopper, (s.) ... wîtaiña (da).

gratis, (adv.) ... êkan-kâlya; ârlûa.

grave, (adj.) ... mûkuringa (da).

grave, (s.) 1. place of interment (empty) ... ab-el-ig-bang (da). 2. grave which is occupied ... bûgu (da).

gravy, (s.) ... âkâ-raij (da); âkâ-raich (da); âna (da). This word is used if fatty; also for juice of certain fruits and liquid honey. Pork gravy ... reg-dama-l'âkâ-raij (da). See **honey, juice, gum, oil**.

grease, (s.) ... ô-t-lûbu (da).

great, (adj.) 1. in size ... bôdia (da); dôga (da); châmag (da); 2. in quantity ... ûbaba. See **big and much**.

greedily, (adv.) ... ig-râl-tek. Owing to his being faint from hunger he ate greedily: *ôt-kûk-la-pânga l'edâre igrâl-tek mûgre*.

greedily, eat, (v.t.) without regard to others ... ig-nôma (ke).

greedy, (adj.) with ref. to food ... âkâ-rânnga (da).

green, (adj.) fresh, of vegetation ... galpa (da).

green, (adj.) ... ele-paij (da).

greet, (v.t.) ... î-kâka (ke). No form of daily salutation is customary among them. See **go forward**.

grief, (s.) ... âkâ-bûlab (da); kûk-jâbag (da).

grieve, (v.t.) ... en-î'èkik (ke); en-bûlap (ke).

grieve, (v.i.) ... bûlap (ke).

grin, (v.i.) ... ôko-mûkuri (ke).

grind, (v.t.) ... pête (ke); pûlaiña (ke).

grind the teeth, (v.i.) ... âkan-rîni (ke).

gristle, (s.) ... yînga (da).

groan, (v.i.) â-tâni (ke); âkà-dûn (ke); âr-dûnuka (ke).

grog, (s.) rōg (da). Probably derived from the English word.

groin, (s.) pēke (da).

grope, (v.i.) elâkà-pā (ke).

ground, (s.) land gara (da).

ground-swell, (s.) bōroga-l'ôt-gôloin (da).

ground, (v.i.) of a canoe, etc ad-yôboli (ke).

grow, (v.i.) walaga (ke); ab-dôga (ke).

growl, (v.i.) gōrawa (ke). See snore and thunder.

grown-up, (s.). See App. vii.

grub, (s.) See beetle and larva.

grunt, (s.) of a pig reg-l'âkà-tegi (da).

grunt, (v.i.) ad-reg-ij (ke).

guard, (v.t.) See protect.

guardian, (s.) ôko-jeng'enga (da).

guess, (v.i.) chûmro (ke).

guest, (s.) bilinga (da); ô-t-yàuga (da).

Guettarda speciosa, (s.) dômtô (da). Its leaves are used for flooring of huts. See App. xi.

guide, (v.t.) through jungle el-l'itân (ke).

guilty, (adj.) ô-t-kâlyâ-ba (da).

gull, (s.) sea-bird lêche (da).

gullet, (s.) âkà-delta (da). See App. ii. yât-l'âr-tinga (da) (lit. "food-road").

gulp, (v.i.) fiônti (ke).

gum, tree-, (s.) 1. freshly-gathered, moist âna (da). 2. when dry lûrum (da).

gum, (s.) flesh of the jaw ig-dêriya (da). See App. ii.

gun, (s.) musket, (also barrel of same) birma (da). 2. gun, cannon (also barrel of same) birma-bôdia (da). 3. gun, muzzle of (lit. mouth) birma-l'âkà-bang (da). 4. gun, fire a. (v.t.) (ôt-) pûguri (ke).

gunwale, (s.) of boat, etc. (rôko-l') âkà-pai (da). See lip.

gurjon tree, (s.) (*Dipterocarpus laevis*) ârain (da). This is used for torches.

gut, (s.) ab-jôdo (da).

H

habit, (s.) practice ekâra (da)

habitable, (adj.) bûdunga-lôyu; pôlinga-lôyu.

habitually, (adv.) ôko-jâranga (da).

hack, (v.t.). See hope, cut and slash.

Hades, (s.) chai-i-tân (da). where the spirits of the departed and the souls of deceased infants are located pending resurrection.

haft, (s.) ar-pâra (da).

hall, (v.t.). See call and greet.

hair, (s.) 1 pid (da). (in construc. pij, or pich.) See App. ii. The hair of your legs: ngarat pij (da). 2. gray or white hair töl (da). The narrow line of unshaven, but clipped, hair from the crown of the head to the nape of the neck is termed gôr (da), and this necessarily takes the poss. pron. ô-t. 3. hairless. See bald. 4. hairy pij-dôga (da).

half, (s.) 1. of any number of objects târ-tô-wainga (da). 2. of any gathering âkan-târ-tô-wainga (da). 3. of any food âkà-târ-tôinga (da). 4. half-asleep. (adj.) ig-ârlanga (da). 5. half-brother, half-sister. (s.). See App. viii. 6. half-cooked. (adj.) chilika (da). 7. half-full âkà-tâpi (da). See light. 8. half-ripe (adj.). tîripa (da). 9. Half-way. (adj.) i-târ-jûdu (da). 10. half-witted. (adj.) pichanga (da).

Halicore indicus, (s.). See dugong.

halo, (s.) ar-gôadinga (da).

halt, (v.t.) 1. by day, to rest or feed wêlepa (ke). 2. by night barmi (ke). 3. Halt! (interj.) gôgli; kâpi!

halve, (v.t.) âkà-târ-tô-wai (ke).

ham, (s.) (reg-l') âr-tô (da).

hamadryad, (s.) (*Ophiophagus elaps*) wâra-jôbo (da).

hammer, stone (s.) 1. . . . *taili-bana* (da).
 2. **iron-hammer** *wôlo-l'âr-bô* (da).
hammer, (v.t.) *tâi* (ke); *tî-tâi* (ke).
hand, (s.) *ông-kôro* (da). *See* App. ii. (a) **left-hand** *ig-kôri* (da) (b) **right-hand** *ig-bîda* (da). (c) **palm of hand** *ig-elma* (da). (d) **back of hand** *ông-kôro-l'âr-ête* (da).
hand, (v.t.) pass, give with the hand *î-târ-tâk* (ke).
handful, (s.) *rôngla* (da).
handicraftsman, (s.) *ôt-râji* (da). One skilled in making canoes and bows.
handle, (s.) 1. of adze *pâra* (da); *wôlo-pâra* (da); *wôlo-l'âr-pâra* (da). 2. of bow *kârama-l'ông-tôgo* (da); *ûn-tôgo* (da). 3. of paddle *wâligma-l'ông-tôgo* (da).
handle, (v.t.) *See touch*.
handsome, (adj.) *î-tâ-bêringa* (da); *dâla-bêringa* (da); *ab-îno* (da).
handy, (adj.) dexterous *ûn-bêringa* (da).
hang, (v.t.) 1. suspend *ig-ngôtolî* (ke). 2. by the neck *âkâ-lôrôpti* (ke). *See pinion.* (v.i.) *iji-ngotoli* (ke); *chângi* (ke).
happen, (v.i.) 1. take place, occur *ôko-dôati* (ke). What happened when the steamer grounded on the reef?: *bîrma-hêlewa jôwio len adyôbolinga bédig michiba 'ôko-dôatire?* 2. befall *lâb* (ke). What's happened? (as on seeing someone in pain): *michiba lâbre?* What's happened to your (injured) hand?: *michiba ng'ông lâbre?* *See Ex. of omissions in App. ii.*
happy, (adj.) *ôt-kûk-bêringa* (da).
harbour, (s.) *el-ar-ûla* (da).
hard, (adj.) not soft *chêba* (da).
harden, (v.t.) *ôt-môt* (ke). (v.i.) *ôto-chêta* (ke). *See!* the wax has again hardened: *wai gêlib / kânga-tâ-búj tâlik ôto-chêtare*.
hare-lip, (s.) *ig-pai-tôr* (da).
hark! (interj.) *â!*; *âkan-dai!*; *âyandai!*

harm, (s.) *See injury*.
harm, (v.t.) *See damage*.
harpoon, (s.) for turtles and large fish *kowaia-l'ôko-dûtnga* (da). **harpoon-line** *betmo* (da). *See spear and App. xiii.*
harpoon, (v.t.) 1. more than one *dût* (ke). 2. only one *jêrali* (ke).
harvest, fruit, (s.) *râp-wâb* (da) (*lit. "season of plenty"*). *See App. ix.*
hasten, (v.t.) *ar-tâlawa* (ke). (v.i.) *ar-yêre* (ke).
hastily, (adv.) with haste *yîrad-tek; rêo*.
hatch eggs, (v.i.) *môlo-la-iji-dâ* (ke); *ôto-dâli* (ke).
hate, (v.t.) any person or object *jâbag-lûa* (ke). *See dislike*.
haul, (v.t.) a rope *ig-dôkra* (ke); *dôkori* (ke); (beach) a canoe *ôiyô-kâg* (ke). *See beach*.
haunch, (s.) *ar-dama* (da).
have, (v.t.) *See own, possess*.
hawk, (v.i.) clear the throat *âkan-chîra* (ke).
hawk, (falcon), (s.) *kôlo* (da).
hawk's-bill turtle, (s.) (*Caretta imbricata*) *tâu* (da).
haze, (s.) *pûlia* (da).
hazy, (adj.) *pûlianga* (da).
he, (pron.) 1. ôlla. (in construc. ôl; ô; â; a; ôna). *See App. ii.* 2. (honorific) *maia*. He (the chief or other senior) sent his own canoe: *maia êkan rôko iti-tânre*.
head, (s.) 1. . . . *ôt-chêta* (da). (in construc. tâ; tî.) *See brow-ache and know*. 2. **head-ache** *ôt-chêta-l'ôt-yed* (da); (a) on crown of head *ig-bon-gi* (da); (b) on brow *î-tâla-yâb* (da). 3. back of (occiput) *ôt-yâ* (da). 4. crown of *ôt-kâka* (da). *See App. ii.* 5. head (or foreshaft) of pig-arrow (a) the wooden portion *êla-l'ia-tôtôr-tâ* (da); (b) the iron blade *êla-l'ôko-pât* (da). 6. head of bed or of sleeping mat *ôko-tâp* (da). 7. head-dress (chaplet) *gô*

(da); *iji-gônga* (da). See App xiii. 8. head-land *tōko-chōronga* (da). 9. head-man. See chief. 10. head-quarters *bārai* (da). 11. head-wind *ūnga-l'ākā-tānnga* (da).

heady, (adj.) intoxicating *tētanga* (da).

heal, (v.t.) *iti-gōr* (ke). (v.i.) of a wound . . . *yēle* (ke).

healthy, (adj.) in good health *ōto-tig-bēringa* (da); *ad-bēringa* (da); *ab-yed-yāba* (da). We have been healthy (enjoyed good health) for a long time: *ārla-ūbaba tek meda m'ōtot-tig-bēringa* (da).

heap, (s.) *ōt-jeg* (da). See kitchen-midden.

hear, (v.i.) 1. . . . *i-dai* (ke) (*lit.* understand with the ear); *i* (or *ig*)-*pūku-dai* (ke) 2. a voice (or gun-fire) *ākā-tegi-l'idai* (ke). See ear, sound, understand, voice.

hearken. See listen.

heart, (s.) 1. seat of affections and passions *ōt-kūg* (da). (*in construc. kūk.*) See App. ii. 2. the organ *ōt-kūk-tā-bana* (da).

hearth, (s.) *chāpa-l'ig-būg* (da).

heat, (s.) 1. from sun or fire *ig-ūya-yōma* (da). 2. of sun, when excessive *rīta* (da). See sunstroke. 3. of body, as from fever, clothing, exercise or confined air *ab-ūya-yōma* (da).

heat, (v.t.) a cooking pot *ākā-ūya* (ke). 2. cold food *ōt-ūya* (ke).

heave a weight, (v.t.) *ār-wōmo* (ke).

heave up, (v.t.) hoist *ab-rājai* (ke).

heaven, (s.) 1. the sky *mōro* (da) 2. paradise. See paradise.

heavy, (adj.) 1. of inanimate objects *inma* (da); *wōma-ba* (*lit.* not-light). 2. of animate objects (not human) *ōt-inma* (da); *ōt-wōma-ba*. 3. of human beings *ab-inma* (da); *ab-wōma-ba*.

heed to, give, (v.i.) See attend to.

heel, (s.) *ōng-gūchul* (da).

height, (s.) 1. stature *ab-lā panga-yōma* (da). Woi and Bira are of the same

height: *wōi ōl-bēdig bira l'ab-lāpanga-yōma wai ākā-pārada*. 2. of any hill or dwelling *ig-mōro-yōma* (da). 3. of any tree *ig-laga* (da). The areca attains a great height at the Nicobars: *malai āa ēs em len āpara l'iglaga bōtaba*.

heir, (s.) *ēr-gōranga* (da).

heir, appoint an, (v.t.) *ēr-diya* (ke). By whom was he appointed heir?: *ōl mija la ērāiyangata?*

hell, (s.) See purgatory.

helm, (s.) *ar-giuda* (da).

help, (v.t.) *i-tā* (ke). Help this boy to bring the bundle (of food) from my hut: *ūch' ākā-kādaka len dīa būd-tek odānga l'id-tōyuke. ōto-gōlai* (ke).

helpless, (adj.) *ab-līkinga* (da).

Hemicardium unedo, (s.) *rēketo* (da). See App. xii.

hence, (adv.) from this place *ūchik*; *kārik*; *kārin-tek*. Go and (*lit.* hence) shoot!: *ūchik wai taij!*

henceforth, (adv.) *ka-wai-tek*. (*lit.* now-from.)

her, (pers. pron.) 1. *ōllen*. (*in construc. en; ad; ōyu.* See App. ii and marry.) 2. (honorific) *chān* (a-)len; *chān* (a-)len. 3. See him and App. ii.

her, (poss. pron.) 1. . . . *ia* (da). See his and App. ii. 2. (honorific) *chān* (a)l'; or *chān(a)l'*. See Ex. at son.

her own, (pron. adj.) *ēkan*. My mother took away her own basket, not yours: *dab-ātinga ēkan jōb ikre ngākan yābada*.

herself. See himself.

herd, (s.) *tig-jālanga* (da).

here, (adv.) *kāre*; *kāmin* (da); *kārin* (da); *kam* (da); *kā* (da); *kam-da-kam*. Here it is!: *kam-da-kam!* Here it is, take it!: *āre!*

hereabout, (adv.) *ār-tāng* (da). There are plenty of fish hereabout: *yāt l'ār-tāng dōga* (da). Attendant circumstances make clear whether fish, fruit or other food is referred to.

hereafter, (adv.) *iji-lējenga-len*.

heretofore, (adv.) ñgâkâ.
Heritiera littoralis, (s.) môt (da).
hermit-crab, (s.) ôla (da). claw of.
. . . . ôla-l'ig-wât (da); ôla-l'ông-kôro (da).
See claw.
hero, (s.) î-târmînga (da).
heron, (s.) 1. egret (*Ardeola leucoptera*)
. . . . chōkab (da). 2. Reef-heron (*A.*
grayii) kôro-kâti (da).
hesitate, (v.i.) 1. in saying âkâ-tâgi
(ke). 2. in doing ar-êr-gât (ke).
hew, (v.t.) 1. with axe or adze *against*
the grain ôto-kôp (ke). 2. with an axe
in direction of grain châlat (ke).
hiccough, (s.) kôlwôt (da). Both a
hiccough and an echo are attributed to the
action of a tree-lizard. **See echo** and **lizard**.
ab-ōna (da). (*lit.* body-breath.)
hiccough, (v.i.) kôlwôt-l'ab-lôtî (ke).
ab-ōna (ke).
hide, (s.) ab-êd (da). (in construc.
ab-êj).
hide, (v.t.) conceal märe (ke). (v.i.)
lie concealed iji-märe (ke).
hide-and-seek, (s.) the game ab-
âtanga (da).
hideous, (adj.) î-tâ-jābag (da);
dāla-jābag (da).
hie ! (excl.) calling to one at a distance
. . . . hê!
high, (adj.) 1. of a tree or mast
lāpanga (da). This mast (flag-staff) is
higher than that tree: *ûcha wālima kât'âkâ-*
tāng tek lāpanga (da). ig-mōro (da). 2. of
a hill (bōroin-) dōga (da). 3. of a
house ig-mōro (da); ar-mōro (da).
4. of a cloud or soaring bird ig-pāla (da).
Compare far (on land). 5. high-tide êr-
l'âr-to-têpere; kâla-chânag (da). 6. high-water
. . . . el-â-bûre. 7. high-way tinga-chân-
châu (da).
hill, (s.) 1. lofty bōroin (da).
2. hillock têt-jōdama (da). 3. summit
of ôt-lûtebo (da). 4. hill-side
t-lân (da); ôt-gûdur (da). **See hack**.
hilly, (adj.) pàu (da).

him, (pron.) ôllen; (in construc.
en;) ad; ôyu. **See nurse** and App. ii.
She married him yesterday: *ôl dîlêa ad*
abîkre. (honorific) mai(a)-len; I
saw him (one's father, chief or other senior)
yesterday: *dîlêa dô mai(a)-len igbâagre*.

himself, (pron.) ôyun-batâm; ôyun-
têmar. **See take away**.

hinder, (v.t.) obstruct târ-ťêkik
(ke).

hindmost, (adj.) târ-ôlo (da).

hip, (s.) âr-chōrog (da).

his, (poss. pron.) îa (da); ôt; ar;
ab; etc. **See App. ii.** His cooking pot:
îa búj (da). His wife: *ai-îkyâte* (da). His
tooth: *ig-tûg* (da). (honorific) mai(a)l'.
See Ex. at son.

his own, (pron. adj.) êkan. He is
returning to his own home: *ôl êkan búd lat*
wîjke.

hiss, (v.t.) chîj (ke); sisnga (ke).
The latter word has been recently adopted
to denote the sound made by Burmese and
others when inciting their dogs while pig
hunting; it and "rais" (sometimes used
for *rai*j, milk, etc.) appear to be the only
words in which the letter "s" is noticeable;
in pronouncing such a word as Ross they
say "Rûch."

hiss, (v.i.) as a snake wōpo (ke).

hit, (v.t.) 1. with an arrow paiti
(ke). 2. with a stone tâ-kalpi (ke)
(prefix, ab, ot, ig, etc.) 3. with one's fist
. . . . ab-tûlra (ke); ab-tâchur-pi (ke); ab-
taia (ke). 4. with any missile (a) (if inten-
tionally) ôt-yâp (ke); (b) (otherwise)
. . . . paidli (ke). 5. with a stick or
weapon päre (ke); râli (ke). **See**
beat and App. ii.

hither, (adv.) here kach; kaich.
See another and **come**.

hitherto, (adv.) as yet, till now
ñgâkâ.

hive, (s.) mûi (da).

hoarse, (v.i.) ig-êlrwi (ke); tegi-
la-lôtî (ke).

hobble, (v.t.) ôt-ladya (ke).
hoe, (s.) lâkà (da).
hoe, (v.t.) bang (ke).
hog, (s.) *See* **boar**, **pig**.
hog-spear, (s.) êr-dûtnga (da); âkà-dûtnga (da).
hoist, (v.t.) *See* **heave up**.
hold, (v.t.) 1. pûchu (ke). Unless you hold me I shall fall: *môda ngô den pûchuke yâba dô pâke*. 2. Hold the hands above the head as when dancing iji-yôd (ke). 3. Hold back. *See* **restrain**.
hole, (s.) 1. in the ground âkà bang (da); âr-bang (da). 2. bored in wood, etc. âkà-tôbulinga (da). 3. crab-hole *See* **crab**. 4. ear-hole pûku-l'âkà-bang (da). 5. hole through anything âkà-kôr (da).
hole, (v.t.) make 1. in shell, wood, etc. rêu (ke). 2. in the ground bang (ke).
hollow, (adj.) âr-lûa (da).
Holothuria edulis, (s.) *bêche de mer* pûrud (da).
home, (s.) one's own hut êkan-bûd (da). My home is far from here: *d'êkan bûd kârin tek elarpâla* (da). This is my home: *ûcha d'êkan-bûd* (da). At home (*lit.* in own hut). êkan-bûd-len. Will you be at home tomorrow?: *an wai ngô liltiya ng'êkan-bûd-len?*
hone, (s.) tâlag (da).
honest, (adj.) ôko-tâpnga-ba (da).
honey, (s.) 1. the superior golden description âja (da); âja-âna (da); tâ-la-kôl (da)*. 2. the inferior black kind tôbul (da); tôbul-âna (da); mârin (da).* (* These two terms are employed only by Akà-yâb, *See* **fast** when referring to honey).
honeycomb, (s.) 1. golden kânga (da). The best portion in which honey is stored is called âja-lên (da); the portion in which the larvæ are found âja-tô (da); and the bee-bread âja-bâj (da). The only portion of the entire comb which

is not swallowed is the wax, which is utilized in the manufacture of kângatâ-bûj (da). *See* App. xiii. 2. black honeycomb rî (da) from which the tôbul (da) is obtained.

honey, gather. *See* **gather**.

honey-season, (s.) râp-wâb (da); lada-châu (da). *See* App. ix.

hoof, (s.) ông-pâg (da).

hook, (s.) ngâtanga (da). 2. fish-hook yât-l'âkà-ngâtanga (da). 3. crab-hook. *See* **crab**. 4. fruit-gathering-hook. . . . tōg-ngâ-tanga (da). *See* App. xiii.

hook, (v.t.) ngâta (ke).

hop, (v.i.) âra-jôbo (ke).

hope, (v.i.) 1. îdâl-ôko-gâri (ke). 2. (deprecatory verbal suffix) kok! *See* **may-no** (or -not). I hope they won't let you go there! (*lit.* may no permission be given you to go there!): *kâto ng'ôiyô lir-kok!* *See* **let**.

Hopea odorata, (s.) chàuga-yûanga (da).

horizon, (s.) el-ôko-kîli (da). *See* Ex. at see.

horn, (s.) of cattle wôlo-tâ (da) When we first saw cattle we called the horns (*lit.* things) on their heads wôlo-tâ (da), i.e., adze(-like) bones: *idlia-gôiya gâri tig-bâdignga bédig mardûru l'ôtot chsta lia mîn len wôlo-tâ marat-taikre*.

hornet, (s.) tōl-yûkur (da).

hospitable, (adj.) âkà-kât-bêringa (da).

host, (s.) entertainer ig-gaianga (da).

hostile, be (v.i.) âkà-yôdi (ke).

hostility, (s.) yôdi (da). *See* **enmity**.

hot, (adj.) 1. from sun's rays or fire ig-ûya (da). 2. from fever, clothing, close atmosphere or violent exercise ab-ûya (da). 3. of food ôt-ûya (da). 4. of hot water âkà-ûya (da). I want some hot water at once: *wai dô kâ-gôî ûtan-ârek ina âkà-ûya d'enâke*. 5. pungent, as ginger âkà-yâro (da). 6. hot-season yêre-bôdo (da).

hough, (s.) back part of knee-joint, hock . . . *ab-âpita* (da).

house, (s.) See **hut**.

hover, (v.i.) . . . *iji-pâpya* (ke).

how ? (adv.) 1. by what means ? in what manner ? . . . *kichika-châ* (da) ? ; *bichika* ? ; *ba-kichika* (da) ? See App. i. How did you hurt your hand (or foot) ? : *kichikachâ ng'ông-re* ? See Ex. of omissions in App. ii. Here the complete sentence would be :—*kichikachâ ng'ông-kôro* (or *pâg*) *gerire* ? 2. to what extent ? . . . *tân-tûn* (da) ? (*lit.* where more ?) 3. how big ? . . . *tân-tûn-dôga* (da) ? 4. how far ? . . . *tân-tûn-elarpâla* (da) ? 5. how long ? . . . *tân-tûn-lâpanga* (da). 6. how old ? (of an aged person) . . . *tân-tûn-chôroga* (da). 7. how long (in time) ? . . . *kichikantûn-ârla* ? 8. how long ago ? . . . *kichikantûn-ârla-l'êâte* ? 9. how soon ? . . . *kach-wai-âr-yêre* ? 10. how many ? . . . *kichik* (da) ? ; *kichikan-tûn* (da) ? 11. how many more ? *kichik-tân* (da) ? 12. how much more ? . . . *tân-tûn-tâlik* ? Exclamations :—How big it is ! . . . *ai ! pibi !* how small it is ! . . . *ai ! chôtaih !* how very big he (this person) is ! . . . *ûcha-tâ-dôgaya !* how very small he (this person) is . . . *ûcha-tâ-kêtia !*

hug, (v.t.) . . . *ab-nîlip* (ke).

huge, (adj.) . . . *rôchobo* (da).

hullo ! (interj.) . . . *hê !*

hum, (v.i.) . . . *id-tegi* (ke).

humble, (adj.) . . . *ig-lêkinga* (da).

humbug, (v.i.) . . . *âkan-ôyada* (ke).

humorous, (adj.) amusing, funny . . . *yengatinga* (da).

hump-back, (s.) . . . *ab-ngô-châwa* (da).

hump-backed, (adj.) . . . *ab-ngôchainga* (da).

hunger, (s.) . . . *âkâ-gâri* (da) ; *âkâ-wêral* (da). Hunger, appease one's, (v.i.) . . . *teg-bût* (ke).

hungry, (adj.) faint from hunger . . . *ôt-kûk-la-pânga* (da) ; *âkâ-gâringa* (da) ; *âkâ-wêralinga* (da). We are hungry : *makat gâringa* (da).

hunt, (v.t.) 1. (a) with or without dogs . . . *dele* (ke). I am pig-hunting on my own account : *dô d'a deleke*. See App. ii and account. (b) ditto. in the jungle . . . *ig-dele* (ke) ; (c) ditto. along the shore . . . *ôko-dele* (ke). 2. without dogs . . . *pai-lâu-jûd* (ke). 3. in a mangrove swamp . . . *bada-lôi* (ke). The soft mud and denseroots of the *Rhizophora conjugata* serve to aid the hunting-party by impeding the pig. 4. hunt turtles by poling along the shore . . . *yâdi-lôbi* (ke). 5. in deep water . . . *yâdi-tâg* (ke) ; *jûru-tâg* (ke).

hunter, (s.) 1. of pigs . . . *ig* (or *ôko*) *delenga* (da). (a) if expert . . . *ûn-reg* (da). (b) if inexperienced . . . *ûn-lâma* (da). 2. of turtles . . . *yâdi-lôbinga* (da). (a) if expert . . . *ûn-yâdi* (da) ; (b) if inexperienced . . . *ab-lâma* (da).

hunting, (s.) . . . *ût'* (da). I am fond of hunting : *wai dôl ût' len bêringa lûake*.

hunting, return from (v.i.) 1. . . . *ût'* *l'ôt-ôn* (ke). 2. after brief absence . . . *ût'-tek-iji-êkalpi* (ke).

hurl, (v.t.) . . . *kôr* (ke).

hurrah ! (interj.) . . . *wê-ê !* ; *yêlo !* Hurrah ! there's the moon at last : *yêlo ! ôgar-l'âi-dôatire d-wê-ê !*

hurry, (v.t.) . . . *ar-tâlawa* (ke) ; *ar-kân* (ke). (v.i.) 1. . . . *ar-yêre* (ke) ; *îrat* (ke). Hurry on (or up) you are keeping me back : *ng'ar-yêre ! dô d'ông ngâtake* (*lit.* "I am hooking my feet.") 2. be in a hurry . . . *ôt-nânoka* (ke). Don't be in such a hurry *êlebe !*

hurt, (s.) injury . . . *geri* (da).

hurt, (v.t.) . . . *eb-jâbagi* (ke) ; (ab) *geri* (ke) ; (*âkâ*-) *châm* (ke) ; (idiomatically) *ông* (ke). See Ex. at how. . . . (v.i.) 1. *ad-geri* (ke) ; 2. hurt one's self . . . *eb-êkan-jâbagi* (ke). 3. It hurts ! : *eyi ! iyî !*

husband, (s.) 1. newly married . . . *ik-yâte* (*bûla*) (da). p. pron ad, ang, a, etc. See App. ii and viii. My (newly married) husband is absent to-day : *ad ik-yâte kawai*

abyāba (da). 2. after some months
ab-būla (da). See App. viii.

hush! *mīla!*; *ūm!*; *ah!*

husk, (s.) as of a coconut *ôt-êd* (da) (in construc. *ôt-êj*).

husk, (v.t.) *dôch* (ke); *dòich* (ke).

hut, (s.) 1. generic name *būd* (da). The fire spared my hut: *idal dia būd len ôt-tid-dúbure*. 2. common lean-to, consisting of roof only *châng* (da), of which there are three varieties:—(a) *châng-têpinga* (da); (b) *châng-tôrnga* (da), which are thatched with *Calamus* leaves (*chângta da*): in the case of (a) the leaves are closely plaited with a view to their lasting for two or more years; while in the case of (b) the leaves are merely tied together and serve for about a year; and (c) *châng-daranga* (da), the roof of which consists merely of *Arca* leaves loosely laid over a rough frame-work in order to afford shelter for a brief period. 3. Hut of a married couple *târ-dôd* (da). 4. bachelor's hut *kâtôgo* (da). 5. large communal hut *bâraij* (da); *baraij* (da).

I

I, (pron.) *dôlla*: (in construc. *dô*: *da*: *d'*: *meda*). See **we**, **remember** and App. ii I forgot: *meda m'ôt-kuklîre* (or *dô d'ôt-kuklîre*). [N.B.—We forgot: *meda môtot-kuklîre*.]

identical. See **same**.

identify, (v.t.) *id-ig-nôli* (ke). See **distinguish**.

idiot, (s.) *ig-pîcha* (da).

idiotic, (adj.) *ig-pîchanga* (da).

idle, (adj.) indolent *ar-gêringa* (da); *ông-yôma-ba* (da).

idle, (v.i.) *ara-gîn* (ke).

idler, (s.) *ar-gînnga* (da).

if, (conj.) on the condition or supposition that *môda*. If you will make two arrows for me (then) I will give you something good: *môda ngô den êla l'ikpôr tái* (ke) (*ngô*) *dô ngen mîn bêringa mânke*.

ignite, (v.t.) *châpa-l'ig* (or *l'ôko*)-*pôgat* (ke); *châpa-l'ôko-jôi* (ke).

ignorant, (adj.) 1. with reference to a language *kälenga* (da). 2. unaware *wianga-ba* (da). 3. uninstructed, unskilled *ôn-tig-jābag* (da).

iguana, (s.) *dôku* (da).

ill, (adj.) *ab yed* (da); *ad-jābag* (da). See **rest**. No one is ill at my village: *dia bâraij lat úchin adjābag yāba* (da).

ill-behaved, (adj.) ill-tempered, surly *ôko-dābunga-ba* (da).

ill-favoured, deformed *i-tā-jābag* (da); *dāla-jābag* (da).

illiberal, (adj.) *ôn-yāt jābag* (da); *ai-mîre-ba* (da). Although we coaxed them very much (still) they were illiberal (would give us next to nothing): *êdaia meda dôgaya et ngêtere, ârek arat-mâreba* (da). See **coax**.

ill-treat, (v.t.) *ôko-tig-jābagi* (ke); *i-târ-jâri* (ke).

image, (s.) *ot-yôlo* (da).

imitate, (v.t.) *ôt-târ-tāl* (ke). 2. any word or sound *âkâ-tâ-chûru* (ke) See **repeat**. 3. copy any handiwork *ông-tâ-chûru* (ke).

immediately, (adv.) *kâ-gôi*. See **at once**.

immense, (adj.) See **big**, **large**.

immodest, (adj.) shameless *ôt-tek-yāba* (da).

immoral, (adj.) See **lewd**.

immortal, (adj.) *ôn-okolînga-ba* (da).

immovable, (adj.) *inma-tāpaya*.

impatient, (adj.) *âra-kānga* (da).

impenetrable, (adj.) of jungle *tôbo* (da).

Imperial pigeon, (*Carpophaga insularis*) (s.) *mûrud* (da).

impersonate, (v.t.) See **assume**.

impertinent, (adj.) *tedyanga* (da).

importunate, (adj.) *ôt-ngârnga* (da).

importune, (v.t.) 1. beg, entreat *ngâna* (ke). 2. urge persistently *ôt-ngâr* (ke).

impossible, (adj.) 1. that cannot happen *tilik-ba* (da). 2. that cannot be done

. . . . ōng-châk-yāba (da). Impossible! (interj.) (Is it possible?): *ba-ôcho!*

impostor, (s.) by obtaining food under false pretences âkà-yāmalinga (da).

impotent, (adj.) ōko-tūyu (da).

impromptu, (adv.) of song or speech âkà-ūmu-tek. He sang impromptu a good song last night: *ôl gūruq-ya âkà-ūmu-tek bēringa rāmid-tōyure.*

improve, (v.t.) tōlob (ke).

in, (adv.) len; bēdig. In climbing there he fell down: *kāto gātunga-len* (or *bēdig*) *ôl pāre.*

in, (postp.) len; ya. See **inside**. He is sleeping in the hut: *ôl būd ya* (or *len*) *māmike.*

in order to. See **order**.

inaccessible, (adj.) by climbing or other means ſigātlinga-ba (da).

inaccurate. See **incorrect**.

inactive. See **idle**, **lazy**.

inattentive, (adj.) ig-lēta (da). You are very inattentive to-day, what is the matter with you? (what are you about?): *kawai ng'ig-lēta dōgaya ngō michimake?*

incessantly. See **always**, **constantly**.

incisor. See **tooth**.

inclose. See **enclose**.

incommode, (v.t.) tākla (ke). The bow of the Nicobarese canoe incommodes me when (using it for) turtling: *meda lōbinga bēdig malai lā rōkô-l'ôt-mūgu den tāklake.*

incomplete, (adj.) unfinished âr-lūnga-ba (da).

incorrect, (adj.) ūba-yāba (da).

increase, (v.t.) ōn-tekadūrai (ke). Before the rains commence we must increase our stock of jack-fruit seeds: *gūmul l'ōko-tēlim med'ūbawaik kaita-ban ôl-jeg-yāte l'ōntekadūraike.*

incurable, (adj.) 1. of a wound yēle-ba (da). 2. of a disease tegbōinga-ba (da).

indecent, (adj.) immodest ôl-tek-yāba (da).

indeed, (adv.) 1. wai (da). (generally at the beginning of a sentence). He did

indeed give it to me: *wai ōna den dre.* See **Ex.** at **just as** and **position**. 2. ūba. He is indeed dead: *ôl ūba okolire.* 3. indeed? an-ūba?

India, native of (s.) chàugala. See **ghost**.

Indian corn. See **maize**.

Indian-file, (s.) yōlo-dōknga (da).

indigestible, (adj.) kûk-târ-wānga (da).

indignant, (adj.) tig-rēnga (da).

individual, (s.) ab-dālag (da). Every individual present is a kinsman of mine: *ab-dālag ūba-iji-lā kawaikan-āte d'abngiji* (da).

indolent, (adj.) 1. by nature ab-wēlab (da). 2. from fatigue ab-chāu-l'ar (or l'ig)-wēlab (da). See **sometimes**.

induce, (v.t.). See **cause**, **compel**, **make**.

industrious, (adj.) ōng-yōma (da).

inexpert, (adj.) 1. in shooting or harpooning ūn-lāma (da). 2. dull-sighted ig-jābag (da). 3. in any handicraft ān-tig-jābag (da).

infancy, (s.) ab-dēreka-l'idai (da). You have been troublesome from infancy: *ng'abdēreka-l'idai tek ng'abtāklanga* (da).

infant, (s.) ab-dēreka (da). See **App.** vii.

infect, (v.t.) with any disease (âkà-) târ-tēta (ke).

inferior, (adj.) See **worse**.

infirm, (adj.) ab-mālai (da).

influence, (s.) authority, power ig-gūru (da). Punga possesses no influence in those parts: *kāt' ērema-l'ēate len pūnga l'ig-gūru yāba* (da).

inform, (v.t.) acquaint badali (ke). He informed me (of it) yesterday: *ô den dīlā badalire.*

inhabit, (v.t.) būdu (ke).

inhabitant, (s.) būdu-yāte (da).

inhabitant, original (s.) See **aboriginal**.

inhabited, (p.a.) būdunga (da).

inhale, (v.t.) âkà-lōtòk (ke); (v.i.) tūm (ke).

inherit, (v.t.) . . . êr-gōra (ke).
inhospitable, (adj.) . . . âkà-kât-jābag (da).
inhuman, (adj.) *See* cruel.
injurious, (adj.) . . . êchenga (da).
injury, (s.) *See* damage, hurt.
inland, (s.) . . . êrem-chàu (da). (*lit.* jungle-body).
inmate, (s.) of hut . . . bûd-pòli-yâte (da).
innocent, (adj.) . . . ôt-kālya (da).
innumerable, (adj.) 1. of human beings . . . at-ûbaba (da). 2. of birds and animals . . . ôt-ûbaba (da). 3. of inanimate objects . . . ûbaba (da).
insane, (adj.) . . . pîchanga (da).
insect, (s.) . . . wên (da).
insert, (v.t.) 1. a knife in one's girdle, or in thatch of hut . . . jālagi (ke). 2. a stick in a hole . . . òiyo-lōtî (ke). *See* accomplish, admit.
inshore, (adv.) . . . *See* hunt, turtle, pole, canoe.
inside, (s.) . . . koktâr (da). The inside of the bucket: *dâkar-koktâr* (da).
inside, (postp.) . . . koktâr-len. Inside the bucket: *dâkar-koktâr-len*.
inside-out, (adv.) . . . ôt-kaidlinga.
insipid, (adj.) . . . gôloga (da).
in situ, (adv.) in original site or position . . . wai (da). There quartz is *in situ*: *kâto tōlma wai* (da).
insoluble, (adj.) . . . ôn-târ-chêba (da).
inspect, (v.t.) a locality or site . . . êr-l'igbâdi (ke). *See* examine.
instead, (adv.) in place or room . . . ông-têka; î-gal; î (or ôt)-gôlai. Let me hunt instead of Biala: *biala l'ông-têka d'ôiyodelenga*. *See* exchange, let. Instead of his catching a pig a boar gashed his leg and escaped: *reg eninga l'igal ôt-yêregnga l'arngâtare ôlbédig adwétire*.
instep, (s.) . . . ông-lânta (da).
instigate, (v.t.) . . . *See* abet.

instruct, (v.t.) 1. teach . . . î-tai (ke). 2. in some handicraft . . . ông-târ-tek (ke). *See* teach.
insult, (s.) . . . witi (da); ab-tôgo (da).
insult, (v.t.) . . . ab-tôgo (ke).
insufficient, (adj.) . . . âr-wôdlinga (da).
intelligent, (adj.) . . . mûgu-tig (or tî) dai (da).
intend, (v.t.) . . . ôt-kûk (ke). *See* heart. ôt-nâki (ke); mîn (ke); jûd (ke). What do you intend (to do)? : *michiba ng' ôt-kûk* (ke)? or *nâki* (ke)? We intend to go hunting: *meda ût'len jûd* (ke). What do you intend doing? : *ngô michima mînke*? I intend visiting Kyd Island: *wai dô dūratāng len nâkike*.
intentionally, (adv.) . . . âr-lûgap. *See* purposely.
inter, (v.t.) bury . . . (ôt) bûguk (ke).
interfere, (v.i.) intermeddle . . . ôn-tig-chûpa (ke).
interior, (s.) *See* inland, inside.
interpret, (v.t.) . . . îtâ-yâp (ke); âkâ-tegi-l'itân (ke).
interrogate, (v.t.) *See* question.
issue, (v.t.) 1. as ochreous mineral from the earth . . . chél (ke). *See* defecate. 2. as smoke, as an insect or animal emerging from a hole . . . wêjeri (ke). Steam is issuing from the steamer's funnel: *birma-chêlewa l'âkâ-bang tek wûludanga la wêjerike*.
isthmus, (s.) . . . tōto-kinab (da).
it, (pron. nom.) ôlla; (in construc. ôl; ka). *See* that (dem. pron.). It fell . . . ôl pâre. (obj.) . . . en; l'en; ad. *See* App. ii. He stole it: *ôl l'en tâpre*. *See* bow. Bia beat it on the head; *bîa l'ad ôt-pārekre*.
its, (poss. pron.) . . . îa (da); ôt; ar; âkâ; ig; etc. *See* App. ii; e.g. *reg l'îa-yât* (pig-its-food). *kârama l'ôt* (and *t'ar*)-châma (da). *See* bow. *rôko l'ôko* (and *l'ig*)-mûgu. *See* canoe. *mai l'âkâ-châti* (*Sterculia-tree-its-branch*).
itch, (s.) . . . rûtung-aij (da). *See* skin (v.i.) . . . rûtu (ke).
itchy, (adj.) . . . rûtung (da).
ivory, (s.) . . . pîlîcha-tâ (da).

J

jabber, (v.t.) talk gibberish ôt-dûnukâ (ke).

jack-tree (*Artocarpus chaplasha*), (s.) . . . kaita (da); kai-ita (da). The fruit and seed are eaten.

jaw, (s.) âkà-êkib (da). See App. ii.

jaw-bone, (s.) âkà-êkib-tâ (da).

jealous, (adj.) ik-âra-inganga (da). He is jealous of you: ô ng'ik-âra-inganga (da).

jeer, (v.t.) ôt-yeng-e (ke).

jelly-fish, (s.) ôdag (da).

jerk, (v.t.) âkà-ngâli (ke).

jest, (s.) âkan-yengat (da).

jest, (v.i.) 1 âkan-ôyada (ke); âkan-yengati (ke). 2. indecently, insultingly witi-l'ôt-ôro (ke). Don't jest indecently, he will be angry: witi-l'ôt-ôro (ke) dâke, ôl tigrêlke.

jester, (s.) âkan-yengati-yâte (da).

join, (v.t.) in carpentry only ôko-târ-ôdo (ke).

joint, (s.) 1. (anat.) ông-kûtur (da) 2. (bot.), as of bamboo, cane, etc. . . . ab-âpita (da); ông-gûchul (da); ig-ôtat (da), tôpa-tâning (da). 3. in carpentry ôko-târ-ôdo (da).

joke. See **jest**.

journey, (s.) el-âr-kilinga (da). Start on a journey. (v.i.) tô-t-mâkari (ke).

joy. See **delight**.

joyful. See **glad**, **very**.

julee, (s.) 1. oleaginous ig-âna (da), as of a coconut. See **sap**. 2. watery ig-raij (da), as of ground rattan. See **milk**. 3. viscous ig-mûn (da). See **sap**.

jump, (v.i.) 1. lengthwise ad-tâng-lôi (ke). 2. spring up to a higher platform têbal (ke). 3. jump over tê-bal-pi (ke). See **body**, **spring**, **fall**. 4. jump down, (v.i.) âkan-tôlpi (ke).

jungle, (s.) êrem (da); tâla-maich (da). The latter word is used with reference to the fruit-bearing trees in the jungle and

is therefore generally employed during the fruit-season only. See App. ix. 2. dense jungle êrem-tôbo (da). 3. light (not dense) êrem-bêringa (da); êrem-tôbo-ba (da). 4. open (i.e., little or no undergrowth) êrem-wâlak (da). 5. heart of êrem-châu (da); din (da). He lives in the heart of the jungle: ôl din len búduke.

jungle-dweller, (s.) inland inhabitant 1. êrem-tâga (da). 2. âr-jîg (da). 3. gûgma-tông (da). 4. ab-mûlwa (da). 1. signifies "jungle-platform," apparently in allusion to the tree-burial platform in use. See **platform**. 2. lit. a "creek-man." 3. and 4. are terms applied by coast-men in ridicule, the former meaning "leaves of the *Trigonostemon longifolius*" which are largely used by the inland-dwellers when suffering from fever, but only to a small extent by coast-men, as its odour is said to keep turtles at a distance; while the latter term denotes a "deaf person," as only the practised ear of a coast-man is able to detect the approach of a turtle on a dark night, when these hunts are usually conducted.

jungle-fowl, (s.). See **fowl**.

just, (adv.) 1. . . . gôi; gôila; kê-gôi; dâla. See **see**. He has just harpooned a dugong: ôl tegbûl gôila jêralire. 2. exactly, precisely ûba. That's just what I want: kâto ûba dô d'enâ-yâte (da).

just as, (adv.) 1. just like kichikan-wai. 2. (adv. rel.) ignûrum. See **as**, **so**. Just as coast-men have no difficulty in obtaining food by shooting and retting fish, by turtling, by hunting pigs along the coast, and various other means, so those who live in the jungle have plenty of food in every season: ignûrum âryôto-len yât taijnga-tek, ôl-bêdig pânenga-tek, ôl-bêdig yâdi-lôbinga-tek, ôl-bêdig ôko-delenga-tek, ôl-bêdig yât-dilu-tek, eba-kâchya âkà-wêlab yâba (da), châ êrem-tâga-len bêdig wâb-len, wâb-len yât ûbaba wri (da).

just so ! kichikan-ûba.

K

keel, (of ship or boat) âr-ête (da).
See behind, loin.

keen, (adj.) 1. of a blade rinima (da). 2. of vision (sharp-sighted) ig-bêringa (da). 3. of hearing i-dainga-tâpa (da); âya-lôma (da).

keep, (v.t.) 1. retain ôto-paichalen-tegi (ke). I am keeping your younger brother's bow: *wai dô ng'âkâ-kâm l'ia kârama d'ôto-paichalen-tegi*. 2. any animal as a pet, or a dog for hunting ôto-paichalen-chilyu (ke). 3. keep for future use, (reserve) âr-lûgap (ke). 4. keep watch, (v.i.) ôto-lâ-lai (ke).

keepsake, (s.) gâtnga-y ômnga (da).

kernel, (s.) âr-môl (da).

klek, (v.t.) ab-dûruga (ke).

kidney, (s.) 1. . . . ông-châg (da). 2. kidney-fat ab-jîri (da). *See App. ii.* [reg-jîri (da), the kidney-fat of the pig is regarded as a great delicacy. *See fast.*]

kill, (v.t.) 1. in any way tōliga (ke). How many pigs have you killed?: *ngô kichikantûn reg tōligare?* 2. by shooting with bow and arrow (a-)paitika-okoli (ke). 3. by spearing (ab-)jêralika-okoli (ke). 4. by blows with cudgel, etc. . . . (ab-)pârekati (ke). 5. by stoning (ab-)paidlika-okoli (ke). 6. by shooting with gun (ôt-)pûgurika-okoli (ke). 7. two or more pigs pâreja (ke). Were I to go pig-hunting I should be certain to kill some pigs: *môda dô delenga tōguk ngâ dô waikan reg pârejake*. 8. for food. *See slaughter.* 9. two or more while hunting pigs, etc. . . . ar-mâl (ke).

kind, (adj.) ôko-dûbunga (da).

kind, (s.) *See sort.*

kindle, (v.t.) ôko-jôi (ke). *See set fire to, burn.* (v.i.) take fire dal (ke); pûd (ke).

king-conch, (s.) (helmet-shell) *Cassis glaucus* lita (da). *See App. xii.*

king-fisher, (s.) châl-tekar (da).

kinsman, (s.) (also fellow-tribesman) ab-ngîji (da).

kiss, (s.) ôko-lûchu (da). (v.t.) ôko-lûchu (ke).

kitchen-midden, (s.) bûd-i'ârtâm (da). (*lit.* "ancient encampment.")

knave, (s.) ab-jûbag (da).

knee, (s.) ab-lô (da). **knee-cap** ab-lô-l'ôko-kâiedim (da).

kneel, (v.i.) ab-lô-l'ôko-gôdoli (ke).

knife, (s.) chō (da); kōno (da); latter for cutting meat only. Give me the knife which I stuck into (inserted in) the thatch (roof) of your hut yesterday: *ngia châng len dô dilêa chō jâlagi-yâte den â*.

knit, (v.t.) têpi (ke).

knob, (s.) gôdia (da).

knock, (v.t.) give a blow to tâi (ke) knock down ar-gôdai (ke); ar-wêdai (ke). (v.i.) rap êr-dôrop (ke); êr-tôrau (ke).

knot, (s.) 1. in wood gôba (da).

2. in string nîlib (da); rōni (da). (v.t.) tie a knot ôt-nîlib (ke); âkâ-rōni (ke).

know, (v.t.) ti-dai (ke). *See head, understand.* We don't know how Bîa has escaped malarial fever, perhaps because he eats so much: *bîa kichikachâ did-dirya l'ôto-lâlaire med'ti-dainga-ba, tilik yât-dôga māknga l'edâre*. (v.i.) from personal observation idai-idai (ke). *See eye, ear, understand.* Who knows! ûchin!

knuckle, (s.) ông-kûtur (da). *See App. ii.*

L

labour, (s.) *See work.*

lad, (s.) âkâ-kâdaka (da). *See App. vii.*

lag, (v.i.) tât-kûtu (ke); el-ôt-gêlema (ke).

lame, (adj.) ar-(châk-) tê (da).

lament, (v.i.) bûlap (ke); ig-rîta (ke).

lamprey, (s.) piotō (da).

land, (s.) 1. country êrema (da).

2. as distinguished from sea el-ôt-gōra (da). 3. ground, earth, soil gara (da). 4. flat, freshly-cleared yàu (da). 5. level êr-l'ôt-jêperya (da). 6. hilly êr-pàu (da). 7. land-slip i-pâdla (da). 8. land-crab. See **crab**. 9. land-shell. See **shell**.

land, (v.i.) (ōkan-)yôboli (ke); tōl (ke); tōlpi (ke); kâgal (ke). See **ascend** and **descend**.

landing-place, (s.) pâla (da).

landsman, (s.) 1. one dwelling in the interior êrem-tâga (da). 2. one living on, or near, the coast ar-kêwa (da). See **jungle-dweller**.

language, (s.) âkà-tegili (da). The Nicobarese language is difficult: *malai l'âkà-tegili wai ôl-châram* (da). In that country the language is quite distinct: *kât'êrema len wai âkà-tegi-l'iglā* (da).

lap, (s.) ab-paicha (da). See App. ii. **lap**, sit on. (v.i.) ab-paicha-len-âkâdōi (ke); âr-yôboli (ke). The child is sitting on my uncle's lap: *ablîga dîu mai'ab-paicha-len âkâ-dōike*; or *ablîga dîa mai'âr-yôbolike*.

lap, (v.t.) as a dog pûluj (ke).

lard, (s.) môiwo (da).

large, (adj.) 1. . . . bôdia (da); dōga (da); chānag (da). See **big**. 2. of a family dîya (da). 3. abnormally (of any part of the body) dūrnga (da). Bia's feet are (abnormally) large: *bia l'ông pâg wai dūrnga* (da).

larva of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*), (s.) òiyum (da). These are found in felled trunks of the Gurjon tree during September and October and are eaten alive. The beetle is called *ig-wōd* (da), and the nymph or chrysalis *ig-wōd-l'ôt-dêreka* (da). The larvæ of two other species are also commonly eaten; they are known as *bûtu* (da) and *pîrigi* (da).

lash together. See **bind** and **fasten**.

lashing, (s.) 1. cord-fastenings on arrow-

and spear-heads, also on adzes ôl-chānga (da). See **need**. 2. cord or cane fastened round a corpse prepared for burial also round a bundle of fruit, etc. . . . ôl-chōnga (da).

last, (vdj.) 1. hindmost târ-ôlo (da). 2. next before the present êâte (da); i-târi (da); (â)-îtâri (da). Last month (or moon), (s.) ôgar-l'êâte (da) or l'â-îtâri (da). Last month we landed at Kyd Island: *ôgar-l'â-îtâri meda dūratâng len yôbolire*. Last year, (s.) tâlik-l'â-îtâri (da) or *tâlik-l'êâte* (da). At last! â-wê! Last night, (s.) gûrug-l'êâte (da). Last quarter of the moon. See **moon**. 3. Last but one, (adj. or s.) ôto-tîr-târôlo (da).

late, arrive (or return), (v.i.) i-târ-jûdu (ke); eba-rît (ke). See **lead**. You're very late! ngô-gôli! It is getting late! (You're dawdling!) ting-gûjuba! **lately**, (adv.) in the recent past dirap-len; dirap-ya. **of late**, (adv.) from a recent date. (*lit.* from a few days) ârla-l'ikpôr-tek; dirap-tek. **later on**, (adv.) presently ig-îlya; â-rêringa; târ-ôlo-len; târ-ôlo-lik; ngâ-tek. See **afterwards**. Do you wish to eat now, or later on? : *an ngôl âchitik māknga latke, an târô-lolen?*

late, the (adj.) deceased lachi. The late Punga was very strong: *lachi pûnga abgōra-dōga l'edāre*.

laugh, (v.i.) yeng-e (ke); yeng-ek (ke).

laughable, (adj.) comic âkan-yengatnga (da).

launch, (v.t.) ôl-jûmu (ke); dōk (ke). See **drag**.

lay, (v.t.) set down tegi (ke). (v.i.) lay eggs (a) of birds or reptiles mōlo-la-wêje (ke); mōlo-la-wêjeri (ke). (b) of turtles, iguanas, or crocodiles only mōlo-l'ig-chél (ke).

lay out, (v.t.) spread (of food or portable property) *pê* (ke).

lazy, (adj.) See **indolent**. A lazy character (s.) *âr-têninga* (da).

lead, (s.) the metal See **metal**.

lead, (v.t. and v.i.) 1. the way *ôto* (or *têt*)-*lâ* (ke); *tinga-l'ôko* (or *l'ôt*)-*lâ* (ke). See **way**, and **go in advance**. 2. a blind person or child *ab-ik* (ke). 3. lead a chase, of a harpooned turtle *âr-jî* (ke). We arrived late this evening on account of a turtle having led us a chase: *yâdi marat-jînga l'edâre m'êbat-rître*. 4. lead astray (v.t.). See **misdirect**.

leaf, (s.) 1. of any tree *î* (or *ông*)-*tông* (da). 2. any large leaf used for wrapping up food, etc. . . . *chiki* (da). The leaves of the *pâtla*, *kâpa*, *jâ*, *kúp*, *kâm-raij*, *wânga*, *kûdnga* or *wîp*, (see App. xi) are generally used for this purpose. 3. worn apron-wise by women *ôbunga* (da). The leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are generally used for this purpose, as they are of suitable size and remain fresh a long time. 4. -wrapper *kâpa* (da) consisting of loose leaves of the *Licuala peltata*. (See App. xi.) 5. -umbrella *kâpa-jâtnga* (da). (lit. "kâpa leaves stitched together"). See **screen**.

leak, (v.i.) 1. of a canoe *ôluj* (ke); *ûlujkâ* (ke); 2. of a roof *tôk* (ke). 3. of a bucket or pot *lû-lu* (ke).

lean, (v.i.) rest for support *âtâgimi* (ke). 2. lean on one side *âra-chôngoli* (ke); *âra-bigidi* (ke).

lean, (s.) *ar-dama* (da).

lean, (adj.) See **thin**.

leap, (v.i.) See **jump**.

leap-frog, (s.) *koktâr-ti-dôatinga* (da). This game is sometimes played in the water, each in turn ducking another by pressing down the shoulders from behind.

learn, (v.t.) gain knowledge, as of a language *âkâ-tegi-l'ig-ôro* (ke); *âkâ-tegi-l'ig-yâp* (ke). (v.i.) 1. acquire manual

skill *ông-bâdi* (ke). I am learning how to tattoo the back: *wai d'ôngbâdignga bédig d'ab-yítike*. 2. receive tidings *târtit-îdai* (ke). (lit. "hear news". See **news**).

least, (adj.) 1. in quantity *yabâ-l'iglâ* (da). 2. in size (ab) *kêtia-l'iglâ* (da). [When a human being is referred to "ab" is prefixed.] See **smallest**.

leather, (s.) *ab-êd* (da-) (in constr. *ab-ôj*). See **skin**.

leave, (v.t.) 1. abandon *ôt-mâni* (ke). 2. leave behind, forsake *îji* (ke). Where did you leave the bow? : *ngô kârama tân ijire*. If you make such a noise, I will leave you (behind) here: *môda ngô klan-âri yâlangar-âte dô kârin ng'ijike*. 3. leave behind, outstrip *lûkra* (ke). 4. leave out, omit, suffer to remain unused or uncompleted *en-kichal* (ke). See **remain**. (v.i.) 1. depart *ad-lômta* (ke). Leaving there I (then) paid a visit to your Chief: *kâto tek adlômtinga ngâ dô ngia maiola l'âr-lôire*. 2. go away, depart *ôto-lûpati* (ke). 3. after a halt See **proceed**. 4. set out on a journey See **start**. 5. at dawn *pûto-kîni* (ke). 6. take leave. (a) *chêlepâ* (ke), in ref. to the last words exchanged before parting; and (b) *ôto-chî* (ke), the parting itself, which usually takes place soon after leaving the encampment. 7. migrate *jâla* (ke). 8. leave off, cease, discontinue. See **cease**, **stop**. Leave off! (Stop!) *kichi-kâtikya*!

leavings, (s.) of food *âkâ-kichal* (da); *âraia* (da). Give him the leavings: *en (yât) l'âraia mân*.

leech, (s.) *jûk* (da).

left, (adj.) sinister *kôri* (da). 2. -handed *ab-kôri* (da).

leg, (s.) *ar-châg* (da). (a) thigh *ab-paicha* (da). (b) shin *ab-châlta* (da). (c) calf of *ab-châlta-dama* (da); *ab-tâ-l'âr-dama* (da). cross-legged. See **cross**.

legend, (s.) ôko-târ-tâknga (da).
See **forefather**.

leisure, be at (v.i.) târ-ûju (ke).

leisure, (s.) târ-lûku (da).

lend, (v.t.) mân-ak-tâg (ke) (*lit.* "give in a sort of way"); tōbatek-â (ke); tōbatek-mân (ke). I lent him two bows: *wai dōl en kârama ikpōr mânaktâgre*.

lengthen, (v.t.) 1. . . . lâpanga (ke); lâpana (ke). 2. as by joining two pieces of cord together târ-ôdo (ke).

less, (adj.) 1. smaller in size. See **smaller**. 2. in quantity tek yabā (da). Give him less food than Woi: *wōi tek en yāt yabā mân* (ke).

lessen, (v.t. and v.i.). See **diminish**.

let, (verb. aux.) suffer, permit. 1. (a) òiyo (sing.); òiyot (plur.) He let me dance: *ô d'òiyot-kôire*. The Chief let us wrestle: *maiola m'òiyot adlêke*. (b) itân (ke); titân (ke). He let me shoot: *ô den itân dō taijke*. I will let you all sing: *dō ng'et ârdûru len râmid-tôyunga titân* (ke). 2. (imperat.) ô (sing.); ôcho (plur.) Let him shoot!: *ô taij!* Let us return (home)!: *m'ôcho wîjke!* Let it be! (let it remain!): *tōba-tek dâke!* (*lit.* "meantime don't" (do anything to it)).

let go, (v.t.) cease holding eb (or ep)-tot-mâni (ke). See **tug**. Why do you hold me? let go of me: *michalen ngô den pûchuke? d'eb-totmâni* (ke)! See **abandon**.

let off, (v.t.) excuse See **excuse**.

letter, (s.) any writing yîtinga (da). (*lit.* "that which is tattooed")

level, (adj.) of land lingiriya (da); ô-t-jêperya (da). See **flat**, **land**, **plain**, **smooth**.

lewd, (adj.) 1. of a man tig-pâringa (da); ô-t-nâr (da). 2. of a woman ar-kîchal (da).

liar, (s.) ab-tedinga (da).

liberal, (adj.) ûn-rân (da); ôn yât-bêringa (da); âr-mîre (da). The people there are the best of all, they are

all liberal: *kât'igbûdwa-lôngkâlak bêringa-l'iglā, ârdûru ûnrân* (da).

lick, (v.t.) pôlòij (ke); pûluj (ke).

lid, (s.) ô-t-râmnga (da); âkà-rôginga (da). See **lie down**.

lie, (s.) falsehood â-tedi (da).

lie, (v.i.) 1. utter falsehood â-tedi (ke). You must not lie (tell lies) about any one: *ngôl ûba-waik ûchin-eb'âtedike dâke*. You must not lie (tell lies) to any one: *ngôl ûba-waik ûchin-ôllen âtedike dâke*. See N.B. at **not** (post). 2. lie down (a) on one's back âkà-châlai (ke). (b) on one's side bālagi (ke). (c) on one's stomach ôto-rôgi (ke). (d) in the sun. See **bask**. (e) in a row, as persons sleeping ad-bar (ke). (f) together (of married couples) ik-ad-bar (ke). 3. lie in wait for ar-chôpo (ke).

life, (s.) 1. . . . ig-âte-yôma (da). 2. all one's life ông-tâm-tek. I have been making canoes all my life: *wai dō d'ông-tâm-tek rôko kôpke*. 3. save life eb (or ep)-tông-eni (ke). 4. life-time î-dal (da). Ira married in his father's life-time: *îra êkan abmai'îdal len adenire*. 5. life-less (adj.) just dead gôl-okolîre.

lift, (v.t.) 1. an animal or heavy object laiiai (ke). 2. by concerted action ar-kûrudai (ke). 3. a human being ô-t-laiiai (ke). 4. with one's shoulder âr-kâtami (ke). 5. a light object with one's hands ar-lôdapi (ke). See **raise**.

lift off, (v.t.) take off, as a pot from a fire yûk (ke).

light, (adj.) not heavy. 1. of inanimate objects tâpi (da); wôma (da). 2. of animals and birds ô-t-wôma (da); ô-t-tâpi (da). 3. of human beings ab-tâpi (da); ab-wôma (da). 4. light-footed ar-rînima (da). 5. light-headed. See **delirious**, **silly**.

light, (v.t.) 1. give light, illuminate châl (ke). 2. set light (or fire) to,

ignite (châpa-l')ōko-pûgat (ke) or ōko-jôi (ke). He lit a fire there: *ôl kâto (châpa-)l'ōko-jôire*. 3. Light a torch tōug-l'ōko-pûgat (ke); or l'ōko-jôi (ke). (v.i.) 1. burn a light chōi (ke). 2. take fire, kindle dal(ke): pûd (ke). (adj.) not dark elâka-râja (da). See **clear, transparent**. (s.) 1. of a torch êr-chōinga (da). 2. day (or sun)-light bôdo-la-chōinga (da). 3. moon-light ôgar-la-chōinga (da). 4. star-light châto-la-chōinga (da). 5. meteor chàugala-la-chōinga (da) See **spirit**.

lighten, (v.t.) relieve of weight ô-t-kâ (ke). (v.i.) emit lightning. (a) when widely diffused bê (ke). (b) in ref. to single flashes bêla (ke).

lightning, (s.) (a) sheet bê (da). (b) chain-(or forked-) bêla (da).

lights, (s.) lungs of animals ô-t-âwa (da).

like, (v.t.) 1. enjoy yâmali (ke). We like hunting: *meda ût-len yâmali (ke)*. 2. be fond of any person or intercourse ig-yâmali (ke). I like Woi and his younger brother: *wai dô wôi l'âkâkâm bêdig igyâmali*. I don't like living in your hut: *ngia bûd len pòlinga wai d'igyâ-malinga-ba*. 3. with ref. to food âka-yâmali (ke). He likes honey: *ôl âja l'âkâ-yâmali*. 4. regard favourably bêringa-lûa (ke). One likes a calm sea for a turtle-hunt: *yâdi lôbinga l'edâre lûa len bêringa-lûake*.

like, (adj.) 1. similar âka-pâra (da); naikan. It tastes like pork: *reg-dama naikan âkan-muyke*. Like this: *ûcha-naikan*; *kichikan*. Like that: *ôl (or kâto) naikan*. 2. in the same style ekâra. He swims like Woi: *ôl wôi l'ekâra pûke*. Like what?: *kich'i-ka (da)*? Like which, (rel.): *kâ-ûba (da)*. Like the same (correl.): *ûch'ûba (da)*; *kichikan-naikan*. See App. 1.

likeness, (s.) See **picture, reflection**.

likewise, 1. (conj.) also, in addition, besides ôl-bêdig. See **also, and**. 2. (adv.) See **moreover**.

limit, (s.) See **boundary**.

limited, (adj.) narrow, confined êr-chôpaua (da).

limp, (v.i.) 1. from pain gâgya (ke). 2. owing to deformity âr-tê (ke); ông-gigàu (ke).

limpet, (s.) mêch (da); mâreno (da).

limpid, (adj.) râlama (da).

line, (s.) 1. string mōl-a (da). 2. harpoon- bêtmo (da). Used also in making and mending turtle-nets. See App. xiii. 3. a row tōrnga (da). (a) In a row, with ref. to inanimate objects (i)-tōr-len. (b) with ref. to animate objects â-tōr-len.

linger, (v.i.) lag el-ôt-gêlema (ke).

linguist, (s.) âka-tegi-wâlak (da).

lip, (s.) âka-pai (da); âka-pê (da).

liquid, (s.) raj (da).

liquor, (s.) See **grog**.

lisp, (v.i.) as a child âkan-dêreka (ke).

listen, (v.i.) 1. hearken âkan-dai (ke); âyan-dai (ke). Listen! don't you hear the men shouting?: *âyan-dai! an ngô-(â) bûla l'ông-kâlak têrebla-yâte len ng'âka-tegilidaike yâba?* See **shout**. 2. heed, attend to iji-wârta (ke). See **attend**.

litter, (s.) brood ôto-pêladonga (da).

little, (adj.) kêtia (da); kêtima (da). When referring to a human being "ab" is prefixed. (adv.) a little, slightly yabâ (da); bā(da). Give me a little: *yabâ den â*. A little more (*lit. again a little*), tâlik-yabâ (da). Too little yabâlen dâke. (*lit. "a little-to don't."*) See Ex. at **rain**.

live, (v.i.) 1. have life ig-âte (ke). 2. reside See **dwelt**. 3. live apart i-kâ (ke).

liver, (s.) ab-mûg (da). See App. ii.

living, (p.a.) ig-âtenga (da).

lizard, (s.) 1. tâtima (da). 2. tree-lizard kôlwôt (da). See note at **hiccough**; âga (da). The latter word indicates a large species.

load, (s.) 1. for an able-bodied adult tâbinga (da); ig-nōronga (da). 2. cargo jārabnga (da).

load, (v.t.) a canoe, etc. jārāp (ke). 2. a basket or other receptacle ār-ōt (ke). 3. a gun lōtī (ke); lōtōk (ke). See **admit**.

loathe, (v.t.) with ref. to food âkà-wār (ke). We loathe the sight of maggots in food: *meda yāt len wēn itig-bādignga bēdig makat-wārke*.

loathsome, (adj.) with ref. to food âkà-wārnga (da).

lobe of ear, (s.) ig-pūku-l'ār-dēreka (da).

lobster, (s.) wāka (da).

locality, (s.) place êr (da); êrema-l'êâte (da).

lock of hair, (s.) ô-t-kītnga (da). See **tuft**.

lofty, (adj.) 1. of a hill ig-mōro (da). 2. of a tree lâpanga (da); lâpana (da). 3. of a lofty tree having branches only on the crown lâb (da); lâp (da). See **high**.

log, (s.) pūtu-l'ôt-jōdama (da).

loin, (s.) ār-ête (da); ār-chōla (da).

loiter, (v.i.) el-ôt-gēlema (ke).

lonely, (adj.) lonesome kēlebranga (da).

long, (adj.) lâpanga (da); lâpana (da). longer (than) tek-lâpanga (da). longest lâpanga-l'iglā (da). long-sighted ig-bêringa (da). long-winded âkà-chaiat-ba. A long time ārla-ûbaba. It will be a long time before I return here: *dôl kārīn wāj yāte wai ārla-ûbaba*. Long ago, how long? and how long ago? See **time** and **how**.

long, (v.i.) have eager desire. 1. as when anxious i-gāri (ke). We are both longing for good news of our absent father: *med'ikpōr mat maiola ab-yāba yāte l'eb tārīt bēringa igārike*. 2. for some coveted article or food tot-chī (ke). 3. for some favourite food mūgum-len-pōichat (ke).

longing, (s.) 1. as for news of absent friends, etc. i-gāri (da). 2. as for possession of some desired article or kind of food tot-chī (da).

look, (v.i.) lū (ke). When referring to a person "ab" is prefixed and when to an animal "ar". He is looking at my new canoe: *wai ô dia rôko gōi len lūke*. We have not looked at him: *med'ablūnga-ba*. I have not yet looked at the pig: *dô nīgākā reg-l'ārlūnga-ba*. Look! wai lūke! Look here (*lit.* "here this") *mina-ûcha!* See **mark**, **pay**. Look sharp! (ār-)yêre!; ng'ār-yêre!; kuro!; kuro-ngô! look out (watch) 1. êr-gēlip (ke); el-âkà-kêdang (ke). These words are used when travelling: otherwise, the words used would be:—iji-dal-tāmi (ke) or el-âkà-bādi (ke). Look out! wai-gēlib! Look out! the centipede is creeping towards you: *wai-gēlib! kārāpta la ng'eb iji-chāk-tegike*. 2. keep watch, as in fear of night attack el-âkà (or êr-l'ig)-bādi (ke). Look after (v.t.) 1. take care of, protect (as a guardian) ab (or i)-gōra (ke). 2. nurse ab-nōrā (ke). Look for (v.t.) (a) search âta (ke). When referring to a human object "ab" is prefixed. (b) overhead, as for fruit, honey, flying-fox, etc. êr-kêdang (ke). See **Ex.** at **search**.

looking-glass, (s.) tig-bādignga (da).

loop, (s.) âkà-kōr (da).

loose, (adj.) 1. of a bow-string, cord, etc. ig-yāragap (da); i-gōra-ba. 2. of a tooth ig-ōma (da). (v.t.) loose hold. See **let go**.

loosen, (v.t.) let out rope lōr (ke). See **unloose**.

loosely, (v.t.) tie or fasten. *See fasten, tie.*
lop, (v.t.) tōp (ke); ô-tōpati (ke).
lop-sided, (adj.) gîgàunga (da);
 tēka (da); iji-chōngolina (da). Ira's canoe
 is lop-sided: *îr'îa rôko wai iji-chōngolina (da).*
lose, (v.t.) by mischance or negligence
 ô-t-nūyu (ke); ô-t-nūyai (ke). (v.i.) 1.
 fail of success, incur a loss ôto-nūyu
 (ke); ôto-nūyai (ke). 2. lose a race
 târ-lô (ke). 3. lose one's way el-âkà-
 châtak (ke). tinga-l'ôto-nūyai (ke). It's
 lost! (I can't find it): *âkà-tôla-ba!*
loudly, (adv.) âkan-gûru-tek.
love, (v.t.) 1. one of the opposite sex
 ig-pòl (ke). 2. one's wife ôko-
 pail-châm (or pòichati) (ke). He now sin-
 cerely loves his wife: *ôl ûbaya ka-wai ôko-*
pail-pòichatike. 3. one's husband ôko-
 bûla-châm (or pòichati) (ke). She no longer
 loves her husband: *ôl ka-wai-tek ôko-*
bûla-châmke yāba (da). We all love our
 wives: *med'ârdûru mōkot-paii-châmke*. 4. have
 tender regard for an intimate friend
 ôko-dûbu (ke). 5. make love, court
 ig-dûrpa (ke). (v.i.) be in love iji-pòl
 (ke). (s.) 1. towards one's husband (or
 wife) ôkan-châm (or pòichati)-yōma
 (da). 2. towards one's sweetheart
 iji-pòl-yōma (da). 3. towards an intimate
 friend ôkan-dûbu (or jôlowa)-yōma
 (da).
lover, (s.) iji-pòlnga (da).
lovely, (adj.) 1. of an inanimate object
 îno (da). 2. of a human being
 ab-mo (da); î-tâ-bêringa (da); dâla-bêringa
 (da). 3. of an animal, bird, etc. ô-t-
 îno (da).

low, (adj.) not high ô-t-jôdama
 (da). *See short.* Low-tide: low-water.
See tide.
lower-jaw, (s.) âkà-êkib (da). *See*
App. ii.
luck, (s.) ô-t-yâb (da) *See there.*
lucky, (adj.) fortunate ô-t-yâbnga
 (da).
luckily, (adv.) ô-t-yâb-len.
ludicrous, (adj.) âkan-yengatnga
 (da).
lukewarm, (adj.) êlenga (da); ûya-
 bā (da).
lull, (v.t.) 1. put to sleep with a lullaby
 â-rôro (ke). 2. put to sleep by rock-
 ing âr-lêla-tâg (ke). *See sort and*
swing.
lump of whitish clay, as found, but especi-
 ally as worn on the head by mourners
 dela (da). *See clay.*
lung, (s.) ô-t-âwa (da). *See arm pit*
and App. ii.
luscious, (adj.) nâm (da).
lustful, (adj.) ô-t-nâr (da).

M

mad, (adj.) (ig-)pîchanga (da).
madam, (s.) chāna; chāna; chānola.
 The last is more honorific. *See sir and*
App. vii.
maggot, (s.) wên (da). *See loathe.*
magic lantern, (s.) ô-t-yôlo-yiti-yâte
 (da). *See picture, write, which.*
maiden, (s.) ab-jadi-jôg (da). *See*
App. vii.
maim, (v.t.) ô-n-gôd (ke).
main-creek, (s.) jîg-chân-châu (da).
main-road tinga-chân-châu (da).

maize, (s.) būta (da) from bhutta (Hind.)

make, (v.t.) 1. construct òiyo (ke). Make it once more : *tálik òiyo*. 2. m. a hut, also basket-work, matting, netting or thatching; also applied to bees constructing a comb tēpi (ke). Punga's and Meba's mothers made this mat : *pūnga ôl-bédig méba l'at-étínga úcha pārepa tēpire*. The bees have made a large comb : *rātag kānga dōga tēpire*. 3. m. a canoe, how, etc. kōp (ke). See **scoop**. He is making a canoe for me : *ôl den* (or *dūl*) *rōko kōpke*. (N.B.—denoting what is performed with an adze). 4. m. a bow (kârama)-pōr (ke). *lit.* plane with a boar's tusk (i.e. the final work on the bow after completion of chief work of shaping with adze (kōp)). 5. m. a bucket tāne (ke). 6. m. a cooking-pot lāt (ke). 7. m. a paddle (wāligma)-chāg (ke). 8. m. a torch (tōug)-pāt (ke). 9. m. iron-arrow-heads tāt (ke). (*lit.* hammer.) We are making lots of pig-arrow-heads : *med'ēla dōgaya tāt* (ke). 10. m. bowstring or cord maia (ke) (i.e. by twisting the strands together). 11. m. twine kīt (ke). [This they do by twisting fibres together on the thigh.] See **roll**. 12. m. personal ornaments, e.g. waist-belts, garters, etc. of Pandanus leaves bāt (ke). 13. personal ornaments, e.g. necklaces of bone, cane, etc. mār (ke). 14. m. ornamental patterns on bows, buckets, paddles, etc. ig-rētawa (ke). 15. m. wax, used for protecting arrow-head lashings, etc. i-tegi (ke). 16. m. a fire chāpa-l'ōko-jōi (ke). 17. m. love, court, ig-dūrpa (ke). 18. m. ready, prepare ar-tāmi (ke). 19. m. known, acquaint badali (ke); yābuga-l'ôt-êr-ômo (ke). See **must**. (v.i.) 1. m. haste ar-yēre (ke). 2. m. a mistake chāli (ke). 3. m. a noise

yāl (ke); yālangar (ke). 4. m. a way, clear a path tinga-l'ôt-wāl (ke). 5. m. way, step aside ad-ōchai (ke); ūchik-tūn (ke). See **hence** and **more**. 6. m. a voyage ōto-jūru-tegi (ke). [Note.—“Make,” in the sense of “Cause to be or become”, “Compel”, is expressed by the prefix “en”: e.g. m. friends (cause to be friendly) en-ōko-dūbu (ke); m. angry (anger, v.t.) en-tigrêl (ke). Because Punga broke my bow he made me angry : *dā kârama kījuringa l'edāre pūnga d'en-tigrêlre*. The Chief will make you gather honey for them : *maiola ngen et at en-āja-pūjke*. He made Tura go there (by canoe) for me : *ôl dik tūra lat kâto en-ākangaire*. See **for**, **go**. He made Bira give the bow to Woi for my sake : *ôl bira kârama woi lat d'ul en-āre*].

malformed, (adj.) itā-jābag (da).

See **form**.

malarial fever, (s.) diddirya (da).

male, (adj.) būla (da).

malice, harbour (v.i.) tot-gūm (ke).

malinger, (v.i.) ar-dōlaiji (ke).

mama! (exclam.) chāna!; chāna!

man, (s.) 1. â-būla (da). 2. married-man ab-chābil (da); ab-maia. 3. old man ab-jang-gi (da); ab-chōroga (da). See App. vii.

mango, (*Mangifera sylvatica*) (s.) kai (da). See App. xi.

mangrove, (s.) 1. (*Rhizophora conjugata*) bada (da). 2. (*Rhizophora macronata*, or *Bruguiera gymnorhiza*) jūmu (da). 3. mangrove-swamp jūmu-tāng (da); bada-tāng (da). 4. mangrove-swamp-mud lāb (da). See App. xi.

manly, (adj.) courageous i-tār-mil (da). See **brave**.

manner, (s.) 1. mode, style ig-lōrngā (da). (adv.) in this manner kian āri (da). in that manner kian-ūba (da); ekāra (da). See **custom**.

many, (adj.) with ref. to human beings . . . âr-dûru (da); at-ûbaba (da); jîbaba (da). See Ex. at **sufficient**. 2. with ref. to animals . . . ôt-ûbaba (da); ârdûru (da). 3. with ref. to inanimate objects . . . ârdûru (da); jîbaba (da); ûbaba (da). 4. this many . . . kian-chaia (da). See App. 1. 5. that many . . . kê-chaia (da). 6. how many? (interrog.) . . . kichikan-tûn (da); kichik (da).

marble wood, (s.) 1. (*Diospyros nigricans*) . . . bûkura (da). 2. an inferior variety . . . pîcha (da).

mark, (s.) 1. as of a scar. See **cicatrix**. 2. indentation as caused by a cord . . . ôt-rim (da). e.g. on women's heads from carrying on their backs loads suspended by a cord looped across the head. Look at the mark of the waist-belt (bôd) on your body!: *ng'ab-châu len bôd l'ôt-rim ig-bâdig!* 3. mark of a blow . . . ig-pôlo (da). 4. stain . . . mîchla (da). 5. sign, trace . . . ig-lâmya (da). See **trace**. (v.t.) ig-pôlo (ke). (v.i.) mark time during a dance to recover breath . . . ar-tîr (ke). Mark my words! (pay attention!): ûcha! (*lit. this!*)

marksman, (s.) . . . ûn-yâb (da), whether with arrow, spear or gun. See **archer** and **shot**.

marriageable, (adj.) 1. of a young man . . . ad-eninga-lôyu. See **suitable**. 2. of a young woman . . . ab-iknga-lôyu.

married man and married woman. See App. vii. Married woman's hut: *chân'ia bûd* (da).

marrow, (s.) . . . mûn (da), with prefix ab, ar, etc. according to part of body to which reference is made.

marry, (v.t.) . . . tot-yâp (ke). The Chief married us yesterday: *maiola dilêa met totyâbre*. (v.i.) 1. of the man . . . ad-eni (ke). I married her last month: *ôgar l'âtûri d'en adenire*; ad-ôro (ke). 2. of the woman . . . ab-ik (ke). See **him**. 3. secretly,

without any ceremony . . . eptid-wâ (ke); tig-wâ (ke).

marsh, (s.) See **swamp**.

marvellous, (adj.) . . . ig-nêklinga (da).

mast, (s.) . . . wîlima (da). So named from its resemblance to the trunk of a casuarina tree.

master, (s.) term in addressing, or referring to, a bachelor or young married man . . . mar. See **sir** and Ex. at **feast**.

masticate, (v.i.) . . . ôt-kûram (ke).

mat, (s.) sleeping-mat . . . pârepa (da).

matter, (s.) 1. (pathol). See **pus**. 2. difficulty, trouble; in such phrases as: What's the matter? (exclam.) . . . michimake?; michibake? What has been the matter with you?: *ba-nga-michibare?* It's no matter: *ûchin-dâke*; or *kichikan-ârek-dâke*. See **what** and App. 1.

may, (aux. v.) have permission . . . ôiyo. We may not sing: *môiyot râmid-tôyunga yâbada*. You may dance: *ngôiot kôike*. See **let**.

may no, (or not), (verbal suffix denoting deprecation) . . . kok! May no snake or centipede bite you there!: *kâto ngông jôbo an kârapta châpikok!* May you not fall! (I hope you won't fall): *ngô pâ-kok!*

may-be, (adv.). See **perhaps**.

me, (pron.) . . . dôllen; (in constr. den); dôyu; dad. See App. ii.

meal, (s.) See **breakfast** and **supper**. At one's meal . . . âkâ-kâd (da). They are all at their meals: *ed'ârdûru akat-kâd* (da).

mean, (v.i.) . . . min (ke). See **intend**. What does he mean to do?: *ô michi-ba mînke?* What do you mean (by such conduct)?: *ngô elar-tôrngata!* (exclam).

mean, (adj.) See **illiberal**.

means of, by (postp.) . . . tâm-tek. Bia made (scooped) it by means of an adze: *bîa wôlo tâm-tek kôpre*.

measles, to suffer from, (v.i.) â-rût (ke). (*lit.* "to have an eruption on the body.") See **escape**.

measure, (v.t.) târ-täl (ke). See **fit**, **weigh**.

meat, (s.) See **flesh**.

meddle, (v.i.) See **interfere**.

medicine, (s.) See **charm**.

meditate, (v.i.) iji-mûla (ke).

meek, (adj.) humble ig-lêkinga (da).

meet, (v.i.) 1. a friend casually iji-châchabai (ke). 2. go forward to meet another out of respect or affection iji-kâka (ke).

meeting, (s.) interview ig-âtnga (da). See **assemblage**.

Meliosma simplicifolia, (s.) pâtag (da). See App. xi. for the use of the leaves and seed.

Melochia velutina, (s.) alaba (da). The bark is extensively employed. See App. xiii.

melt, (v.t. & v.i.) See **dissolve**.

Membrum virile, (s.) chûl (da).

memory, (s.) gât-yôma (da).

menace, (v.t.) îj-âna (ke).

mend, (v.t.) See **repair**.

Menispermaceæ, (s.) ûd (da). The seed is eaten.

menses, (s.) âr-tâla-tông (da). (*lit.* tree-leaf.) See **apron** and **flower-name**.

mention, (v.t.) 1. remark ig-yâp (ke). 2. name, refer to âkà-târ-ñgêre (ke). âr-eni (ke). Don't mention its name! : âkà-târ-ñgêreke dâke!

merely, (adv.) only ôgun; ârek.

meridian, (s.) See **mid-day**.

mesentery, (s.) ar-kòlam (da).

mesh, (s.) of net-work idal (da). (*lit.* "eye").

message, (s.) ig-yâbnga (da).

message, send (v.t.) ig-gârma (ke).

Mesua ferrea, (s.) mōnag (da). See App. xi.

metal of all kinds except iron, (s.) êle-râ (da).

meteor, (s.) chàugala-la-chōinga (da). See **spirit** and **light of torch**, etc.

mew, (v.i.) as a cat ig-nîdri (ke).

micturate, (v.i.) ar-ûlu (ke).

micturition, (s.) ûlunga (da).

mid-day, (s.) bôdo-châu (da). See App. x.

middle, (adj.) 1. koktâr (da); 2. the middle one mûgu-châl (da). 3. -finger kôro-mûguchâl (da). 4. in the middle of the canoe ôdam-len. See **canoe**.

midnight, (s.) gûrug-châu (da).

midst, (postp.) among ôt-paichalen. More correctly employed with pl. prefix. e.g. In (our, your, their) midst (môtot, ngôtot, ôtot)-paichalen. See **among**, **beside**, and **Ex. at self**.

midway, (adv.) î-târ-jûdu-ya.

migrate, (v.t.) (î-) jâla (ke).

milk, (s.) ôt-raij (da); ig-kâm-raij (da). My wife's milk is best for her own child : êkan abdêreka l'eb dai îkyâte l'ig-kâmraij bêringa-l'iglâ (da).

milk, (v.t.) See **suck**.

milky-way, (s.) ig-yôlowa (da). One can see the Milky-way only on a clear night : ôgun gûrug-la-tâlimare îgyôlowa l'ig-bâdignga (da).

mimic, (v.t.) âkà-tâ-chûru (ke) rîrka (ke).

Mimusops indica, (s.) dôgota (da). The fruit is eaten, the leaves are those usually utilized for the ôbunga (apron). See App. xiii; and old logs are used for fuel.

mince, (v.t.). chop fine ôt-kōbat (ke).

mine, (pron. adj.) my own d'êkan. Her son told me (that) it was his own father who was sick, not mine : châna l'abêtire den târchî êkan abmaroia abyed-yâte, dêkar yâba (da).

mirror, (s.) See **looking-glass**.

misappropriate, (v.t.) ig-jûlya (ke); ôt-käria (ke).

miscarry, (v.i.) bring forth prematurely ab-dêreka-ya-pâ (ke).

mischievous, **commit** (v.t.) (ôt-) jâbagi (ke); êche (ke). *See damage, spoil.*

misdirect, (v.t.) lead astray, mislead en-êr-lûma (ke).

mislay, (v.t.) 1. misplace âr-to-jîalpi (ke). 2. lay in place not remembered el-ôt-nûyai (ke). *See fail, lose.*

mislead, (v.t.) *See misdirect.*

misplace, (v.t.) *See mislay.*

miss, (v.t.) 1. feel the absence of ôt-kûk-lâtya (ke). 2. fail to hit with any missile lâkâchî (ke). On seeing a flying-fox he does not miss it: *wôt l'igbâdig-nga-bêdig ô lâkâchîke yâbada. ôn* (or ông)-lâma (ke). (v.i.) 1. any object in the water owing to bad steering iji-màua (ke); kitaiña (ke). 2. one's way êr-l'âkâ-châtak (ke).

mist, (s.) pûlia (da).

mistake, (v.t.) 1. . . . (î-)châli (ke). 2. make a verbal mistake âkâ-êche (ke). (*lit.* "mouth-spoil.") 3. in doing something ông-êche (ke). (*lit.* hand-spoil). (adv.) in mistake for lât'-tek. I struck the sunken-rock with my harpoon in mistake for (taking it for) a turtle: *yâdi lât'-tek wai dô tôtôl jêralire.*

mistaken, (p.p.) be in error iji-ñgênga (da).

misty, (adj.) dim, hazy ig-nâlamba (da).

Mr. (Mister) (s.) *See sir*

mix, (v.t.) 1. solids âkâ-pegî (ke). 2. fluids pûljanga (ke); ig (or id)-pûlaiji (ke); ig (or id)-kîu (ke). (v.i.) of fluids iji (or ôto)-pulaiji (ke); iji-gau (ke).

mock, (v.t.) â-rîrka (ke); ôt-târ-tâl (ke).

modest, (adj.) decent ôt-teknga (da). *See chaste.*

modesty, (s.) ôt-tek-yôma (da).

moist, (adj.) ôt-îna (da).

molar, (s.) *See tooth.*

molest, (v.t.) *See annoy, pester.*

money, (s.) *See coin, ear, slice.* The European soldier gave me money (in exchange) for the bow: *bôigoli kârama l'igal ikpûku d'en âre.*

monkey, (s.) jâko. From the English "Jack". There are no monkeys in the Andaman jungles.

monodonta (? *labeo.*), (s.) bada-ôla (da). *See App. xii.*

monsoon, (s.) tâ (da). (a) N.E.-m. (dry-m.) yêre-bôdo-tâ (da). (b) S.W.-m. (wet-m.) gûmul-tâ (da). It is rough owing to the change of the S.W. monsoon: *gûmul-tâ gôlainga l'edâre pâtaradôga* (da).

month, (s.) ôgar (da). It has rained throughout this month: *ôgar dilurêatek yûm la pâre.* *See moon.*

monthly, (adv.) ôgarlen-ôgarlen.

moon, (s.) ôgar (da). [The moon is regarded as male and the husband of the sun.] (a) new moon ôgar-dêreka-yabâ (da); chîrko-lêro (da). The "yabâ" is dropped after the first night or two. (b) 1st quarter ôgar-chânag (da). (c) full-moon ôgar-châu (da). (d) last quarter ôgar-kînab (da). (e) waxing-moon ôgar-la-wâlaga (da). *See grow.* (f) waning-moon ôgar-l'âr-ôdowânga (da). (g) moon-light ôgar-chôinga (da). *See light.* (h) moon-beam ôgar-l'âr-châl (da). I shall leave this encampment next new moon (*lit.* "on the new moon appearing"): *ôgar-dêreka ôko-dôatinga-bêdig ûcha bârai tek d'adlômtake.*

moral, (adj.) virtuous ôt-bêringa (da). *See chaste.*

more, (adj.) 1. a larger quantity tûn (da). More of this: *tûn-ka.* 2. of animate objects âr-bang (da). More

Jarawas are coming : *järawa l'är-bang ònke*.

3. additional *ñā (da)*. See **bring, continue**. Is there no more ? : *an ñā-ba?*

There is no more news : *kārin tātūt ñā-ba*.

(s) 1. much more *ôt-lât (da)*. Give me

much more : *ôt-lât den ā*. 2. one more, another

. . . . *ñā (da)* ; *tālik-ûbatûl (da)*. 3. a little

more *tālik-yabā (da)*. (adv.) 1. no more

. . . . *wai-yāba (da)*. 2. once more (again)

. . . . *tālik* ; *ông-tāli* ; *ôt-pāgi* ; *ig-pāgi*.

moreover, (adv.) *ñe*. See **likewise**.

If you abuse him I will beat you

(and) moreover break your bow : *môda*

ngô ad ab-tôgoke dô ng'apäreke ñe kārāma

kujrake.

moribund, (adj.) *ākan-tûg-dāpinga*

(*da*).

morning, (s.) 1. before sun-rise

wānga (da). 2. after sunrise *dilma (da)* ;

lili (da). See App. ix. (adv.) 1. this morning

. . . . *dilmaya* ; *dilma-len* ; *lilinga* ; *liliya* ;

lili-len. This morning while it was rain-

ing I was feeling ill, but now I have recover-

ed : *lilinga yûm la pānga bēdig d'abyedka,*

dōna āchitik tig-ēbalre. 2. yesterday morn-

ing *dilēa-wāngalen* ; *dilēa-lililen*.

3. tomorrow morning *liliten*. I bathe

every morning *wāngalen-wāngalen dô*

lûdgake. See **daily, monthly**.

morrow, (s.) See **to-morrow**.

morsel, (s.) See **bit**.

mortal, (adj.) of injury or disease. See

fatal.

mosquito, (s.) *têil (da)*.

most, (adj.) 1. in quantity *dōga-*

l'iglā (da). 2. in number of persons

at-ûbaba-l'iglā (da). 3. of animals

ôt-ûbaba-l'iglā (da). 4. of inanimate objects

. . . . *ûbaba-l'iglā (da)*.

moth, (s.) *râ-tegi (da)*.

mother, (s.) 1. *ab-êtinga (da)* ;

ab-wêjinga (da) ; *ab-wêjeringa (da)* ; *ab-*

chânola. See **bear** and App. viii. 2. having

one or more children *ûn-bā (da)*.

My wife was not then a mother : *āchibaiya*

d'ai ikyâte ûnbā yāba (da). 3. step-mother

. . . . *ab-chânola*. 4. mother-in-law

mâmola. 5. mothers-in-law, the relationship

between a married couple's respective

mothers *ākā-ya-kāt (da)*. 6. (adj.)

motherless *ā-bôlo (da)* ; *ab-êtinga-ba*.

mottled, (adj.) *bâratnga (da)*.

mould, (s.) jungle-leaf soil *pā (da)*.

See **clay**.

mouldy, become (v.i.) *ār-tōlai (ke)*.

The jack-fruit seeds have become mouldy,

throw them away : *bêrêñ l'ārtōlaire, wai*

kôrke.

moult, (v.i.) *ôto-pîj (ke)*.

mound, (s.) See **heap**.

mountain, (s.) See **hill**.

mount, (v.t.) 1. *kāgal (ke)*.

See **ascend**. 2. mount (elevate) a child on

to one's shoulder *ākā-yôboli (ke)*.

(p.p.) mounted, seated or perched on any

eminence *ākan (or āra)-yôbolinga*

(*da*).

mountainous, (adj.) *el-ôto-pàu (da)*.

mourn, (v.i.) *bûlap (ke)* ; *bûlab*

(*ke*).

mourner, (s.) *ākā-ôg (da)*. See

elay. [When mourning they smear them-

selves for several weeks with "ôg" and

abstain from dancing and singing, as well

as all favourite articles of food. At the

expiration of the mourning period the

bones of the deceased are disinterred (or

removed from the burial-platform, as the

case may be) and distributed among the

relatives, after which they weep and dance

the "*t'i-tôlatnga (da)*" (*lit.* "tear-shed-

ding" dance) and resume their ordinary

duties.]

mourning, cease (v.t.) *kûk-l'ārlû*

(*ke*). See **finish**.

mouse, (s.) *ît (da)* ; *jûyum (da)*.

moustache, (s.) *ākā-pai-la-pîj (da)*.

mouth, (s.) *ākā-bang (da)*. See

App. ii. (v.t.) open the mouth *ākā-*

têwi (ke). shut the mouth *ākā-*

mêmati (ke); âkà-mêwadi (ke) or âkà-mêodi (ke). (v.i.) open (of the mouth)
âkan-têwi (ke). shut (of the mouth) âkan
(also ôkan)-mêmati (ke). mouthful, (s.)
. . . . âkà-tig-wêr (da).

move, (v.t.) ôchai (ke); lôri (ke). *See*
remove. (v.i.) 1. of an animal or inanimate
object lêle(ke). Why does not the canoe
move? we are pulling with all our might:
michalen rôko lêleke yâba? meda gôra tek
tâpake. 2. of a person lêleka (ke).
Don't move!: *lêlekake ng'ôke!* 3. move aside,
make way ûchik-tûn (ke); ad-ôchai
(ke). 4. away from ôto-châk-tegi
(ke). The child is moving away from the
hut: *ablîga bûd tek ôto-châk-tegi*. 5. move
towards eb-iji-châk-tegi (ke). All the
children are moving towards us: *ligala*
ârdûru mebet iji-châk-tegi. 6. move slowly,
of a canoe, etc ôgûlya (ke). 7. move
swiftly, of a canoe, etc pûdya (ke).

much, (adj.) great in quantity or amount
. . . . dôga (da); chânag (da); ûbaba (da).
(adv.) in a great degree dôga (ya);
chânag (ya); ûbaba. very much
bôtaba; deloba; tâpaya. On giving him
the bow he thanked me very much: *en*
kârama mânnga-bêdig ô den êletre bôtaba.
so much, this much kîan-wai; kîan;
kaî; ûchu-tûn. Can you spare me so (this)
much?: *an ngô den kaî ng'arlôdake?* that
much kâ-tûn; how much? tân-tûn.
too much dôga-bôtaba.

mucus, (s.) (nasal) ig-nîlib (da).

mud, (s.) 1. . . . yâtara (da). 2. of
mangrove swamp lâb (da).

muddy, (adj.) pûlur (da). 2. of
channel or creek el-ôt-pûlur (da).

murder, (v.t.) ab-pârekâti (ke).

murderer, (s.) ûn-tî (da).

muscle, (s.) yîlnga (da). *See* App. ii.
prefix according to part of the body.

muscular, (adj.) 1. . . . ab-gôra (da).
See **powerful**. 2. in the arms î-gôra
(da).

music, (s.) ôt-tegi (da).

musket, (s.) bîrma (da).

mussel, (s.) mared (da).

must, (v.i.) ûba-waik. You must
run at once, he is calling you: *ngô kâ-gôî*
ûba-waik kâj, ô ng'âr-ângereke. I must
think it over before I make it known to
you: *ngen yâbnga l'ôt-êr-ômonga l'ôko-têlim*
dôl ûbawaik gôb-jôike.

mute, (adj.) 1. dumb yâbnga-ûla
(da). 2. silent only mîlanga (da);
mûkuringa (da); âkà (or ôko)-mûlwa (da).
See **deaf**.

mutilate, (v.t.) ab-chîwat (ke).

mutter, (v.i.) dûnukâ (ke).

muzzle of gun, (s.) bîrma-l'âkà-bang
(da). *See* **gun**.

my, (poss. pron.) dîa (da; dô; dôt;
dar; dab; etc. *See* App. ii. my bow: *dîa*
kârama (da). my husband: *ad îkyâte* (da).
my wife: *dai îkyâte* (da). my mouth: *dâkà-*
bang (da).

my own, (pron. adj.) dêkan. This
is my own hut: *ûcha dêkan bûd* (da).

myself, (pron.) dôyun-têmar:
dôyun-batâm; deh-êkan. *See* **hurt** and **self**.

N

nail, (s.) 1. of finger or toe ông-
bô'doh (da). 2. metal tôlbôd (da).
This is so named from its resemblance to
the iron-pointed head of the arrow bearing
the same designation. *See* **arrow**. (a) head
of nail tôlbôt-l'ôt-chêta (da). (b) point
of nail tôlbôt-l'ôko-naichama (da).

naked, (adj.) unclothed (ab-)kâlaka
(da); (ab-)lûpa (da). The prefix depends
on the part of the body referred to. *See*
App. ii. *in puris naturalibus* ôt-kâlaka-
rêatek.

name, (s.) ôt-ting (da). What is
your name?: *michima ng'ôt ting? ting-l'âr-*
eni! (*lit.* mention name!) 2. birth- and pre-
natal- ting-l'âr-ûla (da). 3. "Flower-
name" ting-l'âkà-kôl (da). Of the 18

prescribed trees which blossom in succession throughout the year, the name referring to that which happens to be in season when the girl attains maturity is bestowed upon her, and it is prefixed to her own (i.e. personal) name, e.g. òra-mêbola; môda-dôra. See App. ix. 4. nick-name. See **nick-name**.

name, (v.t.) 1. mention by name, style . . . âr-taik (ke). On seeing a coin for the first time we named it ik-pûku (i.e. a slice): *idlia-gôiya l'igbâdignga-bêdig meda ik-pûku marat-taikre*. See **call**. 2. call, summon . . . âr-ñgêre (ke); âkà-târ-ñgêre (ke). 3. mention the name of . . . ting-l'âr-eni (ke). 4. invent a name . . . êkan-tig-ôyu (ke).

name-sake, (s.) . . . âr-ting-la. Your name-sake gave me food: *ng'âr-ting-la den yât mânre*.

nape of neck, (s.) . . . ôt-bôrot (da).

narrate. See **tell**.

narrow (limited) space, (s.) . . . êr-chôpaua (da). (adj.) 1. limited in regard to space . . . (êr-)chôpaua (da). 2. cramped, as the pointed bows of Nicobarese canoes . . . kî nab (da). See **bow**, of ship, and **fall**. 3. not wide . . . lôlowa (da).

nasty, (adj.) in flavour . . . ig-mâka (da); âkà-jâbag (da).

native, (s.) 1. aboriginal . . . âkà-bîra-bûdya (da). 2. of India . . . chàugala.

naughty, (adj.) See **disobedient**.

nauseous, (adj.) of food, drink, medicine . . . âkà-jâbag (da).

nautilus shell, (s.) . . . ôdo (da). This is used as a drinking-cup, also for baling water from a canoe, bathing a child, etc. See App. xiii.

navel, (s.) . . . ab-êr (da).

neap-tide, (s.) . . . nōro (da).

near, 1. (adv.) at close quarters . . . lagya; lagiba. 2. (postp.) (a) as one place to another . . . ya-pâ-len. (b) to some spot or inanimate object . . . ông-pâ-len. My hut is near the creek: *jîg l'ông-pâlen dîa*

bûd (da). (c) some animate object . . . âkà-pâlen; ôt-paicha-len. (d) to a tree or post (under the shade of) . . . eb-êr-tegilen; tek I see the pig which is near that tree: *wai dól kâto âkâtâng l'ebêr-tegilen yâte rôgo l'igbâdike*. The jack tree is near the mango tree: *koi tek kaita (da)*.

nearly, (adv.) . . . lagi-tek. See **almost**. nearly full . . . lagitek têpe (da). nearly ripe . . . ròicha (da). It's nearly finished!: *kanya!*

necessary, (adj.) . . . ârainga (da). It is necessary for us to arrive by noon: *meda bôdo-châu kâgainga wai ârainga (da)*.

neck, (s.) . . . ôt-lôngota (da).

neck-lace, (s.) . . . âkan-êtai (da); âkan-êtainga (da). generic term for all varieties. For description of the several kinds see App. xiii.

need, (v.t.) require . . . ôyar (ke); ârai (ke). Your pig-arrow lashings need wax: *ngia êla l'ôt-chânga kânga-tâ-bûj ôyarke*.

needful, (adj.) See **necessary** and **requisite**.

needle, netting- (s.) . . . pôtòkla (da). See App. xiii.

neglect, (v.t.) fail to perform or complete . . . en-kîchal (ke).

neighbour, (s.) . . . êr-ya (da). He is my neighbour: *ôl dîa êr-ya (da)*.

neighbourhood, (s.) . . . ông-pâ (da). In the neighbourhood of Kyd Island there are plenty of cowries: *dûra-tâng l'ông-pâlen têlim ûbaba*.

neither, 1. (pron.) not the one nor the other . . . ûchin-ûbatûl . . . yâba (da). Neither of those pig-arrows is mine: *kât'êla ûchin-ûbatûl dîa yâba (da)*. 2. (conj.) . . . ûchin-ûba . . . (yâ) ba (da). See **nor**.

nephew, (s.) . . . âr-bâ (da). See App. viii.

nest, (s.) 1. . . . âr-bârata (da); âr-râm (da). See **cover**. 2. edible nest of the *Collocalia spodiopygia* . . . bilya-l'âr-râm (da). not used by Andamanese. 3. mason-wasp's nest . . . kôt-rîm (da). This is eaten as a cure for diarrhoea.

net, hand- (s.) 1. for fishing kûd (da). See App. xiii. 2. large, for trapping turtles, dugongs and large fish yôto-têpinga (da). See App. xiii. 3. small, for holding various articles in common use châpanga (da). See App. xiii, (v.t.) make a net têpi (ke).

netted ornament for personal wear, (s.) râb (da). See App. xiii.

nettle, (s.) hêla (da).

never, (adv.) tâlik yâba (da); eda yâba (da); kichik (or ûchik)-wâi-yâba (da). He will never restore it: *ô l'en tâlik ar-dôkrake yâba (da)*. I have never visited Calcutta: *wai dôl eda kalkata len tâlre yâba (da)*. He never comes here: *ôl eda kârin ônke yâba (da)*. Never again tâlik-eda yâba (da). Being now old I shall never again hunt pigs: *d'abjanggih l'edâre dô tâlik-eda reg-deleke yâba (da)*. Never mind! ûchin-dâke! ârek-tôbatek dâke! Never mind! I will take it away myself to-night: *ûchin dâke! wai dô gûrugya d'iji-îkke*.

nevertheless, (conj.) ârek; ûba-ârek. See Ex. at **although**.

new, (adj.) gôl (da).

newly, (adv.) gôila.

news, (s.) târtît (da). Good news has come: *târtît bêringa ik-ônre*. There is nothing more in the way of news here: *kârin târtît nâ-ba*, or *kârin nâ târtît yâba (da)*. (v.t.) 1. communicate, impart, make known yâbnga-l'ôt-êr-ômo (ke). târtît (ke). 2. receive (*lit.* hear) news târtît-îdai (ke); târtît-ik-ôn (ke). See **hear, come, take away**. We have received (*lit.* heard) news that he is now chief of that district: *meda târtît-idaire aña ôl ka-wai kât'êrema-l'êâte l'ôt-yûbur (da)*.

next, (adj.) 1. in ref. to a period of time î-dôatinga (da); ôko-dôetinga (da). 2. in order, as in a race âr-tôr (da); âr-ôlo (da). 3. in a row or line of animate or inanimate objects târ-jana (da). 4. next turn (in rotation) âr-ôlo-ka.

See **first-turn**. next moon: *ôgar-l'â-îdôatinga (da)*. next time ngâ-tek; ig-pâgi; tâlik. The next time you come bring some nautilus shells: *ngô ngâtek ôn-yâte wai ôdo tôyuke*. next one! (in distributing food or presents, as on parade) tûn!

nice, (adj.) in regard to flavour âkâ-bêringa (da).

nick-name, (s.) âr-taiknga (da); ting-l'ôt-dônga (da). See **name** (v.t.). (v.t.) ô-t-ting-ôroke. He first nick-named you Pâgda: *ôl otolâ ngen pâgda ô-t-ting-ôroke*.

Nicobar Islands, (s.) malai-lia-êrema (da) (*lit.* Malay-country). See **bow of canoe**.

niece, (s.) âr-bâ-pail (da). See App. viii.

niggardly, (adj.) mean ôn-yât-jâbag (da)

night, (s.) gûrug (da). last night gûrug-l'êâte (da). There was a violent squall last night: *gûrug-l'êâte ûlnga-tôgori l'edâre*. (adv.) to-night . . . gûrug-len; gûrug-ya; ka-gûrug-len. To-morrow night lilinga-gûrug-len.

nimbus, (s.) rain-cloud yûm-l'i-diya (da). See **cloud**.

Nipa fruticans, (s.) pûta (da). The seed is eaten. See App. xi.

nipple of breast, (s.) kâm-l'ôt-chêta (da); kâm-l'ôko-pât (da); kâm-l'ôko-naichama (da).

no, (adv.) 1. denoting denial, or inability yâba (da). 2. refusal or disinclination nûin. Is he a jungle-dweller?: *an ôl êrem-tâga (da)*? No (he is not): *yâba (da)*. Give me a bow: *den kârama mân*. No (I won't): *nûin*. There is no food here: *kârin yât yâba (da)*. (v.i.) say "no", deny, reply in the negative î-têta (ke). I asked Bira whether his wife was still sick, he said "no", she is fishing to-day: *dô bira len chiurare, an ng'ai-ikyâte ngâkâ abyedke, ôl ûtêtanga bêdig târchâ wai châna ka-wai yât-pâneke*. See **fish** (v.t.) and **net**. No matter! See **never mind**!

nobody, (s.) no one, no person
ûchin-ôl yāba (da). Nobody now-a-days lives on that island : *kā tōt-bōka len kawai-ârlaya ûchin-ôl būduke yāba (da)*.

no longer, (adv.) 1. never again, never more *tâlik-eda yāba (da)*. (i.e. again-never not). See **never again**. 2. not any more *kawai-tek yāba (da)*. (i.e. now-from not). My canoe is no longer serviceable : *dîa rôko kawai-tek mêdel yāba (da)*.

no matter ! See **never mind** !

nod, (v.i.) in sleep. 1. forwards *ig-ngâtya (ke)*. 2. sideways *î-dêge (ke)*; *î-dêrega (ke)*. 3. on meeting an acquaintance *ig-ngôde (ke)*.

node, (s.) joint in bamboo, etc *ig-ôtat (da)*. See **joint**.

noise, (s.) 1. . . . *ar-yâlangar (da)*. 2. of hammering *ar-tānga (da)*. 3. of a gun. . . . *âkâ-tegi (da)*. (v.i.) 1. make a noise *ar-yâlangar (ke)*. You must not make a noise while turtle-hunting : *yâdi lôbinga bédig ngôl ûba-waik yâlangar (ke) dâke*. 2. with ref. to the fall or rush of water only *yâl (ke)*; *yâla (ke)*. 3. make a noise, of surf *yenge (ke)*. See **breakers**. 4. make a noise, of bamboo cracking in the fire or of a bottle bursting *tûchu (ke)*. Stop that noise ! *tûbo !*

none, 1. (adj.) not one, not any *yāba (da)*. Have you none? : *an ng'yāba (da)*? None at all *yāba-bōtaba*. 2. (pron.) not one, no one (a) *ûchin yāba (da)*; *ûchin-ba*. None of the boys have yet returned from the pig-hunt : *ngâkâ ûchin âkâ-kâdaka ût'tek iji-âkalpire yāba (da)*; (or *ngâkâ ûchin-ba l'âkâ-kâdaka ût'tek iji-âkalpire*). (b) *mija (or miji'at) yāba (da)*. None here is afraid : *mija kârin adlât yāba (da)*? (lit. Who here afraid not?). None of the children came here yesterday : *miji'at ligala dîlêa kârin ònre yāba (da)*? (lit. Whose children yesterday here came not?)

nonsense! (exclam.) *kâka !*; *chō !*; *tôt !*; *pêtek !* (these words are used by men only.) *gêatek !* (this word is used only by women.)

noon, (s.) *bôdo-châu (da)*. See **forenoon**, **afternoon** and App. x.

noose, (s.) *âkâ-kôr (da)*.

nor, (conj.) *ôl-bédig (yā) ba (da)*; *êâte (yā) ba (da)*. Neither my turtle (flesh) nor your pork is now fit to eat, both are becoming putrid : *ûchin-ûba dîa yâdi-dama ôl-bédig ngâ reg-dama kawai māknga-lôyu-ba, wai ikpôr chōroke (or â-jābake)*.

north, (s.) *el-âr-jana (da)*; N. E. wind *pûluga-tâ (da)*; also *pâpar-tâ (da)*. N. E. monsoon *yêre-bôdo-tâ (da)*.

nose, (s.) *ig-chōronga (da)*. (a) bridge of *ig-chōronga-lânta (da)*. (b) tip of *ig-chōronga-naichama (da)*. (c) mucus of *ig-nîlib (da)*. (d) septum of *ig-êj-bâ (da)*. (v.t.) blow the nose *ig-nîlib-l'ôyu-wêjeri (ke)*.

nostril, (s.) *ig-chōronga-l'âr-jâg (da)*. See **chink**, **crevice**, **gap**.

not, (adv.) 1. *yāba (da)*. He has not yet come : *ôl ngâkâ ònre yāba (da)*. 2. (in construc. only) *ba*. I don't understand what you say : *ngô târchî-yâte dô dainga-ba*. It is our custom not to eat the kidney-fat of the pig during the probationary fast : *marat-dûru l'ekâra âkâ-yâb-len reg-jîri-māknga-ba*. 3. (imperat.) *dâke*; *ngôke*. Do not steal ! (*ngô*) *tâpke dâke !* (or *tâpke ngôke !*) [N.B.—When the injunction “must not” is employed “*dâke*”—not “*yāba (da)*” is used. See Ex. at lie.] 4. not again *tâlik yāba (da)*. 5. not any more (never again) *tâlik-eda yāba (da)*. 6. not any more (no longer) *ka-wai-tek yāba (da)*. 7. not yet *ngâkâ ba (or yāba)*. He has not yet recovered from his sickness : *ôl ngâkâ tig bōinga-ba*. 8. not enough ! (when not satisfied) *yābalen-dâke !* 9. not really ! (you don't mean that ! you don't say so !) (exclam.) *kak !* (uttered incredulously).

nothing, (s.) yāba (da). (adv.) for nothing, 1. gratis. See **gratis**. 2. without cause. See **causelessly**. He abused me for nothing : *ôl ôt-kālya dad ab-tôgore*.

notice, (v.t.) observe id-ngô (ke).

novitiate, (s.) novice âkà-gôî (da). See **feast**.

now, (adv.) 1. immediately, in immediate future kâ-gôî. Go now ! (at once) : *ûchik kâ-gôî !* 2. of immediate past gôî; gôila; dāla. He has now arrived here : *ôl kârin gôîl' âkà-ti-dôîre*. 3. the present time âchitik; ka-wai. It is now raining: *âchitik yûm-la pāke*.

now-a-days, (adv.) in these days ka-wai-ârlalen; ka-wai-ârlaya.

now and then, (adv.) occasionally, from time to time ñgâtek-ñgâtek. See **sometimes**.

no-where, (adv.) êr-len-yāba (da).

nude. See **naked**.

numb, (adj.) "pins and needles" in any limb îl-l'â-ông-kârapnga (da). *lit.* "mouse-limbs-biting", the phenomenon being attributed to the action of an invisible mouse.

numerals are not used. See App. iii for words used as ordinals.

numerous. See **many**.

nurse, (v.t.) 1. . . . ab-nôrâ (ke). When he was sick my wife nursed him : *ôl abyednga bédig dai îkyâte l'ad abnôrâre*. 2. nurse a child by rocking it ar-lêla (ke). See **suckle**.

nut, (s.) ôt-chêta (da).

nux vomica, (s.) êrepaid-tât (da).

O

O! or oh! (interj.) hê! See **Oh!**

oar, (s.) See **paddle**.

obedient, (adj.) âkà-tegi-gâtnga (da); (âkà-)tegi-l'ôt-mâlianga (da). See **remember, voice**.

obey, (v.t.) âkà-tegi-gât (ke); (âkà-)tegi-l'ôt-mâlin (ke).

oblige, (v.t.) compel. See **make**.

obscure, (adj.) See **dim, misty**.

observe, (v.t.) notice id-ngô (ke).

obstinate, (adj.) ig-lêta (da); ab-kôtijwānga (da).

obstruct, (v.t.) See **hinder, prevent**.

obtain, (v.t.) 1. procure ôro (ke). See **get**. 2. by shooting or spearing ôt-rûg (ke). We obtained all this there this morning (by shooting) : *med' ûch'ârdâru kâto dîlmalen ôtrûgre*.

occasionally, (adv.) 1. in the future ñgâtek-ñgâtek. 2. in the past âchin-ya.

occuput, (s.) ôt-yâ (da)

occupant, (s.) temporary resident êr-pôli-yâte (da). See **resident**.

occupy a site, (v.t.) êr-wâl (ke). *lit.* clear a site, with a view to occupation.

occupied, (p.p.) of a hut bûd-pôli-yâte (da).

occur, (v.i.) take place ôko-dôati (ke). See **boar, happen, what**. A storm occurred at noon yesterday : *dûlêa bôdo-châu ûlnga chānag ôko-dôatire*.

ocean, (s.) jûru (da).

ochre, (s.) burnt yellow ûpla (da). When mixed with melted fat of the pig, turtle, iguana, etc., it is termed kôïob (da). See App. xiii.

octopus, (s.) jang (da).

Odina wodier, (s.) jôr (da).

odour, (s.) ôt-âu (da). See **smell**.

of, (postp.) 1. belonging to îa (da). The hut of my father : *d'ab-maiol'ia bûd (da)*. 2. from, out from, among tek. The tallest of those men is my elder brother : *kâto bûla-lôngkâlak tek abiapanga-yâte wai ad-entôbare*.

of course, (adv.) 1. certainly, naturally bô-tik; ba-bôtik; keta; ûba-yāba-ba; (*lit.* true-not-not.) See **assure, certainly, untrue**. Who shot the pig? : *mija reg len taijre?* I, of course : *wai keta dôl*. I shall of course bring my wife : *wai dô dai-îkyâte ba-bôtik*

abtôyungabo. 2. of course! to be sure! keta-ô!; keta-wai-ô! See **yes**. Is it so? (is it true?): an-ûba? of course it is!: *keta-wai-ô*. See **true, yes**. 3. of course, so it is an-a-keta. See **true**.

off, (postp.) not on ôt-têra-tek; tek. Take (*lit.* move) your feet off my mat: *dia pârepa tek ngòiot pág ôchai* (or *dia pârepa l'ôt-têra-tek ngòiot pág ôchai*). 2. start off (v.i.) as in commencing to run a race ara-pôrot (ke). 3. off! (interj.) as in starting a race pôrot! 4. go off, (v.i.) explode, as a gun ara-tûchu (ke). 5. be off! (interj.) go away! ûchik-wai-ôn! 6. be off at once! ûchik-rêo!; kâtik-rêo! 7. let us be off. (esp. when returning home): *môcho wîjke*. 8. I'm off now: *ka-wai d'ôke*.

offal, (s.) kôrnga (da). . . .

offence, (s.) crime witi (da). See **sin**. 2. of an abusive nature ab-tôgo (da). See **dance**.

offend, (v.t.) kâlemja (ke); entigrêl (ke). Did I offend you yesterday? (*lit.* cause you to be angry): *an dô dîléa ng'entigrêlre?*

offensive, (adj.) 1. causing displeasure eb-ôt-kûk-jâbaginga (da). 2. as regards odour. See **smell**.

offer, (v.t.) iti-pâni (ke). He offered me his own bow: *ôl êkan kârama den iti-pânire*.

often, (adv.) iji-lôinga (da).

ogle, (v.t.) iji-ôdo (ke).

oh! (interj.) as in sudden pain yîh! 2. as when startled yî-nono!

oil, (s.) âna (da). turtle-oil yâdi-l'ig-âna (da).

oily, (adj.) lôbu (da).

old, (adj.) 1. of animate objects ab-chôroga (da). 2. of inanimate objects ya-ârla-ârdûru (da). 3. ancient, referring to the remote past âr-tâm (da). See **kitchen-midden**. This word is sometimes loosely employed to signify merely

"former". See *ante*, p. 16 (46). (s.) old person ab-jang'gi (da); ab-chôroga (da). (if grey-headed) ab-tôl (da). See App. vii. (v.i.) grow old ab-chôroga (ke); abjang'gi (ke).

omentum, (s.) ab-jîri (da). see **Ex. at not**.

omit, (v.t.) leave out. See **fall, leave**.

on, (postp.) 1. upon yôboli; âr-yôboli; ya; len. Sit on the grass: *yûkala len yôboli âkà-dôl (ke)*. He is standing on the beach (landing-place): *ôl pâla len* (or *ya*) *kâpîke*. 2. above, on the top of. See **above**. 3. when, while bédig. On seeing him once more (again) I was delighted: *en tâlik igbâdignga bédig d'ôtkûk-l'âruôllaktîre*.

once, (adv.) 1. a single time ûba-dôga (da); ûba-tûl (da). He struck me once on the head: *ôl ûba-dôga d'ôtpârekre*. See **annually**. 2. at one time, at first, at a former time otolâ (da). He was once the best shot amongst us all: *ôl otolâ mardûru tek ûnyâb-tâpaya (l'edâre)*. 3. Once upon a time âchinbaiya. Once upon a time God lighted a fire on Barren Island: *âchinbaiya mō'la-târchōna len pûluga châpa-l'ôko-jôire*. This island (no longer called "Smoke Island" but *tailichâpa* "stone fuel") contains a fine symmetrical volcano, about 1,000 feet high, which has been quiescent since the early years of the 19th century. For situation see Map. 4. once more, again. See **again, more**, and **Ex. at on**. 5. At once kâ-gôi. 6. once or twice ôyun pônga. He visited me once or twice during my illness: *d'abyednga len ôl ôrun-pônga den ikâkare*.

one, (adj.) 1. with ref. to animals and inanimate objects ûba-tûl (da); ûba-dôga (da). Give me one bow to-day: *kawai kârama ûba-dôga d'en â*. 2. with ref. to human beings ab-ûba-tûl (da); ab-ûba-dôga (da). (a) one-armed ig-gûd-âr-ûba-dôga (da). (b) one-legged ar-châk-âr-ûba-dôga (da).

(e) one-eyed idal-âr-ûba-dôga. (da).
One more. See **another, more**. (pron.) one's
self êkan. See **self** and **hurt**.
(adv.) one by one, one at a time, (a) of
inanimate objects ōko-lôdongaya.
(b) of animate objects âkà-lôdongaya.
We will slaughter the pigs one by one:
reg-lôngkâlak âkà-lôdongaya med'akat-jaiñke.
See **separately, singly**.

only, (adj.) sole (ab-)ûba-tûl (da).
He is now my only son (father speaking):
ô kawai dar-ôdire ûba-tûl (da). (adv.) not
more, without another, merely ôgun;
ârek. We all speared (between us) only
two turtles last night: *gûrug-ya med'ârdûru*
ôgun yâdi l'îkpôr dûtire.

opal, (s.) ôgar-l'îdal (da). (lit.
"moon's eye".) Milk-opal is found on
Rutland Island. (See **Map**.)

open, (v.t.) 1. a bundle, bag, net, &c.
wêlaiji (ke); *âkà-lûpuji* (ke); *âkà-ô'châi*
(ke). 2. the eye idal-l'ôt-têwi (ke).
3. the mouth âkà-têwi (ke). (v.i.)
1. of a loosely tied bundle, etc. . . . ōto-
wêlaiji (ke). 2. of the eye iji-wäre
(ke). 3. of the mouth âkan-têwi (ke);
âkan-wêdai (ke). (s.) open jungle
êremwâlak (da).

Ophiophagus elaps, (s.) See **hamadryad**.

oppose, (v.t.) resist ab-kîdawa (ke).

opposite, (adj.) facing âkà-elma-
len. They are sitting opposite to me:
eda d'âkà-elma-len akat-dôike. (s.) oppo-
site shore or bank *tedi-bala* (da);
(v.i.) be on the opposite shore or bank
. . . . *tedi-bala* (ke). See *ante*, page 24,
in list of tribes, "*âkà-balawa* (da)," and
Map showing the Archipelago as *opposite*
the main island.

or, (conj.) 1. . . . an. Give me either
an adze or a pig-arrow: *ûchin-ûba*

wôlo an éla d'en, â. See **either**, and **may**
not. 2. otherwise, else *kîinig*. Make
the bow like this (in this manner), or I
shall be angry: *ngô kârama kîan-âri kôpke*,
kîinig dô tig-rêlke. See **arouse**.

order, (v.t.) 1. direct *kânîk-yâp*
(ke). The Chief ordered it (so): *kîan-âri*
maiola kânîk-yâbre. 2. order another
to make (or do) something with the hands
. . . . *ông-naima* (ke). 3. order another
to climb, run, swim, etc. . . . *ig-naima*
(ke). 4. put in order See **arrange**.
(s.) command *kânîk* (da). Why did
you slaughter the fat pig without orders?:
michalen ngô reg-pâta ba-kânîk âkà-jaiñre?
See **without**. (conj.) in order that
aña. See **Ex. at provide**. (postp.) in order
to, for the purpose of *eb*. He has
gone to that place in order to procure honey:
ô kât'ér len âja-kâraiñga l'eb kâtikre. We
have all come here to-day in order to have
a dance: *ka-wai m'ardûru kôingâ l'eb*
kârin ònre.

oriental, (s.) esp. native of India
châugala.

Orion's belt, (s.) *bêla* (da).

ornament, (v.t.) 1. the person by means
of pigments. See **paint**. 2. articles by
means of certain small shells *yâm*
(ke). See **App. xiii**.

ornaments, personal (s.) *âkà-yâm-*
nga (da). See **armlet, chaplet, garter, neck-**
lace, wristlet and **App. xiii**.

orphan, (s.) *â-bôlo* (da); *bôloka*
(da). The term "*bârai-j-bôlo*" is applied
to an encampment during the period be-
tween the death of one chief and the appoint-
ment of his successor.

osprey, (s.) *Pandion halitæus* *ârañga*
(da).

other, (adj.) 1. not the same
iglā (da); *âkà-tedi-bôlyā* (da); *âkà-tōro-bûyā* (da). 2. some other *ōko-tōro-bûyā* (da). 3. additional *tûn* (da); *fiā* (da); *tâlik-ûba-tûl* (da). (pron.) the other, the remaining one, (a) of two persons *âr-dilu* (da); (b) of two animals, birds, etc. *ôt-dilu* (da); (c) of two inanimate objects *âkà-lôglik*. Give me the other bow: *kârama l'âkà-lôglik den â*. (plur.) the others, the rest, (a) of three or more persons *arat-dilu* (da); (b) animals, birds, etc. *ôtot-dilu* (da). I speared one pig and Bia shot the others: *dô reg ûba-tûl jêralire, bîa l'ôtot-dilu taijre*; (c) inanimate objects *akat-lôglik*. See **test** (s.) the other side, opposite bank or shore *tedi-bala* (da). See **opposite**.

otherwise, (conj.) else *kîinig*. See **or**. (adv.) differently, in a different manner *iglā* (da).

ought, (v. aux.) 1. should *tô-guk*. See **should**. 2. be bound in duty *tôlata*. Your mother having recently died you ought to fast: *ng'abétinga ârla-l'ikpôr-tek okolînga l'edâre tôlata ngô yâpîke*.

our, (poss. pron.) *mêta* (da); *mêtat*; *môtot*; *môiot*; *makat*; *mebet*; *amet*; etc. See App. ii. Our hut: *mêta bûd* (da). Our women: *mêtat (â) pail* (da). Our stepsons: *mebet adenire*. Our feet: *môiot pâg* (da). 2. our own, ours (pron. adj.) *mêkan*. 3. in ref. to a community (pron. adj.) *marat-dûru* (da). It is our practice to treat the aged as well as children with kindness: *at-janggi ôlbédig bālag len ôko-jengenga wai marat-dûru l'adêranga* (da).

ourselves, (pron.) *môyut-batâm môyut-têmar*; *môto*. See **barter**.

our kind (style, make, original type) of, (adj.) *bôjig*. This word is applied, as illustrated below, in order to indicate the distinction between the five tribes of the central group (*bôjig-ngîji*) and the five of the northern group (*yêrewa*) and the two of the southern group (*ônge-jārawa*), see *ante*, p. 24. (a) *bôjig-ngîji* (da) *lit.* "our (or fellow-) kinsmen," and denotes the affinity existing between the *âkà-bêa*, *âkà-bôjig-yâb*, *âkà-balawa*, *âkà-kôl*, and *âkà-jûwai* tribes. (b) *bôjig-yâb* (da) *lit.* "our original type of speech", the name of one of the five tribes in question. It is said that the dialects spoken by the other four tribes sprang from that of this tribe. (c) *bôjig kârama* (da): "our style of bow" The bow of these five tribes is distinct from those of the *yêrewa* and also from those of the *ônge-jārawa*. Who gave you this bow of our make?: *mîja ngen ûcha bôjig kârama mânre?*

out, (adv.) 1. not within, not at home *ab-yābaya*. 2. of a fire, torch, light, etc. See **extinguished**. (postp.) 3. forth, from *tek*. Take the honey-comb out of the bucket: *dâkar tek kânga ôyu-wâl* (ke.) (Phr.) out of breath *âkan-chaiatinga* (da); out of one's depth *ar-wôdlinga* (da). See **reach**; out of sight *iji-mārere* (da). out of sorts *ad-jābag-tāgnga* (da). See **sort**.

out-rigger, (s.) 1. of canoe *del* (da); *chârigma* (da). 2. out-rigger-canoe *chârigma* (da).

outside, (s.) 1. exterior *wâlak* (da). 2. of a mat, when rolled *âr-ête* (da). The same word is applied to the *underside*

when unrolled, as in rolling a mat the underside becomes the outer side of the roll.

outstrip, (v.t.) out-run, out-walk
lûkra (ke).

ovary, (s.) ab-ijnga (da).

over, (adv.) 1. overhead, above tâng-len. See **above**, **up**. 2. finished, past, at an end âr-lûre. (postp.) above, higher in place tot-êra-len. See **up**.

overboard, (v.t.) throw ôt-jûra (ke). (v.i.) overboard, fall ôto-jûmu (ke).

overcast, (v.i.) of the sky ela-dîl (ke)
yûm-la-kâg (ke).

overcome, (v.t.) get the better of
otolâ-ômo (ke).

overflow, (v.i.) ôto-êla (ke).

overhead, (adv.) aloft tâng-len. See **above**, **bridge** and **up**.

overjoyed, (p. a.) kûk-l'âr-wâla-kîninga (da).

overland, (adv.) by land tinga len.

overtake, (v.t.) come up with âr-châ-raga-eni (ke).

owing to, (postp.) 1. on account of, because of edâre. 2. by the action of ông-jîg. See **abet**. Owing to the rain he is not pig-hunting to-day: *yûm l'edâre ôl kawai reg-deleke yâbada* The recovery of Bira's child was owing to you (i.e., your treatment): *biri'ablîga tig-bôînga-bêdig ng'ông-jîg l'edâre*.

owl, (s.) kôru (da).

own, (adj.) êkan. There's our own canoe: *wai kâto mékan rôko* (da). See App. ii. (s.) own country-man ig-bûdwa (da). own (or fellow-)tribesman ab-ngîji(da).

own, (v.t.) 1. possess bêjiri (ke). 2. admit ar-wai (ke). See **acknowledge**.

oyster, (s.) 1. *Ostrea cucullata* tòîña (da). 2. small oyster (*Ostrea hyotis*) wōp (da).

P

pace, (s.) step â-tâng (da).

pack, (v.t.) of food o-dêk (ke). See **bundle**. (v.i.) bestow things for carrying or storing ôto-chō (ke). See **fasten**.

package, (s.) See **bundle**.

paddle, (s.) wâligma (da). (a) handle of wâligma-tâ (da); wâligma l'ông-tôgo (da). (b) blade of wâligma-lông-tâ (da).

paddle, (v.t.) 1. transport by paddling ûn-târ-tegi (ke). See **row**. 2. midship (î-)tâpa (ke). 3. at the bows ôt-tâpa (ke). 4. at the stern ar-tâpa (ke). 5. astern, back-water î-târ-tâpa (ke). 6. rapidly, as in racing tôgori (ke). See **propel**.

paddy-bird, (s.) egret (*Ardeola leucoptera*) chōkab (da).

pail, (s.) dâkar (da). See **bucket**.

pain, (s.) 1. due to a wound or any disease yed (da), with prefix ig, ôt, ab, etc. according to the part affected. See App. ii. The child is crying because of the wound in his hand: *ông chûm lîa yed l'edâre ablîga t'ê'kik* (ke). 2. due to blow, sickness or fatigue châm (da), with prefix (as above).

pain, cause (v.t.) See **hurt**. (v.i.) 1. suffer pain from wound or disease yed (ke), with prefix according to part affected. See App. ii. 2. suffer pain from blow,

sickness or fatigue *châm* (ke), with prefix according to part referred to. See **hurt** (v.i.) and App. ii. 3. suffer pains of labour *îk-ig-nû* (ke).

painful, (adj.) *yêbaba* (da). The bite of a centipede is painful: *kârapla châpinga bédig wai yêbaba* (da).

paint, (v.t.) 1. the face, body or limbs of another with *tâla-ôg* *chôrocha* (ke), with prefix *ig*, *ab*, *ar*, etc. according to part of body referred to. [This work is done by women with their finger-nails.] 2. the face or forehead (esp. of infants) with great care and skill *ig-pêma* (ke). 3. the face, body or limbs of another roughly with one's fingers with *ôg* *ngôtowa* (ke), with prefix *ig*, *ab* or *ar* as required. 4. face, body or limbs roughly with *ôg* with one's palms *leät* (ke), with prefix (as above). See **daub**. 5. the face, body or limbs roughly with *kôio*b *eäp* (ke), with prefix (as above). 6. the upper lip of another with *kôio*b *âkà-lêmaudi* (ke). 7. one's self in any of the above methods respectively *iji* (or *ad*)-*chôrocha* (ke); *iji-pêma* (ke); *iji* (or *ad*)-*ngôtowa* (ke); *iji* (or *ad*)-*leät* (ke); *iji* (or *ad*)-*eäp* (ke); *âkan-lêmaudi* (ke). 8. any inanimate object (white) *leät* (ke). red *eäp* (ke). See App. xiii.

painting, (s.) See **picture**.

pair, (s.) couple, (a) of animate objects *ar* (or *ara*)-*jôpinga* (da). (b) of inanimate objects *jôpinga* (da).

Pajanelia multijuga, (s.) *kôkan* (da). This is one of the trees used for making canoes. See App. xi.

Palaeornis erythrogenys (s.) *êyep* (da).

palate, (s.) *âkà-déliya* (da); *âkà-laia* (da).

palatable, (adj.) *âkà-bêringa* (da). See **savoury**.

pale, (adj.) pallid *ig-mûgu-pänab-nga* (da); *ig-pâkatnga* (da).

palm, (s.) 1. of hand *ông-elma* (da). I placed it in the palm of your hand: *wai dô ng'ông kôro l'ông elma len tegire*. 2. palm tree or shrub. For principal varieties see App. xi.

palpitate, (v.i.) *ôna* (ke).

pan leaf, (s.) *Chavica macrostachya* *yême-lâr-tông* (da).

Pandanus Andamanensium, (s.) 1. . . . *mâng* (da). The fruit and seeds are eaten and the leaves are used in making articles of attire, e.g. garters and wristlets. See App. xiii. 2. *Pandanus verus* *ûdala* (da). 3. *Pandanus odoratissimus* *îtil* (da). The seed is eaten. See App. xi.

panic, (s.) *ab-lât-lig-gûru* (da).

pant, (v.i.) *âkan-chaiati* (ke).

pap, (s.) *ôt-yôb* (da).

papa ! (exclam.) *maia* !

paper, (s.) *chiti* (da). From the Hindustani word *chitthi*.

paradise, (s.) *jereg* (da). The desirable place of the departed souls of those who, having led good lives, are accounted worthy, and whither the wicked may be admitted after expiating their crimes in purgatory. See **purgatory**.

Paradoxurus Andamanensis, (s.) *baian* (da).

parcel, (s.) See **bundle**.

parch, (v.t.) *ig-kîu* (ke). (v.i.) *âkà-môl* (ke); *el-â-êr* (ke).

parched, (p.p.) 1. of land *el-â-êr-re*; *el-âkà-êr-re*. 2. with thirst *êr-nga* (da); *âkà-mêlenonga* (da).

pardon, (v.t.) *ep-tig-lai* (ke). (v.i.) ask pardon *eb-yâp* (ke).

pare, (v.t.) *kājili* (ke). Pare your nails: *ng'ông bôdoh kājili* (ke).

parent, (s.) having one or more children ûn-bā (da). **parents** ab-maiol-chânoł. All our parents are dead : *marat dûru l'at-maiol-chânoł okot-lînga (da)*. See **beforehand**. The relationship between a married couple's respective parents âkâ-ya-kât (da). See App. viii.

paroquet, (s.) *Palæornis erythrogegnys* êyep (da).

part, (s.) 1. See **bit**, **fragment**. 2. region quarter êrema-l'êâte (da). The Jarawas inhabit that part (of the jungle) : *kât'êrema-l'êâte len jârawa bûduke*.

part, (v.t.) 1. the hair ôt-mâl (ke). 2. divide ôt-kôbat (ke); dulâ (ke). 3. by splitting âkâ-târali (ke). (v.i.) separate as friends ôto-kâ (ke).

parting, (s.) the act of âkan-târ-tôzinga (da); pûraujinga (da). The latter refers to the act of blowing on each other's hands by friends at parting. Before the removal and burial of a corpse the mourners blow on its forehead in token of farewell.

party, (s.) See **assemblage**, **gathering**.

pass, (v.t.) 1. go by ig-pôrowa (ke); ab-îji (ke). 2. cause to move or go by, hand î-târ-tâk (ke). (v.i.) 1. spend (as time) pòli (ke). 2. (a) a night away from home (of one person) ara-mâmi (ke). (b) (of more than one) ara-barmi (ke). 3. pass under, by stooping teb-êr-dôati (ke). See **stoop**.

passion, (s.) rage îj-âna (da).

past, (p.a.) elapsed î-târre; ar-yâ-baire.

past, (s.) The î-dal-l'â-târre.

path, (s.) 1. pathway tinga (da); tinga-bā (da). 2. by-path tinga-l'âkâ (or l'âr)-châti (da).

patient, (adj.) calm, tolerant ad-mûkur-teginga (da).

pattern, (s.) 1. in tattooing bôrtâ (da). 2. in painting the person ornamentally rêtawa (da). with prefix **ig**, **ab** or **ar**, according to part referred to. See App. ii. and **paint**. 3. in painting the face ornamentally ig-pêma (da). 4. on a shell î-tôna-tâninga (da).

paw, (s.) 1. fore- ông-kôro (da). 2. hind- ông-pâg (da).

pay attention! (exclam.) ûcha! (lit. "this".)

pay a visit, (v.t.) See **visit**.

pea, (s.) âkâ-ban (da).

peaceable, (adj.) in disposition a (or ig)-likinga (da).

peal of thunder, (s.) gôrawa-l'âkâ-tegi (da).

pebble, (s.) rêni (da).

peck, (v.t.) as a bird dût (ke) [to peck once only jêrali (ke).] See **harpoon**, (v.t.) as a woodpecker êrtôro (ke).

pectoral fin, (s.) (yât-l')ig-wâd (da).

peel, (s.) skin, rind, bark ôt-êd (da) (in constr. ôt-êj.). (v.t.) See **skin** (v.t.). strip off skin, rind, etc dôch (ke); dôich (ke). See **skin**.

peepul tree, (s.) *Ficus laccifera* râu (da).

penetrate, (v.t.) 1. pierce chêgai (ke). As you did not shoot with (sufficient) force your arrow only penetrated the pig's skin : *ngô dôdopinga l'edâre êla ôgun reg l'ôt êj chêgaire*. See **pierce**. 2. undergrowth in jungle târ-lôtòk (ke). See **entér**.

peninsula, (s.) tânma (da).

people, (s.) 1. persons collectively at-dâlag (da). Many people were assembled at my village yesterday : *dîlêa dîa bârai lat aiddâlag ârdûru to-taire*. 2. of a certain tribe or community laga (da). The

Bojig-yab people are coming here to-day :
kawai bôjig-yâb laga kârin ònke. 3. race (s.)
S. r. 2.

perceive, (v.i.) apprehend *iji-bâdi* (ke). See **see**.

perch, (v.i.) *âkan* (or *âra*)-yôboli (ke). (s.) for fishing *tâga* (da).

perfect, (adj.) without defect *ôt-gôrojim* (da). See **sound**, **whole**.

perforate, (v.t.) *âr-rûm* (ke).

perform, (v.t.) See **accomplish**, **complete**.

perfume, (s.). See **smell**.

perhaps, (adv.) *tilik*. It will perhaps rain to-day : *ka-wai tilik yûm la-pâke*. See **Ex.** at **bring** (by water).

period, (s.) time, day *i-dal* (da). See **antediluvian**.

perish, (v.i.) 1. through accident on water *ôrowa* (ke). 2. through any disaster on land *ôko-titân* (ke). 3. as a plant *rûka* (ke). 4. as a flower *maiñ* (ke).

peritoneum, (s.) *ông-tâga* (da).

permit, (v.t.) *i-tân* (ke); *titân* (ke). See **let**. Permit us to go hunting : *met delenga lat titân* (ke). See **allow**.

perpendicular, (adj.) of a post, etc. See **erect**, **upright**.

person, (s.) 1. individual *ab-dâlag* (da). Many persons came here yesterday : *dîlêa at-dâlag ârdûru kârin ònke*. (b) body of a human being *ab-châu* (da); *ab-dâla* (da). His wife has just (ornamentally) painted Woi's person : *ab-îk-yâte wôi l'ab-châu kâ-gôi chôrochare*. See **well-made**.

personal ornaments, (s.). See **ornaments** and **App.** xiii.

personate, (v.t.) *ab-châu-eni* (ke). See **assume**.

perspiration, (s.) 1. . . . *gûmar* (da). Takes prefix *ôt*, *ab*, etc. according to part of the person referred to. 2. odour of

ôt galanga (da). (v.i.) *gûmar-l'ar-wêjeri* (je); *gûmar-l'ar-dôati* (ke).

perverse, (adj.). See **obstinate**.

pester, (v.t.) *ig-ôjoli* (ke). Don't pester me ! : *d'ig-ôjoli ke ng'ôke* !

pet, (s.) a favourite animal *ik-lîrnga* (da). See **accompany** and **go**. (v.t.) See **caress**, **cherish**.

petal, (s.) *koktâr-dâla* (da). The petal of this flower is beautiful : *ûcha kôl l'ia koktâr-dâla wai ino* (da).

phlegm, (s.) mucus *ôt-tûlepo* (da).

phoenix sp., (s.) *râb* (da).

phosphorescence of the sea, (s.) *pêwoi* (da).

pie, (s.) Indian copper coin *ik-pûku* (da). See **coin**.

pick, (v.t.) 1. select. See **choose**. 2. pick bones with the teeth *tâ-tûp* (ke). 3. pick flowers or fruit *tôp* (ke). See **break off**, **gather**. 4. pick up *eni* (ke). 5. pick up fallen fruit *gît* (ke). See **gather**. 6. pick out, as a mollusc, from its shell *kârepa* (ke). (v.i.) pick one's teeth *âkan-kârepa* (ke).

picture, (s.) *ôt-yôlo-yîtinga* (da). (*lit.* reflection-tattooing).

pie-bald, (adj.) *bâratnga* (da).

piece, (s.). See **bit**, **fragment**.

pierce, (v.t.). See **penetrate**. 2. as in stabbing *jaiñ* (ke).

pig, (s.) 1. female *rôgo* (da). 2. male or female *reg* (da). 3. sucking-pig *reg-bâ* (da). 4. full-grown young male *reg-wâra* (da). 5. full-grown young female *reg-jadi-jôg* (da). Until we shot that pig yesterday we had been without meat for two days : *tôbatek dîlêa meda kâto reg len taijre ârla ikpôr môtot paichalen dama yâba* (da). 6. pig-arrow *êla* (da). 7. pig-spear *êr-dûtnga* (da); *âkâ-dûtnga* (da). 8. pig-hunter

ig (or ōko)-delenga (da). 9. mock pig-hunt (a game) ad-reg'ignga (da). See **game**.

pigeon, Imperial. *Carpophaga insularis* mûrud (da).

pigmy, (s.) ar-dêdeba (da).

pigment, (s.) ôg (da); tâla-ôg (da); kòioh (da). used for ornamental, curative, or other purposes. See **paint** and App. xiii.

pile, (s.) See **heap**.

pilfer, (v.t.) ōko-lôdo (ke).

pillow, (s.) ōto-tôknga (da).

pilot, (v.t.) êr-tâl (ke). See **measure, weigh**.

pimple, (s.) rûtnga (da). with prefix, ab, ar, etc. according to part of the body to which reference is made.

pincers, (s.) See **tongs**.

pinch, (v.t.) tōpi (ke).

pine, screw- *Pandanus odoratissimus, (s.)* itil (da). The seed is eaten. See App. xi.

pinion, (v.t.) lōrōpti (ke). (signifies also the tying of a line round the flappers of a harpooned turtle in order to haul it into the canoe.) (s.) ig-âcha-tâ (da).

See **wing. pinna, (? squamosa) (s.)** chej (da). **P. sp.** chîdi (da). For mode of use see App. xiii.

pip, (s.) ban (da).

pit, (s.) gara-l'ōko-bang (da).

pitch, (v.t.) throw dâpi (ke); dêpi (ke). (v.i.) as a ship or boat at sea ōto-kōchia (ke).

pitiful, (adj.) See **compassionate, sympathetic**.

pitiless, (adj.) See **cruel**.

pity, (v.t.) itâ-bûlap (ke). What pity! widi!

place, (s.) locality, spot êr (da). construct. el.) See **Andaman Islands**.

(adv.) in place of See **instead of**.

(v.t.) 1. put tegi (ke). 2. place near one's self ōto-paichalen-tegi (ke). 3. put in order or in its proper place kädli (ke). Did you put my bow in its proper place? : an ngô dia kârama lat kadlire? 4. on one side ep-tot-mâni (ke). Place the bow on one side: we are going to dance, kârama l'ep-tot-mâni, meda kôî (ke). (v.i.) 1. put a hand over the eyes as when crying iji-mûju (ke). 2. put the hand over the mouth as when astonished, laughing or owing to an offensive smell ōkan-mûju (ke). 3. Take place. See **happen**.

plain, (adj.) 1. unornamented lûpa (da). 2. even, flat, level (of land) êlingiriya (da); ô-t-jêperya (da). (s.) er-l'ôt-jêperya (da). See **land**.

plait, (v.t.) tēpi (ke).

plan, (v.t.) contrive mûla (ke). v.i.) ponder, meditate iji-mûla (ke).

plane, (v.t.) 1. by means of an adze tōlōp (ke). 2. by scraping or rubbing (a) by means of *Cyrena* shell or boar's tusk ô-t-lêje (ke); pōr (ke). (b) by means of boar's tusk only pûlau (ke); pulâuwa (ke).

planet, (s.) châto-châbil-châu (da).

plank, (s.) board pätéma (da).

plant, (s.) dêdeba (da); (if edible), âkâ-dêdeba (da). (v.t.) yât-bûguk (ke). lit. food-bury.

plantain, (s.) (*Musa simiarum*). 1. the plant eng'ara-l'âkâ-tâng (da). 2. The fruit eng'ara (da).

plaster, (v.t.) See **daub, paint, smear, and cover**.

plate, (s.) of shell chîdi (da). A *pinna* shell is commonly used for food or pigments. See **pinna** and App. xiii.

platform, food- (s.) 1. in hut tâga (da). 2. burial- (on tree) î-tâga (da).

platter, (of wood), (s.) *pūkuta-yât-māknga* (da). See **plate** and Ap xiii.

play, (v.i.) 1. *î-jâj* (ke). 2. some sort of game *î-jâjag-tâg* (ke). See **amuse**, **sort**.

plaything, (s.) *ig-lirnga* (da).

please, (v.t.) give pleasure, gratify *en-ôt-kûk-bèringa* (ke).

pleased, (p.a.) *ôto-yêlanga* (da). See **glad**.

plentiful, (adj.). See **abundant**.

plenty, (s.) *ôt-ûbaba* (da). See **many**, **much**. There are plenty of pigs in that jungle: *kât' êrem len reg' ôt-ûbaba* (da).

pliable, (adj.) supple *ôto-yôb* (da); *yâragap* (da).

plot, (v.t.) conspire *ab-chî* (ke).

pluck, (v.t.) flowers, fruit or feathers . . . *tôp* (ke). See **gather**, **pick**.

plunder, (v.t.) (*râmoko-l'*) *âr-lichâ* (ke).

plunge, (v.i.) dive *ôto-jûmu* (ke); *tôl* (ke). See **dive**, **launch**.

pod, (s.) *yûi* (da). See **shell**.

point, (s.) 1. cape, promontory *tôko-chōronga* (da). 2. tip (tapering end) *naichama* (da). See **beak** and **end**. (v.t.) point an arrow *mōk* (ke); *por-mōk* (ke). See **make**. We make (prepare) the wooden point of the *râtà* arrow from the *châm* arrow: *meda châm tek râta pôr-mōk* (ke). (*lit* we point the *râtà* arrow from the *châm*.) 2. point to (*ab-*) *râu* (ke).

point out, (v.t.) (*ôko-t'*) *ig-râu* (ke); *itân* (ke). See **show**.

pointed, (adj.) *âkâ-naichama* (da); *âkâ* (or *ôko*)-*yôb* (da).

poison, (s.) *wâr* (da).

poke, (v.t.) *gêrau* (ke).

pole, (s.) of bamboo, employed in propelling a canoe in shallow water *tōg* (da), (in construc. *tōk*); (a) when used

at the stern *tōk-l'âr-lôbinga* (da). (b) when used at the bows *tōk-l'ôt-lôbinga* (da). (c) also used at the bows, but so made as to serve as the shaft of the harpoon used in spearing turtles, dugongs, etc. . . . *tōk-l'âkâ-chânga* (da).

pole, (v.t.) a canoe when proceeding along the shore in search of fish or turtle, or to visit another place *ôt-lôbi* (ke). See **bow of canoe** and **propel**. Now pole the canoe from the bow, it will afterwards be your turn at the helm: *âchitik ng'ôt-lôbi, târôlolen ngia ârtit* (da).

polish, (v.t.). 1. with fibre *chûlu* (ke). 2. with shell, tusk, etc. . . . *gêligma* (ke). See **Ex.** at **abscond**.

pollute, (v.t.) See **defile**.

Polyalthia jenkinsii, (s.) *reg-l'âkâ-châl* (da).

pond, (s.) *îna-l'ig-bang* (da).

ponder, (v.t.) consider thoughtfully *kûk-l'âr-êr-gâd* (ke). (v.i.) meditate *iji-mûla* (ke).

pool, (s.) *kûbe* (da). deep pool in bed of stream *kôbunga* (da).

poor, (adj.) indigent *ôt-lêkinga* (da).

popular, (adj.) See **favorite**.

pork, (s.) *reg-dama* (da).

porpoise, (s.) *chôag* (da). See **Ex.** at **way**.

port, (s.). 1. harbour *el-âr-ûla* (da). 2. larboard, left side of canoe *i-târag* (da).

portage, (s.) for conveying newly-scooped canoe-hulls to shore *âr-tinga* (da).

portion, (s.) See **bit**, **fragment**.

portrait, (s.) *ôt-yôlo-yîtinga* (da). See **picture**.

possess, (v. t.) own *bêjiri* (ke). See **rich**.

position, in original, (adv.) in situ
wai (da). *See in situ.*

possible, (adj.) 1. that may be done
(ông-)châk-bêringa (da). 2. that may happen
. . . . tilik (da). Is it possible! (interj.)
ba-ôcho!

post, (s.) 1. of hut dagama (da).
2. fishing-post tâga (da). *See plat-*
form. These are fixed on the foreshore
and provided with a perch for the fisher-
man on the watch for a shot at a passing
fish.

posteriors, (s.). *See buttocks.*

posterity, (s.) ôtot-bôrta-wîchi (da).
See descendant and seedling.

postpone, (v.t.) defer ñgêtebla (ke).

pot, cooking- (s.) bûj (da). *See*
App. xiii.

pot-sherd, (s.) bûj-l'âkà-pâj (da).
See bit.

potato, (s.) gôdam-l'âr-ôta (da).

pot-bellied, (adj.) âr-bût (da).

potter, (s.) bûj-lâtnga (da).

pottery, (s.) ig-lât-yâte (da).

pound, (v.t.) tâi (ke).

pour, (v.t.) cause to flow ôt-êla
(ke). (v.i.) pour, rain heavily yûm-
l'âr-pûlu (ke); yûm-chânag-la-pâ (ke).

powder, (s.) pûlaina (da).

power, (s.). *See influence and strength.*

powerful, (adj.) muscular ab-gôra
(da).

practice, (s.) custom kîan-wai (da);
ekâra (da); ad-êranga (da). 'It is not
our practice to burn the dead: *oko-linga*
jôinga-len mêtat adêranga yâba (da).

practise, (v.t.) rehearse âr-tâl (ke);
kôr (ke). They are now practising (re-
hearsing) the chorus: *eda âchitik râmid-*
châu kôr (ke).

praise, (v.t.) commend yômai (ke.)

prattle, (s.) yâbnga-dêreka (da).
(v.i.) yâbnga-l'ig-lâp (ke).

prawn, (s.) 1. fresh-water àu (da).
2. sea-water (young) kaibij (da). (also
applied to shrimps). 3. full-grown
kai (da).

pray, (v.t.) after the manner of Mos-
lems ârla-l'ik-yâp (ke). *See daily*
and mention.

prayer, (s.) ârla-l'ik-yâbnga (da).
See daily and speech.

precede, (v.i.) oto-lâ (ke). *See first.*

precious, (adj.) valuable âr-inga (da).

precipice, (s.) tig-pau (da).

precipitous, (adj.) el-ôt-chûdma (da).

predict, (v.t.) foretell ig-garma (ke).

prefer, (v.t.) i-târ-bûi (ke).

pregnant, become, (v.i.) conceive
ôto-râng'a (ke). (adj.) enceinte, (a) after
a few months ôt-bûd-bâ (da). *See*
dwelling and small. (b) after 6 or 7 months
. . . . âr-bôdi (da); ôt-bûd-bôdia (da).
See big. (c) about to be confined
ik-ig-nûnga (da). The term pîj-jâbag (da)
(lit. hair-bad) is applied to both husband
and wife during the latter's pregnancy.

prepare, (v.t.) 1. make ready ar-
tâmi (ke). 2. prepare for a journey
tôt-yâr (ke).

presence, (s.) âr-lôg (da). *See Ex.*
at trace.

presence of, in the (postp.) idal-len;
âkà-elma-len. *See before and time (period).*

present, the (s.) present time
kawai-ârla (da). At present (adv.) (a) now,
at the present moment âchitik; kawai.
There is nothing more to say at present:
âchitik ñâ târchînga yâba (da). (b) now-a-
days kawai-ârlalen. *Presently (adv.)*
See later on.

present, (s.) *See gift.*

present, (adj.) 1. not absent ab-ûba (da). ka-waikan. Only my younger brother is present: *ôgun d'âka-kâm ka-waikan*. See Ex. at individual. 2. on some past occasion edäre. When Punga was dying I was present: *pûnga tûg-dâpinga bédig d'edäre*.

preserve, (v.t.) food by burial for consumption during the rains âkà-lûgap (ke). See reserve.

press, (v.t.) squeeze pûnu (ke). See crush and squeeze.

press upon, (v.t.) ab-nînai (ke); ab-tôk (ke); âkà-ngòich (ke). See crush.

pressing, (p.a.) urgent âr-tig-gûjunga (da).

pretend, (v.i.) make believe iji-yâ-mali (ke); âr-îtaichi (ke). See malingering.

pretty, (adj.) 1. of inanimate objects îno (da); bêreto (da); ig-bêringa (da). 2. of animate objects ab-îno (da); îta-bêringa (da); mûgu-bêringa (da).

prevent, (v.t.) 1. . . . fiedba (ke); ôyutâr-t'êkik (ke). See hinder. The Chief prevented us: *maiola môyut-târ-t'êkikre*. 2. prevent by seizing hold of another ôt-pûnu (ke).

prick, (v.t.) 1. . . . (ab-)dût (ke). Prefix dependent on part of the body referred to. 2. prick the flesh in order to remove pus or any foreign matter ôko-tûbuli (ke).

prickly, (adj.) chûkulnga (da).

prime, (adj.) first-rate gôi (da). See Ex. at self.

print, foot- (s.) 1. human ûn-pâg (da). 2. animal âkà-kòij (da).

prior to, (postp.) before entôba; entôka. Did he strike you prior to my arrival?: *an ôl den ônnga l'entôba ng'ad-ab-pärekre?*

prisoner, (s.) ôt-châtre; ôt-chât-yâte (da). The adoption of this term was evidently due to their observing that

the convicts in the Penal Settlement were provided with all their requirements. See adopted and capture.

proceed, (v.i.) 1. set out, start tût-mâkari (ke). 2. after a halt târ-chôrowa (ke). 3. stealthily, as after game âr-î-laijin (ke). 4. proceed abreast, of two or more pîpa (ke). 5. direct to any place ara-lôm (ke).

procure, (v.t.) See get, obtain.

profile, (s.) See face.

profit, (s.) âr-pôlok (da).

prohibit, (v.t.) ab-kâna (ke).

prolific, (adj.) 1. producing offspring ûn-bâ-l'ârdûru (da). 2. of a tree ar-bâtnga (da).

promise, (v.i.) ftya (ke).

prong, (s.) of arrow or harpoon âkà-châti (da).

pronunciation, (s.) âkà-lôma (da). Owing to his faulty pronunciation I don't understand him: *âka-lôma jâbag l'edäre d'en daike yâba (da)*.

prop, (v.t.) âr-tâgi (ke).

propel, (v.t.) a canoe by poling near shore, (a) at the stern ar-lôbi (ke); (b) amidships ôdam-lôbi (ke); (î-)lôbi (ke); pâritâ-lôbi (ke). (c) at the bows ôt-lôbi (ke).

proper, (adj.) right, fit tölata (da). See Ex. at right.

property, (s.) (ig-)râmoko (da). See cover, wrap. When leaving your place bring all your property with you: *ngta êr îjînga bédig ng'ig-râmoko l'ârdûru tôyuke*. (Any property not in use is usually kept wrapt up in bundles.)

protect, (v.t.) ôt-râj (ke); ab-gôra (ke); ôko-jeng'e (ke); ôt-yûburi (ke). (v.i.) protect one's self ôto-râj (ke). We are protecting ourselves: *meda m'ôtot-râjke*.

protector, (s.) guardian ôko-jeng'-enga (da); ôt-yûburinga (da).

proud, (adj.) haughty âkan (or âyan)-lêtainga (da).

prove, (v.t.) test, try yôgo (ke).
See Ex. at test.

provide, (v.t.) supply mân-ak-tâg (ke); â-tâg (ke). The Chief provided us with a canoe in order that we might go fishing: *maiola met rôko mânak-tâgre aña môtot lôbike*.

provisions, (s.) yâi (da) (in construc. yât).

provoke, (v.t.) excite to anger en-tigrêl (ke).

prow, (s.) ôko-mûgu (da); ôt-mûgu (da).

pshaw! (exclam.) cho!

Pterocarpus dalbergioides, (s.) châ langa (da). The sounding-boards used when dancing to mark time are made from the buttress-like slab roots of this tree. See App. xiii.

Ptychosperma kuhlil, (s.) âpara (da). The pulpy portion of the spathe is eaten and the leaves are used for thatching and bedding.

publish, (v.t.). See **make known**, and Ex. at must.

puddle, (s.) el-âkâ kôdo (da); kûbe (da). See **pool**.

puff, (v.i.) as a steamer or tobacco smoker tûpu (ke).

pull, (v.t.) 1. draw a cord or bowstring to test its strength tinap (ke); tê-nip (ke); tini (ke); têni (ke). See **draw**. 2. haul a rope dôkori (ke); ig-dôkra (ke). 3. draw out, extract. See **extract**. 4. tug in opposite directions ijôj (ke). See **tug, drag, haul** and **paddle**, (v.t.).

pulp, (s.) of fruit (e.g. Pandanus) mûgu-dâla (da).

puksate, (v.t.) nôt (ke).

pulse, (s.) nôtnga (da). Takes p.p. ong, ab, etc. See App. ii.

punctual, (adj.) ar-gôlinga-ba (da).

punctually, (adv.) ar-gôlinga-ba (ya).

pungent, (adj.) hot as ginger or chili âkâ-yâro (da); ig-rinima (da).

punish, (v.t.) ab-êche (ke). See **damage**.

punkah, (s.). See **fan**.

pupil, (s.) 1. learner ông-bâdi-yâte (da). 2. pupil of the eye î-dal-l'ôt-pûtunga (da). See **black**.

puppy, (s.) bibi-bâ (da).

pure, (adj.) See **clear, clean**.

purgatory, (s.) jereg-l'âr-mûgu (da). This is a bitterly cold place of punishment and reformation of souls guilty of heinous offences in this life. See **paradise**.

purpose of, for the (postp.) in order to eb. See Ex. at **for** and **order to**, in.

purposely, (adv.) intentionally ar-lûgap (ya). Did you strike Woi purposely?: *an ngô l'arlûgap wôi l'ab-pärekre?*

pursue, (v.t.) ig-âj (ke).

pus, (s.) mûn (da). takes prefix ab, ôt, etc. according to part of person referred to. See App. ii.

push, (v.t.) forward ôt-ûdauti (ke). 2. push down ig-ûdauti (ke); ig-wêdai (ke). 3. push from behind âr-gôdauti (ke); ôt-ûdauti (ke). 4. backwards âkâ-ûdauti (ke). 5. push off a seat ôt (or ar)-wêdai (ke). 6. push aside ab-ôchai (ke). 7. push aside branches in jungle with hands or feet âkâ-mâl (ke).

put, (v.t.) 1. (a) put down, place, a person ab-tegi (ke). Put him (a child) down here: *kâmin ab-tegi (ke)*. (b) p. an animal or thing tegi (ke). 2. p. aside jâlagi (ke). 3. p. inside kok-târ-len tegi (ke). 4. p. outside

wâlak-len-tegi (ke). 5. p. on clothes or ornaments **eb-lôtî** (ke). 6. p. anything on another **yôboli** (ke). 7. p. off, take off, ornaments, etc. . . . (**ôt-**) **lûpuji** (ke). 8. p. out one's tongue **êtel-ôyu-wêjeri** (ke). See **get up** and **emerge**. 9. p. fuel on fire **ôko-jôi** (ke). 10. p. in order. See **arrange**. 11. p. straight **kädli** (ke).

putrefy, (v.i.) **chôro** (ke); **â-jāba** (ke). See **Ex.** at **abandon**.

putrid, (adj.) **chôrore**; **â-jābare**.

pygmy, (s.) **âr-dêdeba** (da).

quake, (v.i.). See **tremble**.

quality, (s.) property, characteristic **yôma** (da). e.g. **ôt-bêringa-yôma** (da), (goodness); **târ-tôknga-yôma** (da), (cruelty); **ig-ûya-yôma** (da), (heat); **ab-lâpanga-yôma** (da), (height).

quantity, (s.) 1. large **ôt-lât** (da); **kôt-rôkoba** (da); **môrota-bārawa** (da). Give me a larger quantity: *tûn ôt-lât den â*. 2. small **yabā** (da).

quarrel, (v.i.) 1. dispute **ad-gûin** (ke). They are quarrelling among themselves: *ed'ôyut-bûd-bédig ad-gûinke*. 2. regarding ownership **iji-châli** (ke). See **mistake**. We are quarrelling over the ownership of that canoe: *kâ rôko l'eb mijit châlike*. (s.) fight, affray. See **fight**.

quarrelsome, (adj.) **ad-gûinnga-tâpa** (da).

quarter, (v.t.) 1. divide into parts. See **cut up**, **disjoint**. 2. give quarter. See **spare**. 3. give no quarter **târ-tôk** (ke). (adv.) at close quarters **lagya**; **lagiba**.

quartz, (s.) **tôlma** (da).

queen conch, (s.). See **conch** and **App.** xii.

quench, (v.i.) 1. allay, appease **ôyar** (ke). He is quenching his thirst: *ôl âkâ-môlyôma len ôyarke*. 2. extinguish. See **extinguish**.

question, (v.t.) interrogate **î(ig or âkâ)-chîura** (ke). See **ask**.

question, particle denoting **an**. Is Woi still absent? : *an wôi ngâkâ abyāba (da)?*

quick, (adj.) rapid **ôko-rinima** (da).

quickly, (adv.) (a) of canoe, current, bird, etc. . . . **yêre**. (b) of human beings **âr-yêre**; **yîrad-tek**; **rêo**. See **bring**, **come**.

quickly! be quick! (imper.) **ng'âr-yêre!**; **kuro!**

quiet, be (v.i.) be silent **mîla** (ke); **ôko-mûlwi** (ke). be quiet! : *mîla (ke)!* (adj.) silent **ôko-mûlwinga** (da); **mîlanga** (da).

quietly, (adv.) softly **dôdo** (ke); **âkan-dôdonga**; **âkan-âmainga**; **âr-tî-tâg-ya**.

quill, (s.) **ig-âcha** (da).

quit, (v.t.) See **abandon**, **leave**. (v.i.) desist from. See **cease**.

quite, (adv.) completely, entirely **ûbaya**. See **see** (v.i.); **rêatek**. See **entirely**. It is quite hot now: *kâ-gôi ûya ûbaya*. That's enough! : *kian-wai!*; quite enough! *kian-wai dâke!* lit. that's enough, don't (more)!

race, (s.) 1. division of human species **dâlag** (-l'iglā) (da). lit. "people-different." Of what race is that old man? : *kât'ab-jung-gi tenchâ dâlag (-l'iglā) (da)?* All these men are of different races: *ûch'ârdûru bûla wai dâlag-l'iglā (da)*. 2. competitive trial of speed **ar-tûla** (da). (v.i.) **ara-tîrla'** (ke).

raft, bamboo (s.) **pô-chōnga** (da).

rag, (s.) *râchatnga* (da); *kājili* (da).

rage, (s.) passion *ij-âna* (da). (v.i.) *ij-âna* (ke); *iji-rêl* (ke). 2. fly into a rage *ij-âna-ômo* (ke).

rain, (s.) *yûm* (da). Up to the present but little rain has fallen: *ngâkâ yûm bā la-pâre*. (v.i.) *yûm-la-pâ* (ke). 2. rain heavily See **pour**. 3. rainbow *pîdga* (da); *mōro-elma-pîdga* (da). 4. rain-cloud *yûm-l'i-diya* (da). 5. shower. See **shower**. 6. rainy season *gûmul* (da). God has ordered us (all) not to eat the jungle-yam during the rainy season: *pûluga m'ardûru len kânîk yâbre aña gûmul len yât-bang makat-wêtke yâba* (da). (adj.) rain-proof (ar-) *kôla* (da). A rain-proof hut: *châng-kôla* (da).

raise, (v.t.) See **lift**. 2. one's eyebrows *ig-ngîrau* (ke). (v.i.) 1. raise one's self *ôto-laijai* (ke); *êkan-ôt-laijai* (ke). 2. raise itself *âkan-laijai* (ke).

rake a fire, (v.t.) *ig-ôjoli* (ke).

ramble, (v.i.) *êr-lûma* (ke).

random, at (adv.) *ad-châk-tek*. As it was dark, and being frightened, I aimed a spear at random: *yêchar len d'adlâtnga bédig dól ad-châk-tek ab-wâre*.

rap, (v.i.) See **knock**.

rapid, rapidly. See **fast and quickly**.

rare, (adj.) uncommon, scarce *ar-tang-ba* (da).

rascal, (s.) *ab-jābag* (da).

rash, (s.) eruption *â-rût* (da); *â-rûtu* (da).

rasp, (s.) file *tâlag* (da).

rat, (s.) *rôgo-tâtma* (da).

rattan, (s.) *Calamus* sp. See **cane**.

ravenous, (adj.) *âkâ-nûbatnga* (da).

ravine, (s.) *el-ôko-pârag* (da). See **valley**.

raw, (adj.) 1. uncooked *chim'iti* (da); *rôcha-ba* (da): i.e., cooked-not. 2. unripe See **unripe**.

rays, sun's- (s.) *bôdo-l'âr-châl* (da).

ray-fish. See **skate**.

ray, sting- (s.) *nîp* (da). (a) serrated bony spine of *nîp-l'âr-châga* (da). (b) tail of *nîp-l'âr-bûl* (da). (c) ray (spine) of a fin *vât-l'ôt-chûkul* (da). See **thorn**.

reach, (v.t. or v.i.) 1. arrive at *kâgal* (ke). 2. by water *ôkan-yôboli* (ke). See **Ex. at start**. 3. by land only *dâlag* (ke). See **Ex. at walk**. 4. reach by stretching out one's arm or foot *tik-pai-ne* (ke). (adv.) out of reach, (a) of one's arm or foot *âkâ* (or *ông*)-*wôd-linga* (da). (b) of bamboo when poling near shore *ôt-wôd-linga* (da). See **out**.

read, (v.t.) *ig-yâp* (ke). (*lit. say or speak something that is seen*).

readiness for, in (postp.) *ôko-têlim*. Cook some food in readiness for Wôloga: *wôloga l'ôko-têlim yât jôi* (ke). See **for**.

ready, (adj.) for use or action *ad-ûyunga* (da). make (v.t.) 1. of a canoe *ar-chôrowâ* (ke). 2. of a bow *ngôtla* (ke). See **prepare**.

ready-cooked, (adj.) *yât-rôcha* (da). See **Ex. at cooked**.

really, 1. (adv.) *ûba*; *ûba-ya*. 2. (interj.) Really? *an-ûba?*; *an-wai?*

rear, (v.t.) educate, bring up 1. one's own child *ab-gôr* (ke). 2. another's child *ôko-jeng'e* (ke); *ôt-chât* (ke). See **adopt and protect**. 3. fatten for slaughter *chilyu* (ke). See **self**.

rear of, in the (postp.) âr-ête-len. See **Ex. at behind**.

reason of, by (adv.) edâre. See **Ex. at account of, on ; and because**.

receive, (v.t.) take as offered, sent or gained eni (ke). We received the few presents which you sent : *êr-mân bā ngôl ititân yâte med'enire*. See **accept, seize and take**.

recently, (adv.) ârla-l'îkpôr-tek ; ârla-l'ôt-rêdeba-len.

receptacle, (s.) See **basket, bamboo, reticule** and App. xiii.

reckon, (v.t.) count ar-lâp (ke).

recognize, (v.t.) id-ig-nôli (ke). Though I had not seen Woi for many years I recognized him at once by his gait : *edaia tâlik jibaba dô wôl l'igbâdigre yâba (da) dô kâ-gôl l'arladya tek id-ig-nôlire*.

recollect, (v.t.) gât (ke) ; gâd (ke).

recompense, (v.t.) êr-gôlai (ke).

recompense, (s.) reward ôtpôlok (da).

reconcile, (v.t.) ôtyâdia (ke).

recount, (v.t.) yâbnga-l'âr-lôr (ke).

recover, (v.t.) 1. any lost object badali (ke). 2. property which has been stolen or seized ar-dôkari (ke). *lit.* drag forcibly. (v.i.) 1. from grief kûk-l'âr-lû (ke). 2. from sickness teg (or tig)-bôi (ke) ; teg (or tig)-êbal (ke). See **awake and spring**. 3. from a wound yêl (ke).

red, (adj.) chôrama (da).

reduce, (v.t.) diminish in size or quantity âr-kî nab (ke) ; ar-kâtai (ke).

reed, (s.) rîdi (da) ; used in making the *râtâ*, *tirlêd*, and *tôlbôd* arrows. See **arrow**.

reef, (s.) 1. . . . jôwio (da) ; bôroga (da) ; bôroga-l'âr-ôtnga (da). 2. sunken reef tebi-lûro (da). 3. reef-heron kôro-kâti (da).

reel, (v.i.) See **stagger**

refer to, (v.t.) See **mention**.

reflect, (v.i.) ponder iji-mûla (ke) ; gôb-jôi (ke). See **Ex. at must**.

reflection, (s.) as in a mirror ôtyôlo (da). (*lit.* soul.) I see your reflection in the pool : *vai dô ngôt-yôlo kûbe len igbâdi (ke)*.

refrain, (v.i.) forbear eb-ôt-kûk-l'âr-lô (ke). As he is sick I refrained from beating him : *ab-yed l'edâre wai d'ad ab-pâreknga l'eb-ôt-kûk-l'ârlôre*. See **beat (v.t.) and him**.

refresh, (v.i.) one's self when hunting wêlepa (ke).

refuse, (v.t.) 1. reject i-t'ila (ke). 2. refuse to comply with ar-inga (ke). (v.i.) 1. not to comply, decline iji-kila (ke). 2. refuse to accompany another ik-iji-kila (ke).

refuse, (s.) bêra (da) ; rûcha (da)

regard, (v.t.) consider, be of opinion lûa (ke). See **abuse and think**.

region, (s.) locality êrema-l'êâte (da) ; êr (da) (in construc. cl). See **Andaman Islands**, p. 23, and **place**.

rehearse, (v.t.) See **practise**.

reject, (v.t.) See **refuse**, (v.t.).

rejoice, (v.i.) ôtwêla (ke) ; ôtkûk-l'âr-wâlakîni (ke). See **Ex. at on**

relate, (v.t.) See **tell**.

relative, (s.) See **kinsman**, and App. viii

release, (v.t.) liberate, set free eb-tot-mâni (ke). The released Jarawas stole all my pig-arrows : *jârawa eb-tot-mâni yâte dia êla l'ârdûru tâpre* See **let go**.

relent, (v.i.) iji-pâ (ke).

relieve one of a burden, (v.t.) ôto-gôlai (ke).

relish, (s.) flavour âkâ-yôma (da) See **mouth, palate, quality**.

remain, (v.i.) tarry, stay 1. pôli (ke) ; pâli (ke). In order to nurse her sick mother my wife remained at that village a whole month : *ab-êtînga ad-jâbag-yâte nôranga l'edâre dai ik-yâte kâ bârai j len ôgar dôga-pôlire*. See **dwell**. 2. . . . ô (ke). While Punga was hunting I remained here : *punga delenga bêdig kam wai d'ôre*. 3. continue,

as in one place *âr-ti-tegi* (ke). During the rainy season we (all) jungle-dwellers remain in our own homes : *med' éremtâga l'ârdûru gûmul-ya êkan bâd len arat-titegi*ke. See **dwell**. 4. remain, or stay away *ôto-lûdai* (ke). 5. remain over, of anything unconsumed, or unfinished *kichal* (ke). with prefix *âkà*, *ông*, etc. See App. ii. There is little remaining to do! (exclam.) *kanya'* See **wait a little**.

remainder, (s.) 1. remnant, rest, surplus *kichal* (da). (a) of food *âkà-kichal* (da). See **leavings**. (b) of work *ông-kichal* (da). My father excused me the remainder of the work : *maiola ông-kichal d'âr-tidûbure*. 2. (a) the remainder, the others (of persons) . . . *arat-dilu* (da). (b) of animals, etc. . . . *ôtot-dilu* (da). (c) of inanimate objects *akat-lôglik*. See Ex. at **beside** and **other**.

remark, (v.t.) 1. mention, express by speech *ig-yâp* (ke). 2. notice, observe, *q.v.*

remedy, (s.). See **charm**, **medicine**.

remember, (v.t.) *gât* (ke); *gâd* (ke). See **suspect**. I remember what he said when he was dying : *ôl tûg-dâpinga len târchî yâte dô gâtke*.

remind, (v.t.) *en-gât* (ke). (*lit.* cause to remember). Remind me in the morning (*lit.* to-morrow morning) : *lilta-len d'en-gâtke*.

remnant. See **remainder**.

remove, (v.t.) 1. take away *ik* (ke). 2. take off (a) as a pot from the fire *yûk* (ke). (b) as foot from mat *ô-chai* (ke). See Ex. at **off**. (c) as clothing or personal ornaments *lûpuji* (ke). 3. extract, draw out *lôti* (ke). See Ex. at **extract**. 4. remove another's property without permission *ig-chât* (ke). 5. remove anything with great care *î-chûbar* (ke). (v.i.) migrate, change one's residence (*î-*)*jâla* (ke).

rendezvous, (s.) *el-ôt-yôdinga* (da);

êr-bêjeringa (da). (v.t. or v.i.) *bêjeri* (ke).

rent, (s.) tear *jâg* (da).

repair, (v.t.) 1. a canoe *ig-jât* (ke). 2. repair a bow *maia* (ke). 3. repair thatching *ôt-yôbla* (ke). [*bêringa* (ke) (make good) could be used in all three cases.]

repeat, (v.t.) 1. reiterate *âkà-tegi-chôloma* (ke). 2. repeat the words of another *âkà-târ-chûru* (ke); *âr-ângôm* (ke). 3. repeat one's own words *tâlik-yâp* (ke). 4. repeat any word or message *ig-pâgi* (ke). Repeat that word : *ôl yâbnga l'ig-pâgi*ke. 5. repeat a belch or other sound from the mouth *âkà-pâgla* (ke). 6. repeat anything done with the hands or feet (as making a net or bow) *ông-pâgla* (ke). 7. repeat a blow, beating, etc. . . . *ar-pâgla* (ke). 8. repeat an old song *râmid-ig-lâp* (ke).

repeatedly, (adv.) more than once, over and over *ông-tâli*; *âkà-tâli*, etc.

repent, (v.i.) *chûmro* (ke).

replace, (v.t.) put back in place *ar-lôg-len-tegi* (ke).

reply, (v.t.) make reply to *âkà-tegi-gôl* (ke). See **answer**. (v.i.) say in answer *en-yâp* (ke). When I asked Punga he replied that he was out of sorts and could not join us in pig-hunting to-day : *dô pûnga l'ig-chîuranga bêdig ô d'en-yâbre wai d'abyednga-tâgke ka-wai út len ng'itiknga châk-jâbag* (da).

report, (v.t.) 1. . . . *ig-naima* (ke); *târtit-mân* (ke), (*lit.* news-give). 2. inform against another *ôt-bâm* (ke).

repose, (v.i.) *bâlagi* (ke).

reprove, (v.t.) *ig-râl* (ke).

request, (v.t.) *âkà-pele* (ke).

require, (v.t.) need *ârai* (ke); *ôyar* (ke). Woi requires much more food than Punga : *wôi pûnga tek yât ôl-lât ârai* (ke).

requisite, (adj.), needful, indispensable . . . *ârainga* (da). For making *kângatâ-bûj* the resin of the *rîm* (*Celtis* or *Gironniera*) is

requisite : *kāngatā-búj i-teginga l'eb rim-tōug ārainga (da)*.

rescue, (v.t.) *ār-kōta-eni (ke)*.

resemble, (v.t.) *ig-paipda (ke)*.

resembling, (pr.p.) *ig-paipdanga (da)*. See like.

reserve, (v.t.) 1. retain *ā-tegi (ke)* ; *ōto-paichalen-tegi (ke)*. I have reserved some pork for you : *wai dô reg-dama ng'eb ā-tegire*. 2. r. anything for future use, esp. food, e.g., seeds of the *Ariocarpus* and certain other trees, which are buried for consumption during the rains *ār-lûgap (ke)*. We always (*lit.* our custom is to) reserve jack-fruit seeds for consumption during the rainy season : *mardûru kīanwai kai'ita l'idal gūmul l'eb ārlûgapke*. See seed.

reserved, (p.a.) See shy

reside, (v.i.) See dwell.

resident, (s.) 1. permanent *būdu-yāte (da)*. 2. temporary *pōli-yāte (da)*. He is a resident of Port Mouat : *ōl tāra-chāng l'ta būdu-yāte (da)*.

resin, (s.) 1. obtained from a species of *Sterculia* (*maiī*)-*tōug (da)*. used for torches. 2. obtained from a species of *Celtis* (*rīm*)-*tōug (da)*. used in making sealing-wax. See App. xi. and xiii and Ex. at requisite.

resist, (v.t.) oppose *ab-kīdawa (ke)*.

respect to, pay (v.t.) by advancing to another *ī-kāka (ke)*. See parting and salute.

rest, take (v.t.). See cease, refresh, repose and stop.

rest, the, (s.) (a) of three or more persons *arat-dilu (da)*. The rest of you search for honey : *ngarat-dilu āja ūpke*. (b) of animals, birds, etc. *ōtot-dilu (da)*. The rest (of the pigs) that have been sick are now in as good condition (*lit.* as fat) as before : *ōtot-dilu ad-jābag-yāte āchitik otolā naikan pāta (da)*. (c) of inanimate objects. *akat-lōglik*. (See other). (d) etcetera, and so on, or so forth *ā-wêh*. See App. v.

restless, (adj.) fidgety *iji-ōjolinga (da)*.

restore, (v.t.) return, give back *ar-dōkra (ke)*. See Ex. at never.

restrain, (v.t.) hold back *tār-t'ēkik (ke)*.

retain, (v.t.). See keep.

retallate, (v.t.) *ōng-tī-len (ke)*.

retch, (v.i.) *ig-ōna-pā (ke)*.

reticule, (s.), netted bag *chāpanga (da)*. See App. xiii.

retire, (v.i.) 1. retreat *tār-lō (ke)*. 2. paddle backwards, back-water *i-tār-tāpa (ke)*.

return, (v.t.) 1. See restore. 2. requite, as blow for blow See retallate. (v.i.) 1. come back *iji-kādli (ke)*. 2. return home *wīj (ke)*. 3. return empty-handed from the chase *ār-lūa-la-ōn (ke)*. 4. return with something, after hunting or after searching for honey, fruit, etc. . . . *chōlo (ke)*. Until you return from the hunt (or search) with something (even you all) I will wait here : *tōba-tek ngōl'ārdûru chōlonga bēdig ng'abat dô kārīn tāmī (ke)*. See even (adv.) 5. return late *eba-rīt (ke)* ; *i-tār-jūdu (ke)*. 6. return frequently *ōyun-tāli (ke)*. 7. return expeditiously from any mission *jālwa-lingi (ke)* ; *iji-ēkalpi (ke)* ; *ī-vo-kīni (ke)*. 8. return from hunting *ūt'-l'ōt-ōn (ke)* ; *ūt'-tek-ēkalpi (ke)*.

revolve, (v.i.) as a top *iji-kēti (ke)*.

reward, (v.t.) *ēr-mān (ke)*. The Chief rewarded me for harpooning a fine turtle : *yādi-peko jēralinga l'edāre maiola den ēr-mānre*.

reward, (s.) *ōt-pōlok (da)*.

rheumatism, (s.) *mōl (da)*. With necessary prefix (*ab, ar, etc.*) to indicate the part affected.

Rhizophora conjugata, (s.) *bada (da)*. Children's bows, adze handles, and sometimes the foreshafts of arrows are made of this wood.

Rhizophera mucronata, (s.) . . . jâmu (da). The fruit is eaten.

rib, (s.) . . . ab-pâri-tâ (da). *See* App. ii.

rich, (adj.) possessed of every requisite . . . ar-bêjir (da).

ride, (v.i.) . . . âkan-yôboli (ke).

ridiculous, (adj.) . . . âkan-yeng'atnga (da).

right, (adj.). 1. dexter . . . bîda (da). 2. right-handed . . . ab-bîda (da). 3. correct, accurate . . . ûba-wai (da); ûba-bêringa (da). 4. proper, fit . . . tōlata (da). It is right to obey one's parents. *maiol-chanôl âkà-teg-igâtnga wai tōlata* (da). (v.t.) right a canoe which has capsized . . . âkà-châlai (ke). All right!: *wai!*; *ôno!* That's right!: *kâ-bêringa!*

rigid, (adj.). 1. as a bar . . . chêba (da). 2. as a stiff joint or corpse . . . ô(-)lâtawa (da).

rim of a pot or bucket, (s.) . . . -âkâ-pai (da).

rind, (s.) skin of fruit . . . ô(-)êd (da) (in construc. ô(-)êj.)

ring, (s.) . . . âkâ-kôr (da).

ringlet, (s.) curl, tuft or lock of hair . . . ô(-)kînga (da).

ring-worm, (s.) . . . dâkar (da). This word also denotes a wooden bucket.

rinse, (v.t.). 1. . . . châ(-)t (ke). 2. one's mouth . . . âkan-ûdu (ke).

rip, (v.t.) cut open a carcass . . . ôko-dûboli (ke).

ripe, (adj.) . . . t'âlre; t'âl (da); t'âla (da). 2. nearly ripe . . . ròicha (da). (v.i.) become ripe, ripen . . . (i-) t'âl (ke); t'âla (ke); ròicha (ke).

ripple, (s.) wavelet . . . en'yar (da);

rise, (v.i.). 1. get up, as from sleep . . . ôyû-bô(-)i (ke). *See* Ex. at *beforehand* 2. rise to the surface, as a diver, turtle, etc. . . . ôdo-kîni (ke). 3. rise, as the sun or moon . . . â(-)i-dôati (ke); kâg (ke) 4. rise, as the tide . . . bû (ke). *See* *ascend*.

river, (or tidal creek), (s.). 1. . . . jîg (da). 2. main river or main creek . . .

jîg-chân-châu (da). 3. rivulet . . . jîg-bâ (da)

road, (s.). 1. . . . tînga (da). 2. main road . . . tînga-chân-châu (da).

roam, (v.i.) go astray, wander . . . êr-lûma (ke).

roar, (v.i.). 1. . . . gôrowa (ke). 2. of the surf . . . (âkâ-)yeng'e (ke).

roast, (v.t.) . . . târi (ke). *See* *cook*.

rob, (v.t.) . . . gôra-tek-tâp (ke).

rock, (v.t.) lull to sleep . . . *See* *lull* and *nurse*. (v.i.). 1. sway, reel . . . ara-lêka (ke). 2. of a boat (or log) in a rough sea . . . ara-gîdi (ke).

rock, (s.). 1. large . . . bôroga-tâ (da). 2. small . . . taili (da). 3. sunken rock . . . tōtòl (da); *See* *coast* and *reef*.

rocky bottom, (s.). 1. . . . tōtòl-ya (da). 2. rocky beach or foreshore . . . bôroga (da).

roe, fish-, (s.) spawn . . . (yât-l'ia-) bér (da).

rogue, (s.) . . . ab-jâbag (da).

roll, (v.t.). 1. between one's palms or fingers . . . mô(-)t (ke) 2. roll anything as a mat to form a bundle . . . (ô(-)kô(-)t (ke). 3. roll fibres together on the thigh, as in making twine . . . kî(-)t (ke). (v.i.) as a bau or child on the ground . . . wê(-)de (ke). 2. as a canoe in a rough sea . . . ara-gîdi (ke).

roof, (s.). 1. of hut . . . châng (da). *See* *hut*. 2. roof of the mouth . . . âkâ-laia (da). *See* *palate*.

room, (s.) . . . êr-bigadinga (da).

roomy, (adj.). 1. of a hut . . . êr-dôga (da). 2. of a boat or canoe . . . kôk(-)târ-dôga (da).

root, (s.). 1. the portion above ground . . . ar-chôrog (da). 2. the portion under ground . . . âr-châg (da).

root up, (v.t.). 1. by digging or hoeing . . . bang (ke). 2. tear out, as weeds . . . lô(-)chra (ke).

rope, (s.). 1. cord bêtmo (da).
See App. xiii. 2. coil of rope kôdo (da).

rot, (v.i.) 1. of a log of wood
(a) rûka (ke); (b) chōro (ke); (c) bûdara
(ke); stages in decomposition in order noted.
2. of flesh or vegetation (a) â-
chōro (ke); (b) â-mêtei (ke); two stages
in order given.

rotate, (v.i.) ad-gêri (ke).

rotten, (adj.). 1. of meat â-
jābare; chōrore; 2. of wood ûb
(da); chōrore; ar-yôb (da). 3. of fruit or
vegetables â-mêtelre; chōrore. 4. of
bamboo or cane kôta (da).

rough, (adj.). 1. uneven, as the bark of
a tree ô-t-rêni (da). 2. not planed
. pōrnga-ba (da). 3. of the sea
. pātara-dôga (da).

round, (adj.). 1. globular ô-t-
bana (da); môtâwa (da). 2. circular
kōrnga (da).

rouse, (v.t.). See **awaken**. (v.i.)
ôyu-bôî (ke).

row, (s.). *liné* tōrnga (da). In a row,
(a) of animate objects â-tōr-len;
(b) of inanimate objects î-tōr-len.

row, (v.t.) transport by boat ûn-
târ-tegi (ke). 2. propel with an oar
tâpa (ke). See **paddle**. I rowed my wife
across the creek: *wai dô dai îkyâte len jîg*
l'ig tedibala ûntârtegi.

row, (v.i.) engage in a row or brawl
iji-chêt (ke).

rub, (v.t.) 1. in order to dry or clean
. râr (ke). See **clean and dry**. 2. as
in polishing anything chûlu (ke). See
polish. 3. gently, as a sore lûrai-
cha (ke). (v.i.). 1. rub one's eyes, as on
waking iji-lûraicha (ke); iji-pûlaiña
(ke). 2. rub one's back ad-rîr (ke).
See **whet**.

rub off, (v.t.) pûl (ke).

rubbish, (s.) bêra (da).

rude, (adj.) ôko-dûbungaba (da).

rudder, (s.) âr-giuda (da).

ruler, (s.) See **chief** (head or supreme).

rum, (s.) rôg (da). See **grog**.

rumour, (s.) târtît-châlinga (da).

rump, (s.) See **buttock**.

run, (v.i.) kâj (ke). **runner**, (s.)
. kâjnga (da); kâj-yâte (da). **run**
aground, **strand**, (v.t.) ôko-yôboli
(ke). (v.i.) ad-yôboli (ke) **run away**
. ad-wêti (ke). **run after**
ar-(or ig-) âj (ke). **running over**, (p.a.)
overflowing ôto-êlanga (da). **run-**
away, (s.) ad-wêti yâte (da).

rupee, (s.) ik-pûku (da). See **coin**.

rush, (v.t. or v.i.) as in order to capture
. î-lo-kîni (ke); ig-mûtli (ke).

rust, (v.t.) bô-l'ab-lê (ke). See **dung**
and eat; (v.i.) ad-chê (ke).

rust, (s.) êla-tâ-l'âr-bô (da); tōlbôd-
tâ-l'âr-bô (da). (*lit.* "iron-dung".)

rusty, (adj.) bô-l'ab-lêre; ad-chêre.

rustle, (v.i.) of leaves kōtot (ke).

rustle, (s.) kōtot (da). See **sound**.

S

sad, (adj.) sorrowful. 1. out of spirits
. kûk-l'âr-jābag (da); kûk-l'âr-tālag-
inga (da); wianga (da). 2. as when mourn-
ing, or when punished dêkia (da);
bûlabnga (da).

safe, (adj.) free from danger ô-
jîba (da). See **alone**.

sail, (s.) foreign, or canvas âkâ-
dādi (da); yôlo (da). The latter is distin-
guished from the word for "soul" by taking
the p. pron. *dîa*, *ngîa*, *îa*, etc. See App. ii.

sailing-ship, (s.) chêlewa-l'âkâ-
dādi (da).

sake of, for the (postp.) en; ûl.
See **for**, **dance**, **give**, **make** and App. ii.
For your sake I will not beat him: *wai dô*
ng'âl ad ab-pāreke yāba (da).

saliva, (s.) âkâ-tûbal (da); âkâ-
rai (da)

salt, (s.) 1. êrepaij (da). 2. salt-
water âta (da).

saltish. See **brackish**.

salute, (s.) salutation *iji-mûgu-eninga* (da).

salute, (v.t. or v.i.) *iji-mûgu-eni* (ke).

same, (adj.) 1. identical *ûcha-ûba* (da). 2. similar, of like kind *âkâ-pâra* (da), *âr-lôrnga* (da); *âr-tâ-lôg* (da). 3. at the same (or such) time as (rel.) *kian-êr-ûba-lik*. at the same time (correl.) *kichi-kan*. At such (or the same) time as you strike my hand (at the same time) I will hit you on the head: *kian-êrubalik ngô d'ông-pâreknga bêdig, kichi-kan dô ng'ôt pârêke*. See App. i.

sand, (s.) *târa* (da). 2. sand-bank (bar) *târ-pârag* (da). 3. sand-fly *ûipa* (da). Sand-flies bit me during the night: *gûrug-ya ûipa den kêrabre*.

sandy beach, (s.) *târa-l'ôko-pai* (da).

sap, (s.) 1. milk-like and viscous, as of the *Ficus Sp.*, *Artocarpus chaplasha*, etc. *ig-mûn* (da). 2. watery, as of the *Bombax malabaricum* *ig-raij* (da). 3. oleaginous, as of the *Dipterocarpus sp.* *ig-âna* (da).

sardine, (s.) *to-âna* (da).

satiated, (v.i.) satisfy one's appetite *teg-bût* (ke).

satisfied, (p.a.) 1. contented *ôt-kûk-l'âr-bêringa* (da). 2. as regards food, satiated *teg-bûtre*.

satisfy, (v.t.) gratify to the full *en-ôt-kûk-l'âr-bêringa* (ke).

saturate, (v.t.) soak *ôt-pi* (ke); *ôt-ina* (ke).

savage, (adj.) 1. fierce. See *ferocious* and *cruel*. 2. wild, uncivilized *i-dûbunga-ba* (da).

save, (v.t.) 1. make safe. See *rescue*. 2. save food. See *preserve*, *reserve*.

savoury, (adj.) 1. with ref. to taste *âkâ-bêringa* (da); *âkâ-râjamaich* (da). 2. with ref. to odour *ôt-âu-bêringa* (da).

saw-dust, (s.) *rûb* (da).

say, (v.t.) state, affirm, tell *târ-chî* (ke). What did he say? : *ô michima târchîre?*

scab, (s.) *waiña* (da); with prefix, *ôt*, *ông*, *ig*, *ab*, etc. according to part of the body referred to. See App. ii.

scald, (v.t.) 1. one's person *ab-tûlup* (ke). 2. scald one's throat *âkâ-pûgat* (ke).

scalding-hot, (adj.) of water, gravy, etc. *âkâ-âya* (da). See *hof*.

scale (of fish), (s.) *yât-l'ôt-êj* (da); *yât-l'ôt-waiña* (da).

scalp, (s.) *ôt-kâkâ* (da).

scaly, (adj.) *waiña* (da); with prefix according to part referred to. See also *scab*, *seurf* and App. ii.

scamp, (s.) *ab-jâbag* (da).

sear, (s.) See *cleatrix*.

seare, (v.t.) *âr-yâdi* (ke). See *frighten*.

scarce, (adj.) See *rare*.

scarify, (v.t.) *tûp* (ke).

scarlet, (s.) *chêrama* (da).

scatter, (v.t.) 1. with ref. to animate objects *ab-wîlya* (ke). 2. with ref. to inanimate objects *kôr* (ke). (v.i.) as after a meeting *châradami* (ke); *âkan-târ-tôai* (ke).

seent, (adj.) of fruit, flowers, etc. See *smell*.

seold, (v.t.) *ig-râl* (ke); *pâreja* (ke). See *blame*.

scoop, (v.t.) 1. with adze, as in making a canoe, bow, etc. *kôp* (ke). 2. as in making a bucket *tâne* (ke). 3. with the fingers as when searching for turtle eggs in the sand *kâraij* (ke). See *burrow*, *excavate* and *make*. (p.p.) scooped evenly *rêdnga* (da).

seorch, (v.t.) *jôi* (ke); *ôtini* (ke). I have scorched my hand with (by touching) the cooking pot: *wai dô bûj d'ông jôire*. (v.i.) *pûd* (ke); *dal* (ke).

scorpion, (s.) *pâtera* (da).

scoundrel, (s.) ab-jābag (da). See scamp.

seowl, (v.t. and v.i.) See frown.

seraggy, (adj.) See lean.

serap, (s.) See bit.

serape, (v.t.) pōr (ke).

scratch, (v.t.) 1. with the nails or claws ngōtowa (ke); with prefix according to the part of the body referred to. 2. as animals scratch up soil ēr-kārai (ke). (v.i.) 1. as a thorn (ig-)ngāli (ke). 2. one's self, (a) with a thorn ad-ngāli (ke). (b) with one's nails ad-ngōtowa (ke).

scream, (v.t.) 1. from pain ara-tāni (ke). 2. from fear ara-pātek (ke).

screen, (leaf-hand-) (s.) kapa-jātnga (da). This consists of large palm leaves (of the *Licuala peltata*) which are stitched together (jātnga) and then used as a protection against sun or rain. See App. xi and xiii.

screen, leaf- (s.). 1. large, encircling hut on wet days kōmla (da). 2. smaller, on weather side of hut for protection against wind or rain bigadinga (da).

screw pine, (s.) *Pandanus Andamanensium* māng (da).

scum, (s.) See froth, foam.

scurf, (s.). scurfy (adj) ōt-waiña (da). See scab, seale.

scuttle, (v.t.) make holes below water-line of ship or canoe in order to sink her ār-ēte-tūbuli (ke); ār-ēte-rēu (ke).

sea, (s.). 1. jūru (da). 2. boundless, ocean jūru-chāu (da); jūru-chānag (da). 3. calm lia (da). 4. rough lia-ba (da). 5. sea-shore tōko-kēwa (da). 6. sea-water rāta (da). 7. sea-urchin (with spines) mōrio (da). 8. sea-pen (*Virgularia Rumphii*) jūruwin (da). 9. sea weed chābya (da); tōno-tōng (da); paio-tōng (da). These are the three common varieties; the seed of No. 2 is eaten by the natives. . . .

10. sea-shell ōla-tā (da). 11. (v.i.) travel by sea, (a) a short trip in a canoe ākan-gai (ke). (b) a long voyage ōto-jūru-tegi (ke). (adv.) by sea . . . jūru-len.

seal, (v.t.) See caulk.

sealing-wax, (s.) kanga-tā-būj (da). See honey-comb and App. xiii.

seam, (s.) tānwi (da).

search, (v.t.). 1. for a person āta (ke). See along, and look for. I will search for him myself: *wai dō d'ōyun-batām ab-ātake*. 2. search for honey, fruit, etc. . . . ūp (ke). See Ex. at rest; ēr-kēdang (ke). While the others are finishing their evening meal with choice morsels (*lit.* enjoying tit-bits) Bia goes alone and searches among the trees for flying-foxes near our hut: *arat dilu dilaya akat-rārnga bēdig bia ijilā mēta būd l'ōng-pālen wōt leb ēr-kēdangke*. See for, others, look overhead, and tit-bit.

season, (s.) 1. . . . wāb (da). See App. ix. 2. rainy season gūmul (da). 3. cool season pāpar (da); pāpar-wāb (da). 4. hot season yēre-bōdo (da); rāp-wāb (da). 5. stormy season chārāp-wāb (da). [The tree chārāp blossoms about September when storms prevail.] (v.t.) 1. give relish to ākā-yāro-leb-kyā (ke); ākā-yāro-leb-igau (ke). 2. mature yālai (ke). (v.i.) be in season lōna (ke). I will come when the jack-fruit is in season: *kaita-lōnanga bēdig wai dō ōnke*. (adv.) every season wāblen-wāblen.

seat, (s.) āra-tōknga (da).

second, (adj.) in order (a) of two tār-ōla (da). (b) of three mūguchāl (da). *lit.* middle. (c) of four to six ār-ōla (da). (d) of six or more ār-tōnau (da). (e) of a row or line tōko-yōlo (da). second-sighted, (adj.) āra-mūgu-tārabanga (da). See dream and Ex. at ear.

secret, (s.) ōt-tig-pūluganga (da). (v.i.) keep a secret pūku-len-lōtī (ke); pūku-len-tegi (ke).

secretly, (adv.) *mila-ya*. (v. i.) talk secretly. See **whisper**.

secretion, (s.) *raij* (da). See **milk**, **sap**.

sediment, (s.) *ar-mûrudi* (da) *ar-mûruwin* (da).

see, (v.t.) 1. *ig-bâdi* (ke) (perf. *ig-bâdigre*.) See **feast**, and **seer**. He saw me yesterday : *ô dilêa d'igbâdigre*. 2. s. some distant object *el-ôt-raj* (ke). Just now I saw a sailing ship on the horizon : *wai dô gôî-la el-ôko-kâliya chêlewa-l'âka-dâdi el-ôt-raire*. 3. see ! *ig-bâdig* ! See **another**. (v.i.) apprehend *iji-bâdi* (ke). I now quite see what you mean : *ngô mîn-yâte dô âchitik ûbaya d'iji-bâdi* (ke). see to (spoken threateningly) *eb-ad-bêringa* (ke). Wait a bit, I'll see to you : *kanya, dô ng'eb-ad-bêringake*.

see-saw, (s.) (the game) *ad-yênenga* (da). See **game**.

seed, (s.) 1. generic term for all descriptions *ôt-ban* (da). The seed of that tree : *kâto âkâtâng l'ôt-ban* (da). 2. of plantain, pine-apple, and jack-fruit *i-dal* (da). See **preserve**.

seedling, (s.) *wichi* (da). (a) of the *Semecarpus* *kât* (da). (b) of the *Entada pursoetha* *gana* (da). (c) of the jack-fruit tree *bêreñ* (da).

seek, (v.t.). See **look for**, **search**.

seer, (s.) *ôko-paiad* (da). The seer told me that in his dream (lit. being second-sighted) he had seen my deceased wife happy in Paradise : *ôko-paiad den târchî wai d'ara-mûga-lârabanga bêdig ngai ik-yâte jereg-ya kûk-bêringa l'igbâdigre*.

seize, (v.t.). 1. take hold of *eni* (ke). 2. as one combatant seizes another *jûlu-kîni* (ke). 3. one or more combatants in order to stop a fight *ôt-pûnu* (ke). See **prevent**, **squeeze**. 4. forcibly *jûr-baring'i* (ke).

seldom, (adv.) *nôthi* ; *tig-lûmunga* (da).

select, (v.t.). See **choose**

self, (s.) *ôyun-têmar* ; *ôyun batâm* (plur. *ôyut-t.* ; *ôyut-b.*). See **break**, and App. ii. Wologa himself made this bow : *wôlog' ôyun-têmar ûcha kârama pörre*. We ourselves shot all these pigs : *môl'ôyut-batâm ûch' ârdûru reg taijre*. We therefore fetched several prime young pigs for ourselves : *kianchâ reg-wâra-gôî jîbaba môyut-têmar l'eb ômore*. 2. *iji*, (plur. *ijit*). See Ex. at **never mind** ! 3. *ôto*. See **break** and Ex. at **barter**, **forget** and App. ii. 4. *êkan*. We are now rearing in our midst a few sucking-pigs for ourselves : *med' âchitik (m') êkan l'eb reg-bâ l'ikpôr môlot-paichalen chîlyuke*. See **hurt one's self** and App. ii. Among selves *ôyut-bûd-bêdig*. See Ex. at **among**.

selfish, (adj.) *âr-mîreba* (da).

Semecarpus anacardium, (s.) *chaij* (da). Fruit and seed are eaten.

Semecarpus sp. (s.) *pâ* (da). Seed is eaten.

send, (v. t) 1. with ref. to human objects *en-titân* (ke) ; *ab-lûdai* (ke) ; *ab-lûpati* (ke). I sent my wife to her mother : *wai dô dai îkyâte êkan abêtinga l'ôt-paichalat en-titânre*. 2. with ref. to animals or inanimate objects *i-titân* (ke) ; *ôt-lûdai* (ke) ; *ôt-lûpati* (ke). See **disappointed**. I sent my canoe in order that he might come here (or for the purpose of his coming here) : *ôna kârin ônnga l'eb da dîa rôko i-titânre*. See **receive**. send away, dismiss *âkâ-târ-tôai* (ke). send [for *âr-ngêre* (ke). send word *ig-garma* (ke).

separate, (v.t.) 1. sort *ôt-nân* (ke). 2. keep apart *ôt-kâ* (ke). (v.i.) as friends after a visit, part *ôto-kâ* (ke). See **part**. (adj.). 1. distinct *ig-lâ* (da). 2. apart *iji-lâ* (da). See Ex. at **apart**. Separately, (adv.) not together *ôto-kângaya*. See **one by one**, **singly**.

septum of nose, (s.) *ig-êj-bâ* (da).

serrated bony spine of sting-ray, (s.) *nîfp-l'âr-châga* (da). See **ray**.

serviceable, (adj.) of a canoe, bow, etc. after repair *mêdel* (da). See *Ex.* at no longer.

set, (v.t.). 1. place *tegi* (ke). 2. s. free. See *release*. 3. s. fire to, s. light to *ôko-jôî* (ke); *ôko-pûgat* (ke). 4. s. aside *iji-lâ-l'ôt-chîlyu* (ke). 5. s. to rights *eb-ad-bêringa* (ke). See *see-to*. 6. s. upright *tig-jêrali* (ke). 7. s. apart. See *separate*. (v.i.). 1. sink below the horizon, as sun, moon, etc. . . . *ara-lôtî* (ke). 2. s. out, proceed. See *start*.

settle, (v.t.) occupy a new site *êr-wâl* (ke). See *area*, *distribute*.

settlement, (s.) colony *el-ôt-wâlnga* (da). See *Ex.* at *afraid*.

seventh, (adj.). See *App.* iii.

sever, (v.t.) cut off *ep-tôpati* (ke).

several, (adj.) *jîbaba* (da); *jeg-châu* (da); *ârdûru* (da); *at-ûbaba* (da). See *assemblage*. We stayed there several days: *med'kâto ârla jîbaba pôlire*.

sew, (v.t.) stitch *jât* (ke).

shade, (v.t.). 1. to shelter from the sun *ab-diya* (ke). 2. s. the eyes with the hand from glare of the sun *ig-kâran* (ke). 3. go into (*lit.* desire, seek) the shade *dîya-lat* (ke). See *Shelter*. (s.) *dîya* (da). See *family*. When the sun is hidden by clouds the land (or sea) affected is spoken of as "el-âr-diya (da)" *lit.* "shaded area." See *place*.

shadow, (s.) *ôt-lêre* (da).

shaft, (s.). 1. of pig-arrow *bûtu-tâ* (da). 2. of fish-arrow *râta-tâ* (da). 3. of pig-spear *bôl-tâ* (da). 4. of turtle-harpoon *tôg* (da). We make the shafts of the rata arrow from the reed: *meda rîdi tek râta-tâ mōkke*.

shaft, fore- (s.) See *ad of arrow*.

shake, (v.t.) agitate *ab-jûla* (ke); *ab-gîdi* (ke). (v.i.). 1. tremble, shiver from fright *yûa* (ke); *yûyuka* (ke). See *tremble*; *shiver*. 2. shake, owing to vibration *iji-lêle* (ke). 3. s. the

head, in token of denial or dissent *iji-gîdi* (ke). 4. s. the fist *ôyun-têla* (ke).

shall, (v. aux.) *ngabo*. See *ante*, p. 6, footnote 15.

shallow, (s.) shoal *kêleto* (da); *tôko-kêwa* (da); *tâlawa* (da). I harpooned this turtle in the shallow water over there: *wai d'ôl ûcha yâdi kâto kêleto len jêralire*. See *foreshore*.

sham, (v.i.). See *malingering*, *pretend*.

shame, (s.) *tek-îk* (da); *ôt-tek-yôma* (da). (adj.) shame-faced, bashful *ôt-tek* (da). shameful *tek-bôtaba* (da). shameless, immodest, without shame *ôt-tek-yâba* (da); *ôt-tekngaba* (da); *tek-ik-yâba* (da). (interj.) shameful! for shame! *tek-bôtaba*!

shampoo, (v.t.) *ab-rû* (ke).

shape, (v.t.) form, fashion *ôiyô* (ke). See *make*.

share, (v.t.) divide *ôt-kôbat* (ke); *dulâ* (ke). (v.i.) 1. have part *ara-jôpi* (ke). 2. s. equally *tâ-rîm* (ke).

sharer, (s.) partner *ara-jôpinga* (da).

shark, (s.) 1. . . . *yai* (da). 2. hammer-headed *pîn* (da).

sharp, (adj.). 1. of a blade *rînima* (da). 2. intelligent *mûgu-tig-dai* (da). 3. sharp-sighted *ig-bêringa* (da). (interj.) look sharp! *ar-yêre*!; *kuro*!

sharpen, (v.t.) a blade *i* (or *ig*)-*jît* (ke); *âkâ-lêje* (ke). 2. s. a pointed implement or weapon *ôko-jît* (ke).

sharpening-stone. See *hone*.

shatter, (v.t.) *â-tôra* (ke); *pâchi* (ke); *pâtemi* (ke). See *break to pieces*. (v.i.) *ôkan-pâchi* (ke); *ôto-pâtemi* (ke).

shave another, (v.t.). 1 *jêr* (ke). with prefix *ab*, *âkâ*, *ôt*, etc. according to part of person referred to. 2. s. the crown of the head *tâ-la-tim* (ke). 3. s. one's self *jêr* (ke). with prefix *ara*, *ad*, *akan*, *ôyun*, *ôto*, *iji* according to part of person referred to.

shaving (of wood), (s.) *rûb* (da).
she, (pers. pron.) *ôlla*; *ôl*; (in construc. *ô*, *â*, *a*, *ôna*). See App. ii. (honorific title) *châna*; *châna*.

shed, (v.i.) 1. cast, as the skin of snakes, etc. *waiña* (ke). 2. moult, as feathers, hair, etc. *ôto-pîj* (ke). 3. s. tears *t'i-tôlat* (ke). See **dancee**.

shed, (s.) *baraij* (da).

sheep, (s.) *tûtma* (da). The same word is used for "goat"; both animals were formerly unknown to them.

sheer, (v.i.) sheer off, of a canoe *iji-pòlokîm* (ke); *mana* (ke).

shelf, (s.) for food *tâga* (da). See **platform**.

shell, (v.t.) with ref. to the seed pods of the *Entadri pursatha*, etc. . . . *taia* (ke).

shell, (s.) 1. of edible shell-fish (generic term) *âkà-tâ* (da). What a big (*Tridacna*) shell! : *badi ûcha âkà-tâ* (da)! 2. sea-s. . . . *ôla-tâ* (da). 3. land-s. . . . *êrem-ôla-tâ* (da). 4. fresh-water s. . . . *ina ôla-tâ* (da). 5. coconut-s. . . . *jêdir-l'ô-tâ* (da). 6. tortoises. . . . *tàu-l'ô-t-êj* (da). 7. nut-s. . . . *ôt-tâ* (da). 8. egg-s. . . . *ôt-êd* (da) (in construc. *ôt-êj*). 9. s-fish *ôla* (da). 10. s-heap. See **kitchen-midden**. For lists of shells see App. xii.

shelter, (v.t.) another in one's hut *ôt-mêdali* (ke). See also **shade**. 2. s. from sun or rain *ôt-râm* (ke); *bigadi* (ke). See note at **wall**. (v.i.) take shelter *târ-lôti* (ke). 2. shelter from rain only *yûm-l'iji* (ke). See **shade** and **leave**.

shimmer, (v.i.) as sun on rippling water *êlemja* (ke).

shin, (s.) *ab-châlta* (da). See App. ii.

shine, (v.i.) 1. of polished metal *kar* (ke); *bêtel* (ke). See **glitter**. 2. beam, of sun or moon *châl* (ke).

ship, (s.) 1. sailing. . . . *chêlewa-l'âkà-dâdi* (da). See **see**. 2. steam-s. . . . *birma-chêlewa* (da); *chêlewa-l'âkà-birma* (da); *âkà-birma* (da). 3. ship-wreck *chêlewa-l'ôto-kûjuri-yâte* (da).

ship-worm, (*Teredo navalis*), (s.) *jûru-win* (da).

shiver, (v.t.) break into fragments. See **break** and **shatter**. (v.i.) 1. from cold *ig-bêredi* (ke). 2. from fright *yûa* (ke); *yûyuka* (ke). See **shake**, **tremble**.

shoal, (s.) 1. sandbank *târ-pârag* (da). 2. a shallow. See **shallow**.

shoot, (v.t.) 1. with bow and arrow *taij* (ke). On looking there I saw the same Jarawa who shot my father yesterday : *kâto lûnga bédig da ûch'ûba jârawa d'abmaiola-len dîléa taij-âte l'igbâdigre*. 2. s. at a target. . . . *êr-taij* (ke) 3. s. from ambush *i-chôpat* (ke). 4. s. two or more animals while hunting *ar-mâl* (ke). 5. s. with harmless bows and arrows at friends *iti-taij* (ke). a village-game played after dusk. See **game**. 6. s. with a gun *ôt-pûgari* (ke). See **throw**, the flash from the gun being likened to that of a brand when used as a missile. (exclam.) (Now) shoot! *olo-wai!*; *jeg!*

shooting-star, (s.) See **star**.

shore, (s.) 1. . . . *tôt* (or *i*)-*gôr* (da); *tôn-mûgu* (da). See **coast**. 2. fore-s. . . . *kêwa* (da). See **foreshore**. The shallow water beyond the foreshore is called *kêleto* (da) or *tôko-kêwa* (da). See **shallow**. (v.i.) go on shore. See **land**, (v.i.)

short, (adj.) 1. with ref. to human beings *ab-jôdama* (da); *ab-dêdêba* (da); *ab-dûgab* (da). 2. with ref. to animals *i* (or *ôt*)-*jôdama* (da); *i* (or *ô*)-*tôdama* (da); *ôt-dêdêba* (da); *ôt-rôkom* (da). 3. inanimate objects *jôdama* (da); *tôdama* (da); *rôkoma* (da); *dêdêba* (da).

short-commons, (s.) insufficient food *yât-bâ* (da).

short-sighted, (adj.) unable to see far *ig-jâbag* (da).

short-winded, (adj.) *âkà-chaiat* (da).

shorten, (v.t.) *pôiñ* (ke); (v.i.) *ôto-pôiñ* (ke).

shot, (s.) marksman *ûn-yâb* (da); *ûn-taijnga* (da). Master Woi is an excellent flying-fox shot : *mar wôi ûn-wôt taijnga tâpaya*. See **Master**.

should, (v. aux.) . . . *tôguk*. See *ante*, p. 6, footnote 15. Before making that voyage you should eat a good meal: *kât'ôto-jûru-teginga l'entôba wai ngô dôgaya māknga tôguk*.

shoulder, (s.) . . . *ig-tôgo* (da). (a) shoulder-blade . . . *ab-pōdikma* (da). (b) flesh adjoining the s.-blade . . . *ôt-chäg* (da). (adv.) shoulder to shoulder . . . *at-mēteri* (da).

shout, (v.t.) call to . . . *pek-ik* (ke). (v.i.) 1. call loudly to attract attention . . . *êrewâ* (ke). Why do you shout his name? he is absent: *michalen ngôl ôl ting lat êrewâ* (ke)? (ôl) *ab-yāba* (da). 2. utter a shout . . . *âkan-gûru* (ke). 3. shout with delight (of women only) . . . *rômo* (ke.) When I brought the two turtles all the women shouted with delight: *dô yâdi l'ikpôr tôyunga bédig chän ârdûru rômore*. [When men return from a successful hunt, the women on seeing their spoils (pigs, turtles, etc.) usually express their delight by shouting and slapping their thighs; men never do this.] 4. s. to one's friends on nearing home after a successful hunt . . . *têrebla* (ke). See *Ex. at listen*. [When returning from a successful hunt or search for honey, etc. men generally acquaint their friends on nearing home by shouting to them.]

shove, (v.t.) . . . *î-gudâuwa* (ke). 2. s. off, of a canoe . . . *î-gudàuti* (ke).

show, (v.t.) 1. any small object by holding it up . . . *î-târani* (ke). 2. s. any large or heavy object by pointing it out . . . *itân* (ke). I showed the hut to the European sailor: *wai dô bòigoli len bûd l'idāre*; (ôko-t') *ig-rau* (ke). 3. s. the method of doing a certain thing . . . *ûl* (ke). Show me how to dance: *wai d'ûl-kôl* (ke). [lit. "dance for my sake," i.e. showing by ocular demonstration.] Show us how to string a bow: *wai met ûl-ngôtol* (ke). See *for and teach*. 4. describe, explain . . . *î-tai* (ke). See *explain and teach*. 5. s. the way . . . *tinga-chî* (ke). See *tell*; *tinga-l'ôko-lâ* (ke). See *lead the way*; *tinga-*

l'ig-nân (ke). lit. "way-see-walk." See also **blaze**, (v.t.) (v.i.) s. one's self, appear . . . *ara-diya* (ke).

shower, (s.) . . . *yûm-l'âr-yîl* (da); *yûm-bâ* (da).

shred, (s.) . . . *kājili* (da); *râchatnga* (da). See *rag*.

shriek, (v.i.) . . . *ara-pâte* (ke).

shrimp, sea-water- (s.) . . . *kaibij* (da). See *prawn*.

shrug, (v.i.) one's shoulders owing to cold or sudden emotion . . . *ôto-nîkil* (ke).

shudder, (v.i.) See *tremble*.

shun, (v.t.) See *avoid*.

shut, (v.t.) 1. . . . *mêmati* (ke); *mêodi* (ke); *mêwadi* (ke). 2. s. the mouth . . . *âkâ-mêmati* (ke). 3. s. the eyes . . . *ig-mêmati* (ke). 4. s. by means of screen . . . *elâkâ-memati* (ke). 5. s. with lid or cover . . . *ôko-mêmati* (ke). 6. s. the hand . . . *môtri* (ke). See *list*. (v.i.) 1. s. one's ears . . . *aiyan-mûju* (ke); *âkan-mûju* (ke). 2. s. in ref. to one's mouth . . . *ôkan-mêmati* (ke). 3. s. in ref. to one's eyes . . . *îdal-iji-târi* (ke).

shy, (adj.) 1. bashful, as a girl . . . *ôt-tek* (da). 2. reserved, as strangers on meeting . . . *mûkuringa* (da). 3. suspicious, as wild animals . . . *adaminga* (da).

sick, (adj.) 1. ill . . . *ab-yednga* (da); *ad-jābag* (da). Her (lit. the woman's) son told me that his (own) father was sick: *chân l'ab-étire den târchî aña êkan abmaiola wai ab-yednga* (da). See *her*. 2. unwell, out of sorts. See *unwell*. 3. inclined to vomit . . . *ad-wēnga* (da).

sickness, (s.) . . . *ab-yed* (da).

side, (s.) 1. bank of creek or strait . . . *ig-pai* (da). (a) this side . . . *ig-bala* (da). (b) the other side . . . *tedi-bala* (da). See *opposite*. 2. of the body . . . *âkâ-chāga* (da). 3. of a canoe . . . *rôko-l'ab-pâritâ* (da). (lit. "ribs.") See *propel*. 4. left side . . . *iji-kôri* (da). 5. right side . . . *iji-bîda* (da); *iji-bôjig* (da). 6. side-face, profile. See *face*. (adv.) on this

side kâre-tek ; dig-tar-châgya. on
that side kâto-met-tek ; timar-tek.
on one side ijilâ (da). Stand on
one side ! *ijilâ kâpi* ! side by side
paipdanga (da). on both sides of
id-paipdanga (da). sideways lōriya.

sigh, (v.i.) âkâ-chaiad (ke). sigh,
(s.) âkâ-chaiad (da). In construc-
tion "chaiat."

sight, out of (adj.). See invisible.

sighted, (adj.). 1. long (or clear)-s. . . .
ig-bêringa (da). 2. short-s. . . . ig-jâbag
(da). 3. dim-s. . . . ig-kârangnga (da).

sign, (s.) mark, trace ig-lâmya (da).
See Ex. at trace.

signal, (s.) ig-wîl (da).

silence, (v.t.) en-mîla (ke). (exclam.)
silence ! âh ! ; mîla (ke) ! silent,
(adj.) milanga (da) ; âkâ (or ôko)-mûlwinga
(da)

silk-cotton-tree (*Bombax malabaricum*),
(s.) gereng (da). Is rarely used for mak-
ing canoes.

silly, (adj.) ig-pîchanga (da) ;
î-gar'adnga (da).

silver. See metal.

similar. See alike, and Ex. at exactly.

simpleton, (s.) mûgu-tig-pîcha (da).

simultaneously, (adv.) êr-ûba-lik.
See together.

sin, (s.) offence against the deity
yûbda (da). (v.i.) yûbda (ke).

since, (postp.). 1. ever after tek.
I have waited here since noon : *wai do bôdo-
châu tek kârin tâmire*. 2. during the time
after âr-tetagôiya. Since your de-
parture this morning Bira has been very
abusive to me : *dîlmaya ng'ârteta-gôiya bîra
dôgaya d'abtôgore*.

sincerely, (adv.) ûba-ya.

sineu, (s.). See muscle.

sinful, (adj.) yûbdanga (da).

sing, (v.t. and v.i.) râmit-tôyu (ke).

singer, (s.) ar-râmit-tôyunga (da).

singe, (v.t.). See scoreh. The sound of
singeing hair, hide, etc. . . . ô-t-êr-êchanga
(da). See sound.

singing in the ears, (s.) âkâ-nîli (da).

single, (adj.). 1. one only, separate, indi-
vidual ûba-dôga (da). See Ex. at
sufficient. 2. alone. See alone. 3. unmar-
ried, widow, widower. See App. vii.

singly, (adv.) one by one, of inanimate ob-
jects ôko-lôdongaya. 2. of animate
objects âkâ-lôdongaya. See one by
one and separately.

sink, (v.t.) submerge ô-t-nôti (ke).
(v.i.). 1. as a stone, drowning man, or
harpooned turtle lûdgi (ke). 2. as
one's foot in sand or a swamp ôyun-
nôti (ke). 3. set, as sun, moon, etc. . . .
ara-lôti (ke). 4. as a canoe over-laden or
leaky ad-tôb (ke).

sip, (v.t.) nûruj (ke) ; âkâ-nô (ke).

sir, (s.) term of respectful address . . . mar,
maia, maiola, mâm. See Master and "Let-
ters to Jambu" ante, pp. 8—16. These terms
are used as follows :—mar, in addressing or
referring to a bachelor or young married
man ; maia, one who is a father or no longer
young ; maiola, one's own father, or a Chief ;
mâm, a leading Chief. The officer in
charge of the Andaman Homes is addressed
or referred to as "mâm-jôla" (euphoni-
ally for mâm-ôla), indicating head or
supreme Chief.

sister, (s.) 1. elder â-entôbare (or
entôkare)-pail (da) ; â-entôbanga (or entô-
kanga)-pail (da). 2. elder half-sister (a) con-
sanguine ar-châbil-entôbare-pail
(da). (b) uterine ar-châno-l-entôbare-
pail (da). 3. younger ar-dôatinga-
pail (da) ; ar-wêjinga (or wêjeringa)-pail (da) ;
âkâ-kâm-pail (da). 4. younger half-sister
(a) consanguine ar-dôatinga-pail (da) ;
ar-wêjinga (or wêjeringa)-pail (da). (b) uterine
. . . . âkâ-kâm-pail (da). See brother and
App. viii.

sister-in-law, (s.) 1. husband's elder sister, or elder brother's wife *chânola*. 2. wife's sister, or husband's (or wife's) brother's wife (a) if one's senior *mâmola*. (b) if one's junior *âkâ-bâ-pail* (da). [If not a parent these would be addressed by their name.] 3. husband's younger sister, or husband's (or wife's) younger brother's wife *ô-tin* (da). See **brother-in-law** and App. viii.

sit, (v.i.) 1. seat one's self *âkâ-dôi* (ke). See **arrive**. The inference being that on arrival one (that is the body) sits down. 2. sit, leaning on one's arm *ara-ehômi* (ke); *ara-chôngali* (ke) 3. sit still *ig-nû* (ke). 4. sit up from recumbent position. See **rise**. 5. sit in assembly *âkâ-kôra* (ke). 6. sit on one's heels. See **squat**. 7. sit cross-legged. See **cross-legged**.

situation, (s.) See **position**, **place**.

sixth, (s. and adj.) See App. iii.

size, (s.) *rêtebîba* (da). (adj.) of the same size, equal *âkâ-pâra* (da) [plur. *akat-pâra* (da)]. Our two bows are of the same size: *meta kârama l'ikpôr akat-pâru* (da).

skate, (s.) ray-fish *pêtema* (da); *chir* (da); *gerengdi* (da); *gûm* (da); *nîp* (da); *bedi* (da); *gôldi* (da); *tôlo* (da); *kôwil* (da). These are varieties of the Ray family.

skeleton, (s.) *tâ-ûma* (da); *tâla-chôrokto* (da). See **bone**, **whole**.

sketch, (v.t.) any pattern, etc. *ig-ngâta* (ke). (s.) See **drawing**, **picture**.

skewer, (s.) *châm* (da).

skillful, (adj.) See **expert**.

skill, (s.) in handiwork *ông-yôma* (da).

skin, (v.t.) peel *dôch* (ke); *dôich* (ke). See **peel** and **shed**. (s.) *êd* (da) [in constr. *êj* (da); *aij* (da)] with p.p. *âkâ*, *ông*, etc. according to part of the body referred to. The skin of your hand (or foot), *ngông êj* (da). black skin *pûtung'aij* (da).

skinny, (adj.) wanting flesh *ab-pâkad* (da). See **thin**.

skull, (s.) cranium *ôt-chêta* (da). See Ex. at **disinter**. Bia is carrying two skulls to-day: *bta kawai chêta l'ikpôr tâbîke*.

sky, (s.) 1. *môro* (da). 2. clear, cloudless *môro-bêringa* (da). 3. overcast *môro-ela-dilnga* (da).

slack, (adj.) loose, of a bow-string, etc. *ig-yâragap* (da).

slacken, (v.t.) loosen (let out) of a rope, etc. *lôr* (ke). (v.i.) 1. of a rope, bow-string, etc. *ôyu-tôl* (ke). 2. of a current *akan-yâda-kîni* (ke).

slander, (v.t.) defame *eb-âtedi* (ke).

slap, (v.t.) 1. *pedi* (ke); prefix, *ig*, *ab*, etc. according to part of person referred to. Lipa slapped my face: *lipa d'igpedire*. 2. slap the hollow between the thighs (women seated mark time for dancers in this manner to an accompaniment of singing) *ab-pûr* (ke). 3. slap the thigh and shout, as women in token of pleasure. See **shout**. 4. slap one's self *ad-pedi* (ke). (s.) cuff *pedi* (da).

slash, (v.t.) gash *ôt-pôlo* (ke); *ig-rêli* (ke).

slaughter, (v.t.) 1. slay for food *âkâ-chôl* (ke). See **cut up food**. 2. s. (a) a pig *âkâ-jaiñ* (ke). See Ex. at **order**. (b) a turtle *idal-o-jêrali* (ke); *idal-o-dût* (ke). Turtles are slaughtered by piercing one of the eyes with a skewer or pointed arrow; the first word refers to only one turtle, the second to more than one.

sleep, (v.i.) 1. *mâmi* (ke) We slept all day: *meda bôdo dôga mâmire*. 2. sleep soundly *ârla-l'igrîta* (ke). Being sound asleep (*lit.* owing to my sleeping soundly) I did not hear the thunder: *ârla-d'igrîtanga l'edâre pâluga-la-gôrawanga len d'âkâ-tegi-l'idainga-ba* (da). 3. sleep lightly, doze *ig-ngûm* (ke). 4. go to sleep *î-dêge* (ke). See **nod**.

sleeping-mat, (s.) *pârepa* (da). See App. xiii.

sleepless, (adj.) *ê-kaich-nga* (da).

sleepy, (adj.) drowsy *ig-ârlanga* (da) ; *i-dêgenga* (da). We are sleepy : *mitig'ârlanga* (da).

slice, (v.t.) *ig-pûku* (ke) ; *kôbat* (ke) ; *ig-waia* (ke) ; *ig-râg* (ke). (s.) *ik-pûku* (da). See **ear** and **Ex.** at **name**.

slide, (v.t.) *î-gâlya* (ke). (v.i.) glide *iji-galat* (ke).

slight, (v.t.) by declining to notice *ig* (or *î*)-*tem* (ke).

slightly, (adv.) in a small degree *yabâ* (da).

sling, **baby-** (s.). See **baby-sling** and **App.** xiii.

slip, (v.t.). 1. *en-galat* (ke) : 2. give one the slip : *tûlaiña* (ke). See **elude**. (v.i.) 1. slide down, as a landslip *pâdla* (ke). 2. slide off *iji-pòlokini* (ke) ; *ara-pejili* (ke).

slippery, (adj.) (ot-) *gâldim* (da). See **polish** and **smooth**.

slit, (v.t.) split (*âkâ-*) *târali* (ke). See **split**. (v.i.) tear. See **tear** (v.i.).

slop, (s.) *raij* (da) ; *rais* (da). See **hiss**.

slope, (s.) *pâleta* (da) ; *lêchenga* (da).

slothful, (adj.). See **indolent**, **idle**.

slow, (adj.) in motion or performance *dôdonga* (da) ; *â-mainga* (da). (excl.) How slow you are ! : *badi-kai'a* !

slowly, (adv.) *dôdo-len* ; *dôdo-ya*. tardily *ig-nilya* (da).

slug, (s.) *bûtu* (da).

sluggard, (s.) *âr-gînnga* (da) ; *âr-têninga* (da).

slumber, (v.i.) doze *ig-figûm* (ke).

sly, (adj.). See **cunning**.

smack, (v.t. and s.). See **slap**.

small, (adj.). 1. in size, of animals or inanimate objects *kêtia* (da) ; *kêtima* (da). [When referring to humans "ab" is prefixed.] 2. in quantity *yabâ* (da) ; *bâ* (da). 3. very small, small indeed (of any object) *ûba-yabâ* (da). (s.) a

small piece *î-dûgap* (da). See **bit**. (exclam.). How small it is ! (a) man speaking *ai-chutai* ! ; (b) woman speaking *wada-chutai* !

smaller, (adj.). 1. in size *tek-(ab)-kêtia* (da). Bira is smaller than Wologa : *wôloga-tek bîr'abkêtia* (da) 2. in quantity. See **less**.

smallest, (adj.). 1. in size (*tek-*) *(ab)-kêtia-l'iglâ* (da). Punga is the smallest (man) in my village : *dia bârai len pûng'abkêtia-l'iglâ* (da). 2. in quantity. See **least**.

smart, (v.i.) *yâro* (ke). From bathing in sea-water the jungle-dweller (i.e. one living in the interior) is smarting all over : *râta len lûdganga l'edâre êremtâga yâroke*.

smash, (v.t.) See **break** and **shatter**.

smear, (v.t.) the person with any oily substance or honey *ab-lêñe* (ke). See **daub**, and **paint**.

smell, (v.t.) perceive by the nose *tûm* (ke) ; *ôt-âu-l'ig-lôti* (ke). See **smell**, (s.) and **admit**. 2. (v.i.) have odour *ôt-âu* (ke). (s.). 1. odour (generic term) *ôt-âu* (da). 2. s. of fruit *ôt-galaria* (da). 3. s. of fruit or flower *ig-gala* (da). 4. s. of cooked meat or fish *ôt-ngâu* (da). 5. s. of yolba fibre, from which turtle nets and lines are made *ûn-yôlba* (da). [It is regarded as useless for one who has just been engaged in killing a pig, turtle, etc. or in using yolba fibre to attempt to hunt or fish, as these animals, especially turtles, possess a keen scent.] 6. s. of one's hands after slaughtering a pig or turtle *tâ-galanga* (da). 7. s. of one's person due to perspiration, especially when smeared with koiob *ôt-galanga* (da). 8. s. of one's person after catching a pig, turtle, fish, etc. . . . *ôt-chîni* (da). 9. agreeable smell *ôt-âu-bêringa* (da). 10. disagreeable smell *ôt-âu-jâbag* (da).

smile, (v.i.) *ôko-môichri* (ke) ; *ôko-mûchri* (ke) ; *kêmria* (ke).

smite, (v.t.). See **strike**, **kill**.

smoke, (v.t.) mō'la-l'en-ōyu (ke).
(v.i.) 1. of a fire or volcano mō'la-
ōyu (ke); mō'la-tūpu (ke). 2. s. tobacco
. . . . tūpu (ke); ōyu (ke). (s.) 1. mō'la
(da). [Compare with words for string,
egg and straight.] 2. column of smoke
. . . . wūludanga (da). (p.p.) blinded by
smoke iji-mūjure.

smooth, (v.t.). 1. lingati (ke).
2. s. a planed surface pūlau (ke).
(adj.). 1. s. of a calm sea lia (da).
2. s. of a plain surface lingiriya (da).
3. s. of a polished surface gēligma
(da). See **polish**.

smother, (v.t. and v.i.) See **suffocate**.

smut, (s.) See **soot**.

snail, (s.) ērem-ōla (da).

snake, (s.) jōbo (da).

snap, (v.t.) 1. break short tōp
(ke); tōpati (ke). 2. snap a bowstring
against the bow chīrana (ke).
3. snatch. See **snatch**. 4. try to bite as
a dog ig-kārap (ke). (v.i.). 1. owing
to strain ōyun-tēmar-tōp (ke). 2.
owing to force applied with the teeth
iji-kārap (ke).

snatch, (v.t.) jūr-baring'i (ke).

sneer, (v.i.) express contempt by a sneer
or sniff iji-ingri (ke).

sneeze, (v.i.) chība (ke). (s.)
chība (da).

sniff, (v.i.) 1. as when smelling
nū-ruch (ke). 2. when expressing contempt.
See **sneer**.

snivel, (v.i.) run at the nose ig-
ñilib-l'ākā-nāt (ke). (s.) from the nose
. . . . ig-ñilib (da).

snore, (v.i.) gōrawa (ke).

snout, (s.) ig-chōronga (da).

snuffle, (v.i.) breathe hard through the
nose ōko-ōrōija (ke).

so, (adv.). 1. thus, in this way
kian-āri (da); in that way ekāra (da);
kian-ūba (da). I stitch so (in this way),
but he in that way: *dō kianāri jātke, dōna
ōl ekāra (da)*. 2. on account of this or that,

consequently kian-chā (da); űgā (da).
See **Ex. at carry**. (correl.) chā (da). See
Ex. at as and App. 1. 3. so (or this) much
. . . . kian; kian-wai (da). so big (*lit.*
this-much-big), indicating by means of the
hand: *kianwai-dōga (da)*. so small:
kianwai-kétia (da). 4. so (or this)
many kian-chaia (da). 5. so much
(correl.) ūchu-tūn (da). See **as
much** (rel.) in App. i. As much honey as you
give me, so much resin will I give you:
*kā-tūn āja ngō den mām ūchu-tūn rīm dō ngen
mām (ke)*. 6. so many (correl.) ūchichā-
tūn (da). See **as many** (rel.) in App. i.
7. extremely bōtaba. The water is
so cold: *ina wai rītipa bōtaba*. See **very**. 8.
(Phr.) Just so! *ūba (da)*; *kichikan-ūba (da)*!
See **of course**. Is it so?: *an ūba (da)*? So
it is!: *an a-keta*!

soak, (v.t.) ig-yōp (ke). (perf. ig-
yōbre) as wood or jack-fruit seeds to *soften*
them. (v.i.) ōto-pī (ke).

soar, (v.i.) fly aloft i-tāj (ke). See
ascend.

sob, (v.i.) ōnaba (ke); nōrot (ke).

sociable, (adj.) ig-lōringa (da).

socket, (s.) of pig-arrow or harpoon
ākā-chānga (da). See **spear**.

soft, (adj.) 1. of cotton, sponge, wax, etc.
. . . . ōt-yōb (da). 2. of flesh ab-yōb
(da), takes prefix of part of body referred to
See App. ii.

soften, (v.t.) yōp (ke).

softly, (adv.) See **quietly**.

soil, (v.t.) gūj (ke); lada (ke). (s.)
1. ground, earth gara (da). 2. mould
. . . . pā (da). 3. stony s. . . . el-ōt-tā
(da).

sojourn, (v.i.) pōli (ke); pāli (ke).

sole, (s.) of foot ōng-elma (da). See
App. ii.

sole, (adj.) See **alone and only**.

solely, (adv.) See **only**.

solemn, (adj.) ab (or ōko)-māku-
ringa (da).

solen vagina, (s.) jūruwin-l'ākā-
bang (da).

solitary, (adj.) See *alone*, *lonely*, and *only*.
solid, (adj.) not hollow *âr-lûa-ba* (da).
some, (adj.) of indeterminate quantity *ûtan-ârek* (da); *ârek* (da). Give me some food : *ûtan-ârek yât den â*.

some, (pron.) certain persons known or unknown *ed-îkpôr* (da). Some like hunting pigs, but (some) others prefer harpooning turtles : *ed-îkpôr ût'-len yâmalike, dôna ôkot-tôrobûya yâdi-lôbinga-len i-târ bûi* (ke). some of us *med'îkpôr* (lit. we two). some of you *nged'îkpôr* (lit. you two). some of them *ed-îkpôr* (lit. they two). The day before yesterday some of us jungle-dwellers, squatting ourselves in the canoe, went with the coast-men in order to see them harpoon turtles : *târdilêa med'îkpôr éremtâga, ôdam len arat-ûchu-blânza bédig, âryôto l'ôtot-paichalen yâdi-dût-yâte l'itig-bâdignga l'eb âkangaire*. Some of them died, but the remainder (the others) recovered : *ed-îkpôr oko-lire, dôna arat-dilu tigbôire*.

some-body, (s.) some one *ûchin* (da). See! somebody is coming this way : *wai gélîb ! ûchin kach ònke*.

somehow, (adv.) in some way or other *ûchin-ârek* (da). Do it somehow : *ngól ûchin-ârek ôiyoke*.

some more, (adj.) additional (of anything) *ôt-ûâ* (da).

some other, (adj.) *ôko-tôro-bûya* (da). Bia took some other bow : *bîa kârama l'ôko-tôro-bûya enire*.

something, (s.) *mîn* (da). He is in the habit of giving me something when he pays me a visit here : *kârin ar-lôinga len ôl ôko-jâranga den mîn mânke*.

some one. See *somebody*.

some time or other, at (adv.) (a) in the indefinite past *âchin-baiya*. (b) in the future *â-rêringa* (-len); *târôlo* (-len); *ûgâtek*. At some time or other God lit a fire at Barren Island (there is a volcano there) : *âchin-baiya pûluga môla-târchôna len châpa l'ôko-jôire*. The modern name of this island is *taili-châpa* (lit. stone-fuel).

sometimes, (adv.) (a) in the past *âchin-ya*. (b) in the future *ûgâtek-ûgâtek*. He was sometimes indolent : *ôl âchinya ab-wêlab l'edâre*. We will sometimes visit your encampment : *ûgâtek-ûgâtek ngia bâraiij len marat-lôî* (ke).

somewhere, (adv.) 1. *kâtin-êr-len*; *ôt-êra-len*. 2. somewhere there, thereabout *ûchum* (da); *ûchumen* (da). It is not with me; it is somewhere there : *d'ôt-paichalen yâba* (da), *ûchumen* (da). 3. somewhere or other *ûchum-ârek*. He is hunting turtles somewhere or other : *ôl ûchum-ârek yâdi-lôbîke*. 4. somewhere near *ûchum-ya-pâlen*.

son, (s.) 1. under three years of age *ôta* (da), (lit. *testes*). 2. over three years of age (s) in relation to the father *ar-ôdire*; *ar-ôdi-yâte* (da). See *beget*. (b) in relation to the mother *ab-êtire*; *ab-êti-yâte* (da); *ab-wêjire*; *ab-wêji-yâte* (da). His (honorific) son and her (honorific) daughter are coming tomorrow morning with my father and younger brother : *litiya mai (a)-l'arôdire chàn(a)-l'abêti-yâte-pail d'ab-maiola d'âkâ-kâm itik ònke*. Whose sons are returning to their homes today? : *miji'arat-ôdire kawai uij* (ke)? See App. vii and viii.

son-in-law, (s.) *ôtôniya* (da). See App. viii for terms denoting relationships.

song, (s.) *râmid* (da). (in constr. *râmit*); *râmit-pâkita* (da). Wolog's song : *wôlog'ta râmit* (da).

soon, (adv.) 1. shortly See *by and by*, *presently*, *later on*. 2. as soon as (whenever, at such time as) rel. *kian-êrûbalik*. See *Ex. at time* and App. i.

soot, (s.) *bûbut* (da).

sore, (adj.) *châmnga* (da); *yednga* (da). with prefix *ab*, *ig*, etc. according to part of the body which is in pain. See *pain* and *painful*. (s.) *chûm* (da).

sorrowful. See *sad*.

sorry, (adj.) *kûk-l'âr-tôrnga* (da). The child is sorry that you are sick : *ng'abyednga l'edâre abîga kûkl'ârtôrnga* (da).

sort, (v.t.) separate into lots, assort *ôt-nân* (ke). (s.) sort, kind, description *tâg* (da). What sort? also what sort of sport have you had? : *michiba tâgre*? [Note.—“*tâg*” is frequently inserted after the base of a verb in order to modify its meaning. Ex. to paddle: *tâpa* (ke). to paddle in some sort of way: *tâpa-tâg* (ke). to play: *ijâj* (ke). to have some sort of game: *ijâjag-tâg* (ke). See also Ex. at **close**, **emerge**, **lull**, **sport** and **use**, (Phr.) out of sorts *ad-jâbag-tâgnga* (da); *ab-yednga-tâgnga* (da). See Ex. at **reply**.

soul, (s.) seat of life *ôt-yôlo* (da). See **paradise**, **purgatory**, **reflection**, and Ex. at **assume**.

sound, (v.t.) measure (with bamboo, etc.) depth of water *jûru-tâl* (ke). (s.) 1. (generic term) *tegi* (da). 2. s. of voice (human or animal), also of gun-fire *âkâ-tegi* (da). 3. s. of thumping, as of heel on sounding-board during a dance *ôt-tegi* (da). 4. s. of stamping on the ground *el-ôt-tegi* (da). 5. rumbling s. as of thunder, s. of a falling rock, tree, and also of footsteps *âr-tegi* (da). 6. s. of surf *âkâ-yeng* (da); *âkâ-yenge* (da). See **breakers**. 7. s. of metal when struck, as iron on an anvil or a bell, etc. *ar-tânga* (da). 8. s. of rain *yâm-tâ-l'i-tegi* (da). 9. s. of falling water, as of a cascade *âr-yâlangar* (da); *âr-chôrcharingi* (da). 10. s. of rustling of leaves or that caused by one's movements *ig-chârbaringi* (da). with special reference to the wearers of the “*bod*,” “*tâ-chônga*” and “*tôgo-chônga*.” See App. xiii. 11. s. of a slap or blow *ôt-tâ-chokini* (da). 12. s. of crunching hard food, as nuts, crackling, etc. *ôt-kât-walingi* (da). 13. s. caused by singeing hair or feathers, etc. *ôt-êr-êchanga* (da). 14. s. of bamboo cracking in the fire, or any explosive sound *tûchungga* (da). (adj.) without defect *ôt-gôro-jim* (da).

sounding-board, (used to mark time in dancing) *pûkuta-(l'ôt)-yemnga* (da). See App. xiii.

soundly, sleep. See **sleep**.

soup, (s.) *ab* (-dama)-*rai*j (da). **turtle-soup** *yâdi-l'ab-rai*j (da).

sour, make or cause to become (v.t.) *ig-mâka* (ke). (v.i.) be or become *iji-mâka* (ke). (adj.) *ig-mâka-nga* (da). of unripe fruit *tiripa* (da). See **unripe**.

sourness, (s.) *ig-mâka-yôma* (da). See **quality**.

source, (s.) See **spring**.

south, (s.) *el-iglâ* (da). south-west wind *dêria* (da). south-west monsoon *gûmul-tâ* (da).

sow, (v.t.) seed *yât-bûguk* (ke). *lit.* food-bury.

sow, (s.) female pig *rôgo* (da). See **fig. 2**, that has had one or more litters. . . . *rôgo-chân-châu* (da). 3. of unusual bulk *rôgo-l'ông-chûin* (da). 4. barren *rôgo-lûga* (da).

space, (s.) 1. area, tract, place *êr* (da). in construc. sometimes *el*, see **Andaman Islands**. cramped, narrow space *êr-chôpaua* (da).

spacious. See **roomy**.

spade, (s.) *gara-jêrlanga* (da). This term is applied to the “*wôlo*” (see **adze**, when used for scooping earth. See App. xiii.

span, (v.t.) measure with the extended hand *ôko-dûgap* (ke). (s.) space between outstretched thumb and little finger. . . . *ôko-dûgap* (da).

spare, (v.t.) 1. bestow, allow *ar-lôda* (ke) (reflex.) See Ex. at **much**. As you have no *yolba* fibre I will (therefore) spare you all this: *ngôt-paichalen yôlba yâba l'edâre kîanchâ dô kîan ârdâru d'arlôdake*. Can you spare me so much? : *an ngô den kîan ng'arlôdake*? 2. spare from injury *ôt-tid-dûbu* (ke). See Ex. at **although**, **crush**, **hut**. (adj.) See **thin**.

spark, (s.) from burning wood *châpa-l'ig-bêra* (da); *bûbra* (da). See **dust**.

sparkle, (v.i.) *bêtel* (ke); *kar* (ke).

spawn, (s.) (*yât-l'ia-*) *bêr* (da).

speak, (v.t.) declare, address words
yâbnga-târchî (ke). God spake these words
(lit. thus words said) : *pûluga kîan-âri yâbnga*
târchîre. (v.i.) utter words, talk yâp
(ke). Is my father speaking? : *an d'ab-*
châbil yâpke? See read.

speaker, (s.) . . . yâbnga-târchî-yâte (da).

spear, (v.t.) 1. turtle, skate, etc. (a) only
one jêrali (ke); (b) more than one
. . . . dût (ke). We speared many turtles, I
killed two and Punga and Bia the others :
meda yâdi jîbaba dûtire, dô ikpôr tôligare,
pûnga ôlbédig tîa l'ôtot-dîlu (da). 2. pig
êr-dût (ke). (s.) 1. turtle-spear (harpoon)
. . . . kowaia-l'ôko-dûtnga (da). The thick
end of the long bamboo haft is called âr-
hōrod (da) and the socket-end âkà-chânga
(da). This harpoon consists (a) of the tōg
(da), a long bamboo haft at the thin end
of which a socket is provided for the (b)
kowaia (da), which is a short iron harpoon
deeply notched or barbed. These two parts
are connected by means of a long line (c)
hêtmo (da). See Ex. at bow of canoe. 2.
pig-spear êr-dûtnga (da); galain (da).
See App. xiii.

speckled, (adj.) î-tōna-tāninga (da);
bâratnga (da).

spectator, (s.) ig-bâdig-yâte (da);
spectators idal-ârdûru (da); ig-bâdig-
yâte-l'ông-kâlak (da).

spectre, (s.) ghost. See spirit.

speech, (s.) ig-yâbnga (da).

speed, (s.) in flight, pursuit yîrad
(da).

speedily, (adv.) by running, flying, etc.
. . . . yîrad-tek.

spend, (v.t.) expend âutinga (ke).
See use up. (v.i.) spend time. See stay.

spew, (v.i.) ad-wê (ke).

spherical, (adj.) See globular.

spider, (s.) ñgônga (da). 2. spider's
web (s.) ñgônga-kûd (da). See net.

spike, (s.) chûkul (da). See thorn.

spill, (v.t.) ôto-êla (ke). (v.i.)
ôto-êla (ke); î-jûdla (ke); ôto-pî (ke). See
upset.

spin, (v.t.) 1. twist fibres into thread
. . . . ar-kit (ke). 2. a yarn, tell a story
. . . . yâbnga-l' âr-lôr (ke).

spine, (s.) 1: ab-gôrob (da). verte-
bra ar-ête-tâ (da). See App. ii.
2. serrated bony spine of the sting-ray. See
ray.

spinster, (s.) ab-jadi-jôg (da). See
App. vii.

spirit, (s.) 1. ghost ôt-châuga-(da)
(in construc. châugala). (For evil spirits
of the land, sea and sky. See demon.)
2. spirituous liquor rôg (da). See grog

spit, (v.t.) or (v.i.) 1. chîn (ke).
2. s. out food, hair, etc. from the mouth
. . . . tûbal (ke); tûbal-pi (ke). See ex-
pectorate.

spittle. See saliva.

splash, (v.t.) ab-chingi (ke); ông-
êla (ke); ab-wej (ke). 1. as by throwing
something into water or by rushing into the
water. 2 & 3. as when playing in the water.
(v.i.) pai-chat (ke).

spleen, (s.) ab-pîlma (da). See App. ii.

splice, (v.t.) târ-ôdô (ke).

splinter, (s.) of wood âchalnga (da).

split, (v.t.) 1. wood with an adze to obtain
firewood châpa-châlat (ke). 2. by
dashing wood on a stone châpa-tâi
(ke). 3. anything (âkà-) târali (ke).
4. s. leaves of palms, pandanus, etc. as in
preparing waist-belts or in making âra
(see funeral wreaths) yit (ke). (v.i.)
. . . . âkan-târali (ke); ôyun-têmar-târali (ke).

spoil, (v.t.) render useless êche (ke).
id-bêra (ke); pûlaiji (ke); ôto-jâbagi (ke).
You have spoilt the bow : *wai ngô kârama*
len êchere. (v.i.) ôto-pûlaiji (ke);
ôyun-têmar-jâbagi (ke).

spondylus, (s.) wal (da). Thorny
oyster cooked and eaten by married persons
only.

sponge, (s.) ûpya (da).

spoor, (s.) âkà-kòij (da).

sport, (v.i.) frolic i-jâjag-tâg (ke).
See sort. (s.) 1. hunting ut'(da).
2. canoe-fishing lôbinga (da).

spot, (s.) *See* mark, place.
spotted, (adj.) as a cowrie i-tōna-tāninga (da); bāratnga (da).
sprain, (s.) gōdoli (da).
spray of the sea, (s.) ôt-ēña-wāli (da); pātara-la-chīnnga (da).
spread, (v.t.) 1. overlay ôt-rām (ke). 2. s. leaves on the ground êr-rām (ke), as for a bed. 3. s. wax, etc. over any object lêñe (ke); mīti (ke). 4. s. a net yōto-bar (ke). 5. lay out pê (ke).
spring, (v.i.) 1. as in leaping âkà-labya (ke). 2. s. upwards êbal (ke). *See* jump. 3. crack, as an overstrained bow or paddle iji (or ôto)-tārali (ke). (s.) 1. outflow of water âkà-chār (da). 2. s. water. . . . bēa (da). *See* Andaman Islands 10, p. 24. 3. vernal season tala-tōng-dēreka (da). *See* App. ix. 4. s. tide. *See* tide.
sprinkle, (v.t.) yīrip (ke); el-ôt-wīj (ke).
spy, (v.i.) ab-chāu-ōmo (ke).
squall, (s.) violent gust ūnga-(la)-tōgori (da).
squander. *See* waste.
square, (adj.) âr-gōr (da).
squat, (v.i.) ara-ñchubla (ke). *See* Ex. at some.
squeak, (v.i.) ar-pāte (ke).
squeeze, (v.t.) 1. . . . pētemi (ke). 2. s. honey out of a comb pūnu (ke). 3. s. the breast in suckling an infant kām-raij-pūnu (ke).
squint, (v.i.) ig-elri (ke). (adj.) s-eyed ig-elringa (da).
squirt, (v.t.) âkà-wūlri (ke).
stab, (v.t.) a person ab-jaiñ (ke). stab an animal (esp. a pig) jaiñ (ke). *See* slaughter.
stage. *See* platform, burial and perch.
stagger, (v.i.) 1. from a blow dege (ke). 2. s. from physical infirmity tēta (ke); (ig-) lêleka (ke). 3. s. from giddiness êlamja (ke).

stagnant, (adj.) el-âkà-kōrbanga (da).

stain, (v.t.) mīchla (ke). 2. s. one's arrows êla (or tōlbôt)-l'ôt-tī (ke). with ref. to wounding or killing an enemy or in shooting game. (s.) mīchla (da). *See* mark.

stale, become (v.i.) of food kept too long â-māka (ke). (adj.) 1. not fresh i-tōl-re. *See* old. 2. with ref. to food eaten freshly-cooked rītipa (da). *lit.* cold. 3. with ref. to fruit, also to leaves no longer fit for thatching or other purpose rūka (da). 4. of food kept too long â-māka-re.

stalk game, (v.t.) at-bang-dōati (ke); iggōroba (ke). *See* approach by stealth.

stammer, (v.t. & v.i.) âkà-gōdigma (ke).

stamp, (v.i.) 1. on sounding-board, as an accompaniment to dancers yem (ke). 2. after the manner of Andamanese when dancing tik-pā (ke). 3. stamp upon dūruḡa (ke).

stanch, (v.t.) stop flow of blood mēdali (ke).

stand, (v.i.) 1. of one person kâpl (ke). 2. of more than one kâpari (ke). 3. s. still ig-nū (ke). 4. s. up âkà-tāni (ke). 5. s. on tip-toe ara-laijai (ke). 6. s. in a row â (or iji)-tōr (ke).

star, (s.) 1 chāto (da); ig-wôlōij (da). 2. s. light chāto-la-chōinga (da). 3. shooting-star chāugala-la-chōinga (da). (adj.) s.-less chāto-ba (da); ig-wôlōij-ba (da).

starboard, (s.) ig-bīda (da).

stare, (v.t.) ig-nōma (ke).

start, (v.i.) 1. set out on a journey tot-mākari (ke). In order to arrive there beforehand, get up before us and start at dawn: *kāto l'ōko-tēlim ñg'âkà-tī-dōinga l'edāre met-tōba ng'ōyu-bōi, ôlbēdig wānga-len tot-mākari (ke)*. 2. as in a race ara-pōrot (ke). 3. with surprise iji-ñēradla (ke).

startle, (v.t.) ig-wâta (ke). (v.i.) iji-wâta (ke).
starve, (v.i.) akan-wêrali (ke).
state, (v.t.) See say, tell.
station, fishing- See Fishing-station.
stature, (s.) ab-lâpanga-yôma (da).
stay, (v.i.) 1. tarry, dwell temporarily rîli (ke); pâli (ke). See day. 2. wait tâmi (ke). 3. remain at ease, take rest barmi (ke). 4. stay away ôto-lûdai (ke).
steady, (adj.) fixed, firm. See firm.
steal, (v.t.) (ar-) tâp (ke). 2. (v.i.) ara-tâp (ke). See pilfer.
steam, (v.i.) bôag (ke). (s.) bôag (da). See boil.
steamer, (s.) birma-chêlewa (da). (*lit.* "funnel-ship"); âkâ-birma (da). See Ex. at bring (by water). When the steamer anchored yesterday I was tattooing my son (mother speaking) : *birma-chêlewa dilêa kâna-l'en-tôlpinga bêdig dô-d'ab-êti-yâtel'abyi-tika*.
steep, (v.t.) See soak. (adj.) precipitous el-ôt-chûdme (da); el-ôt (or tot)-lânta (da); ig-lêchenga (da). See slope and bridge of nose.
steepness, (s.) tot-lânta-yôma (da).
steer, (v.t.) 1. by means of paddle âr-tît (ke). See stern. 2. with a rudder âr-giuda (ke). It is my turn first to steer (with a paddle) (*lit.* first turn my steering), you all must paddle for me : *otolâka dia lârtil (da), nged'ârdûru den itâpake*.
stem, (s.) 1. prow ôko (or ôc)-mûgu (da). 2. stem of plant ab-chau (da).
stench, (s.) ôt-âu-jâbag (da). See odour. What a stench! : *badi-chuñgè!*
step, (v.i.) 1. make paces ara-tâng (ke); 2. walk nâu (ke). 3. step aside, make way ad-ôchai (ke). 4. step backwards târ-lô (ke). 5. step forwards târ-iki (ke). 6. step over âr-lâbadi (ke). (s.) 1. pace â-tâng (da). 2. step, foot- See foot-print.

step-father, (s.) 1. . . . ab-châbil (da). 2. step-mother ab-chânola. 3. step-son eb-ad-enire. 4. step-daughter eb-adenire-pail (da). See App. viii.

Stephania hernandifolia, (s.) jâng-ma (da). The fruit is eaten

Sterculia villosa, (s.) bâja (da). A favourite tree for making canoes, buckets, and food-dishes. s. sp. maiî (da); yêre (da); kâred (da). Of these the first two are used for canoe-making, the first also provides resin for torches, while the seed of the small yellow fruit of the third is sucked and broken in order that the kernel may be extracted and *thrown away* and its shell eaten as a dainty.

sterile, (adj.) ar-ôdinga-ba (da). See barren, beget.

stern, (s.) of canoe âr-tît (da). He is sitting in the stern : *ôl âr-tît-len âkâ-dôi (ke)*.

stew, (v.t.) ig-gaunga-jôi (ke). (v.i.) iji-gaunga-jôi (ke).

stick, (v.t.) 1. a pig jaiñ (ke). 2. s. a turtle. See slaughter. 3. cause to adhere ôyu-mâli (ke). (v.i.) adhere ôyun-têmar-mali (ke). 2. s. in the gullet nè-tai (ke). 3. as an arrow in a tree or cork in the neck of a bottle gôgai (ke). (s.) 1. pûtu (da). (*lit.* wood.) 2. stout, pointed s. used as a hoe lâkâ (da). See App. xiii. 3. thin, pointed s. used as a skewer or for slaughtering a turtle châm (da). See slaughter. 4. poling-s. See pole.

stickiness, (s.) malinga-yôma (da).

sticky, (adj.) malinga (da); malât-ma (da).

stiff, (adj.) See rigid.

stiffen, (v.t.) ôyu-latawa (ke). (v.i.) ôyun-têmar-latawa (ke).

stifle, (v.t. & v.i.). See suffocate.

still, cause to be (v.t.) en-nû (ke). (v.i.) s. be or keep ad-nû (ke). Keep still! don't fidget! : *ng'ad-nû !, ng'iji-ôjoli (ke) dâke !* (conj.) yet, nevertheless ârek (adv.) even yet, as previously ñg'âkâ. He is still absent : *ô ñgâkâ abyâba (da)*.

still-born, (adj.) okolinga-dôatire.
sting, (v.t.) 1. as a bee, scorpion, centipede, etc. taij (ke). 2. as a nettle gûruda (ke); chôa (ke); yâro (ke). The sand-flies stung me during the night: *gûruq-ya nîpa den taijre*. (s.) (ar-) mûruwil (da). sting-ray. See **ray**.

stingy, (adj.) ôn-yât-jâbag (da).

stink, (v.i.) chuñgê (ke). (s) ôt-âu-jâbag (da).

stir, (v.t.) 1. liquids ig-kêtik (ke). Stir the gravy!: *âkâ-taij lig-kêtik (ke)!* 2. non-liquid substances ig-gêrau (ke) 3. stir up, as mud in a pool ig-ôjoh (ke). (v.i.) move âkan gîdi (ke). Don't stir!: *ng'âkan-gîdike dâke!* See **move**

stitch, (v.t.) sew jât (ke). stitch together leaves of the *Licuala peltata* kâpa-jât (ke). See **screen** and App. xi.

stock, (s.) accumulated store ôt-jeg-yâte (da). See **Ex.** at **increase**.

stomach, (s.) ab-ûpta (da) stomach-ache jêdo-l'i-châm (da). (*ht.* bowels pain).

stone, (s.) 1. also rock taili (da). 2. quartz tölma (da) 3. fruit-stone ban (da). 4. sharpening-s, hone tâlag (da). 5. cooking-s. . . . lâ (da). 6. s. anvil rârap (da). 7. s. hammer taili-bana (da) See App. xii.

stony soil, (s.) el-ôt-tâ (da). gôroin (da).

stoop, (v.i.) 1. in order to pick up something ôto-ngôi (ke) 2. from physical infirmity ôto-bil (ke) 3. as when passing under a branch, etc. eb-êr-dôati (ke).

stop, (v.t.) 1. hinder obstruct See **prevent**. 2. close up with wax See **caulk**. (v.i.) 1. s. away from home temporarily, as when visiting friends pòli (ke) See **dwelt** 2. s. anywhere for a time for rest and ease barmi (ke). 3. s. awhile to recover wind and from fatigue akan-chaiat (ke). 4. cease. See **cease** (a) s. working ûn-dari (ke). (b) s. singing

râmit-l'iji-tûlpi (ke). Because the Chief was angry they stopped singing. *maiola tigrélnqa l'edâre da râmit-l'iji-tûlpi* (c) s. singing when ordered âkan-mîla (ke). Stop! (Hush! be silent!) mîla! tuba! Stop! (Halt!) gôgli! kâpi! Stop (wait) a little! tōlaba!

stopper, (s.) of leaves in mouth of bamboo bucket (gôb) ôko-jêralinga (da).

store, (v.t.) lay up in store âr-nû (ke). ar-lûgap (ke).

stores, (s.) supplies of food and other articles obtained from foreigners (*ht.* gifts) yâd (da). (in construc. yât) 2. supplies of articles of home production râmoko (da).

storm, (s) ûlnga (or wûlnga)-chânag (da). See **blow**. (v.i.).

story, (s) 1. a tale yâbnga-l'ig-lâb (da). 2. s. of extravagant nature âr-chinga (da) See **exaggerate**. (v.t.) narrate as. See **tell**.

stout, (adj) 1. corpulent, (a) in ref. to animals pâta (da). (b) of human beings â-pâta (da). 2. as a trunk of a large tree lâb (da). The trunk of that Gurjon tree is very stout: *kâl'ârain l'ab-chân lâb dōgaya*. 3. thick as a pot or canoe tûlawâ (da); môgodma (da) Of all the buckets this is the stoutest *dâkar ârdûru tek ûcha tûlawâ-l'iglâ* (da).

straggle, (v.i.). See **wander**.

straight, (adj) 1. not crooked mō lo (da); nôgo (da) 2. upright. See **erect**. (v.i.) 1. (direct) proceed ara-lôma (ke). 2. put straight, arrange in order. See **arrange**.

straighten, (v.t.) with ref. to a cane nôgo (ke). 2. s. one's limbs lôrai (ke)

strait, (s.) narrow sea or passage between islands jig-chân-châu (da); t-g-pârag (da); tar-wâla (da).

strand, (v.t.) of a vessel ôko-yôboli (ke). (v.i.) run aground ad-yôboli (ke).

strand, (s.) of a rope or line pônga (da).

strange, (adj.) marvellous ig-ñgêklinga (da).

stranger, (s.) 1. of one's own country ab-gôl (da). 2. of another race ig-lia (da).

strangle, (v.t.) 1. throttle, choke âkà-pêteni (ke). 2. by means of rope âkà-lôròpti (ke).

stratus. See cloud.

straw, (s.) yûkala-rûcha (da) (*lit.* grass-withered).

stray. See wander.

stream, (s.) jîg-bâ (da).

strength, (s.) 1. of animate object ab-gôra-yôma (da). 2. of bow or cord rôbaba-yôma (da). 3. of the wind or waves lûchur-yôma (da).

stretch, (v.t.) make taut, as a rope têni (ke). (v.i.) s. one's self chîbri (ke); chibiria (ke). 2. one's legs lôrai (ke). 3. reach out in order to touch or take tik-pai-ne (ke). 4. s. out without reaching ông (or âkà)-wôdli (ke). See reach.

strew, (v.t.) scatter loosely êr-râm (ke). See scatter.

stride, (v.i.) ad-lâbda (ke).

strike, (v.t.) 1. See beat, hit. 2. s. out, right, reducing to submission ig-rê (ke). 3. s. one for the offence of another kât-o-kîni (ke); âr-kâtya (ke). 4. s. gently, timidly, or with insufficient force dôdopi (ke). See Ex. at penetrate. 5. s. with an arrow. See hit. 6. s. with a harpoon. See harpoon (v.). 7. s. with a pig-spear êr-dût (ke). 8. s. with the fist ab-taia (ke); ab-tûlra (ke). 9. s. with a stick pâre (ke) with appropriate prefix. See beat. 10. with a knife. See stab, slash. Why did you strike yourselves on the head? : *michalen ngeda ngôto-pârekre?*

string, (v.t.) 1. a bow ôt-ngôtlî (ke). See show, teach. 2. s. beads or shells (*lit.* sew) jât (ke). (s.) 1. twine

môl'a (da). See App. xiii. 2. bow-string kârama-tât (da); âkà-tât (da).

strip, (v.t.) 1. make bare ôt-kâlaka (ke). 2. (a) s. the skin off a fruit dôch (ke); dôich (ke). (b) s. the bark of the alaba ôt-pîj (ke). (c) of the yôlba lîl (ke). (d) of the pûlita (da) pôr (ke). See App. xi.

stripe, (s.) 1. wale from stick or lash tiatanga (da). 2. of paint tôrngâ (da).

stroke, (v.t.) rub gently lûraicha (ke).

stroll, (v.i.) ramble idly, leisurely (ad-) yâuga (ke). See walk. Stroll hereabout! (don't go far!) kârik-yâugake!

strombus (s.) (?pugilis) ôlog (da). See App. xii.

strong, (adj.) 1. muscular ab-gôra (da). My father is stronger than you, but I am the strongest of you all : *ng'iji dab-mai'ab-gôra, dôna ng'ijit d'abgôra* (da). 2. in carrying weights on the shoulder âkan-tebi-gôra (da). [This term is applied to Hindu jhampan-bearers.] 3. durable, of hut or canoe gôra (da). 4. as a bow or cord rôbaba (da). My bow is stronger than yours : *dîa kârama ng'êkan tek rôbaba* (da). 5. of a wave or the wind lûchur(da).

struggle, (v.i.) 1. . . . kêrita (ke). 2. s. for the first place as in racing, scrambling, etc. . . . ig-pûcha-pâchi-(ke).

Strychnos vomica, (s.) êrepaid-tât (da).

stubborn, (adj.) See obstinate.

stuff, (v.t.) 1. cram, pack full i-tûña (ke). 2. gorge ab-jôdo (ke). 3. s. one's mouth rôpo (ke).

stumble, (v.i.) trip in walking. See trip.

stump, (s.) 1. of a tree ôt-kûdul (da). 2. of a finger, tail, etc. . . . út (da). takes prefix ông, ar, etc. according to member referred to. See App. ii.

stun, (v.t.) 1. with a blow âkà-nîli (ke). 2. with a loud noise ig-nîli (ke).

stunted, (adj.) *ôt-dûgap* (da).
stupid, (adj.) dull-witted *mûgu-tig-pîcha* (da); *ûn-jâbag* (da); *ûn-tig-jâbag* (da). See Introduction, p. 7.
stutter. See **stammer**.
stye, (s.) on eye-lid *idal-l'âr-ôla* (da).
style, (s.) mode, manner *ig-lörnga* (da). In this style: *kian-âri* (da). In that style: *ekâra* (da); *kian-ûba* (da). See **manner** and App. 1.
substitute, (s.) *ông-têka* (da).
succeed, (v.t.) take the place of another *ar-tûlpi* (ke). (v.i.) be successful. See **gain**.
successful, (adj.) 1. in ref. to sport. See **hunter**. 2. in other respects *otolâ-l'edânga* (da).
successor, (s.) *ar-tûlpinga* (da).
such, (adj.) of like kind *kichikan* (da). at such time as (rel.) *kian-êrûbalik*. See App. 1. and Ex. at time.
suck, (v.t.) *ig-nô* (ke); *ab-wêlej* (ke). 2. as in eating sugar-cane, honey, etc. *gang* (ke). (v.i.) See **suckle**.
sucking-pig, (s.) *reg-bâ* (da). He gave me a sucking-pig in exchange for my bow: *dîa kârama l'igal-len ô reg-bâ den âre*.
suckle, (v.t.) *kâm-raij-pûnu* (ke); *âkâ-pûnu* (ke). See **squeeze**. (v.i.) *âkan-pûnu* (ke).
suddenly, (adv.) unexpectedly *lîlpi* (da). See Ex. at tug. He died suddenly: *ôl lîlpi okolîre*.
suet, (s.) *ab-jîri* (da).
suffer, (v.i.) 1. pain *ig-yed* (ke). 2. s. from fever and ague *diddirya-l'abômo* (ke). 3. s. pains of labour *ik-ig-nû* (ke). 4. any loss or damage *êori* (ke).
sufficient, (adj.) *dûruma* (da). I have sufficient food in my possession: *dôt-paichalen yât dûruma* (da). It is sufficiently long: *ôl lâpanga dûruma* (da). There is sufficient food in a single large clam (*Tri-*

dacna gigantea) for many persons: *chôwai ûba-dôgalen wai yât at-ûbaba-l'eb dûruma* (da). That's sufficient!: *wai dâke!* lit. don't (give more)! or *kian-wai!* lit. "this much."
suffocate, (v.t.) *âkâ-mûju* (ke). (v.i.) owing to smoke or foul air *akan-mûju* (ke).
sugar-cane, (s.) 1. after being cut *tedi* (da). 2. standing-crop *tedi-tông* (da). Necessarily a word of modern origin. derivation doubtful.
sueide, commit (v.i.) *ôyun-têmar-tôliga* (ke).
suitable, (adj.) 1. applicable, appropriate *yôma* (da); *ñôma* (da). Is it suitable for making a bucket?: *an wai ka dâkar tînenga l'eb ñôma* (da)? See fit. 2. fit *lôyu*. (s.) s. (fit) for food *mâknga-lôyu*. This big bow is not suitable for that child: *ûcha kârama bôdia kâ walaganga lat lôyu-ba* (da).
sulk, (v.i.) *ig-mûlwi* (ke).
sulky, (adj.) sullen *ig-mûlwinga* (da).
sultry, (adj.) *elâkâ-ûya* (da); *ig-yêlata* (da).
summit, (s.) top, of a hill *ôt-lân* (da); *ôt-gûdur* (da); *ôt-lûtebo* (da).
summon, (v.t.) send for, call *âr-ângêre* (ke). See **call**.
sun, (s.) *bôdo* (da). [Note—The sun is regarded as female and the wife of the moon.] (a) s.-beam *bôdo-l'âr-châl* (da). (b) s.-burnt *bôdo-la-kâtainga* (da). (c) glare of s. . . . *bôdo-l'ig-kâranga* (da). (d) s.-light *bôdo-la-chôinga* (da). (e) s.-rise *bôdo-la-kângna* (da). (f) s.-set *bôdo-la-lôtinga* (da). (g) s.-shine *bôdo-la-karnga* (da). There has been no sunshine of late: *dîrap tek bôdo-la-karnga yâba* (da). (h) sunstroke *bôdo l'ôt-tûbulinga* (da); *bôdo-l'ôt-rî-tanga* (da). (i) gleam, glow, radiance of sunset *bâra* (da). He is looking at the sunset: *ôl bâra len (l') igbâdike*. (lit. the radiance of the sunset.)

sunken-reef, (s.) tebi-lúro (da).
sunken-rock tótòl (da).
superior, (adj.) 1. better târ-búnga (da). 2. superior in skill or speed, etc. ar-châk-bêringa-bôtaba (da) ; ar-paicha-bêringa-bôtaba (da).
supper, (s.) âkan-gôlajnga (da).
supple, (adj.) pliable ôto-yôb (da) ; yârâgap (da).
supply, (v.t.) *See provide*.
suppurate, (v.i.) generate pus mûn (ke).
supreme, (adj.) ijilâ (da). We all desire Thee as our supreme and only chief : *mar-ârdûru ngen môtot yûbur ijilâ mel-âke*
sure, (adj.) *See certain*.
sure-footed, (adj.) têripa (da).
surely, (adv.) *See certainly*.
surf, (s.) kûbya (da). 2. s., sound of âkâ-yeng (da).
surface, (s.) 1. of any solid ôt-elma (da). 2. of any liquid âkâ-elma (da). The paddle is floating on the surface of the creek : *wâligma jig l'âkâ-elma len ôdatke*.
surfeit, (v.t. & v.i.) teg-bût (ke).
surfeited, (p.p.) teg-bûtre.
surly, (adj.) ôko-dûbunga-ba (da).
surpass, (v.t.) excel tig-bêringa (ke).
surplus, (s.) *See remainder*.
surprise, (v.t.) 1. strike with astonishment ig-likati (ke). 2. take unawares ôyu ig-likati (ke). I surprised Wologa this morning : *wai da kawai wângalen ôyu wôloga'iglikatire*.
surround, (v.t.) ôt-gôroba (ke) ; ôt-gônga (ke).
suspect, (v.t.) êr-gât (ke). *See remember*. I suspect you of having stolen my adze : *día wôlo tâp yête wai dô ngen êr-gâtke*.
suspend, (v.t.) *See hang*.
suspicious, (adj.) *See shy*.
swallow, (s.) *See swittlet*.

swallow, (v.i.) ñônti (ke). What ever he swallows (that same) he throws up (vomits) again : *ól mín-ñônti-yâte ôl-bêdig ad-wêke*.
swamp, (v.t.) a canoe by overloading ig-bâralti (ke).
swamp, (s.) 1. fen, marsh ili (da). 2. mangrove-swamp. *See mangrove*.
swarm of bees, (s.) râtag-mûi (da).
sway, (v.i.) as a slender palm in a breeze î-gîdi (ke).
sweat, (v.i.) *See perspire*. (s.) gûmar (da). with prefix, ông, ig, âkâ, ab, etc. according to the part of the person referred to. *See App. ii*. The sweat on our foreheads : *m'itig gûmar (da)*. The sweat on your lip : *ng'âkâ gûmar (da)*.
sweep, (v.t.) êr-bûj (ke).
sweepings, (s.) bêra (da).
sweet, (adj.) as honey dâki (da).
sweet-heart (the woman) ig-pòl (da). *See love*. (exclam.) How sweet ! (of scent) : pue !
swell, (v.i.) 1. increase in bulk lâpi (ke) ; âr-bût (ke). 2. as a boil, bruise, etc. bûtuk (ke). (s.) 1. swell of the sea. . . . jûru-l'ig-gêra (da). 2. ground-swell bôroga-l'ôt-gôloin (da).
swelling, (s.) 1. tumour bûta (da). with prefix, ab, ông, ig, etc., according to part referred to. *See App. ii*. 2. s. from a blow î-gûdal (da).
swift, (adj.) fleet, (a) of a runner or swimmer ar-rînama (da) ; âr-rêwa (da) ; âr-yêre (da). (b) of an animal, bird or fish rînama (da) ; yêre (da) ; rêwa (da). (c) of a canoe pûdya (de).
swittlet, (s.) (*Collocalia linchii*) bilya (da). edible nest of this bird bilya-l'âr-râm (da).
swim, (v.i.) 1. . . . ar-pît (ke). 2. s. on one's back ad-rôko (ke). *See canoe*. 3. s. under the surface tik-pâtemi (ke). *See dive*. (s.) swimmer ar-pîtnga (da).
swindle, (v.t.) *See cheat*.

swine, (s.) reg (da).

swing, (v.t.) cause to (or sway) to-and-fro ar (or ig)-lêla (ke). (v.i.) 1. swing while suspended ara (or iji)-lêla-(ke). 2. as a hanging creeper âkan-girima (ke).

swoop, (v.i.) as a bird on its prey châlya (ke.)

sympathetic, (adj.) compassionate ep-tông-itnga (da); itâ-bûlabnga (da).

sympathise, (v.i.) condole itâ-bûlap (ke); See assist, mourn; ep-tông-it (ke).

T

tabooed, (adj.) (a) of food tûb (da). (b) place el-ôt-chôa (da). This word is applied to sites regarded as undesirable for habitation on account of much sickness or unaccountable deaths having occurred there.

tadpole, (s.) lêdek-bā (da); rôpan-bā (da). See frog, toad.

tall, (s.) ar-pîcham (da). (a) of sting-ray nîp-l'âr-bûl (da). See ray.

take, (v.t.) 1. lay hold of eni (ke). See feel, hold, touch. 2. t. away (a) any animate object ab-îk (ke). (b) any inanimate object îk (ke). He took it away himself yesterday: *wai ôl ôyun-têmar dîlêa(len)îkra*. Take away thither!: *kâtik îk!* 3. t. down from higher position (a) (â-) rôl (ke). (b) t. d. a honey-comb from tree, etc. . . . (kânga-) ûp (ke). 4. t. off (a) lift off, as a pot from the fire yûk (ke). The food is cooked, take the pot off the fire: *wai yât la rôchre, bûj yûk (ke)*. (b) of personal ornaments, etc. . . . lûpuji (ke); lûp (ke). See waistbelt. 5. t. out, (a) extract lôti (ke). See Ex. at extract. (b) pick out kârepa (ke); (c) from hole, bag or other receptacle ôyu-wâlya (ke). Take the prawns out of the net: *kûd tek au l'ôyu-wâlya (ke)*. See out. 6. t. outside, (a) with ref. to animate object wâlak-l'ab-îk (ke); (b) with ref. to inanimate object wâlak-îk (ke). 7. t. up. See pick up. 8. t. care of,

protect ab (or ig)-gôra (ke). 9. t. notice of, observe id-ngô (ke). (v.i.) 1. t. breath chaiatli (ke). 2. t. care, t. precautions êr-gélep (ke). See that (conj.). 3. t. leave. See leave. 4. t. one's ease, rest barmi (ke). See stay. 5. t. place. See happen, occur. 6. t. a stroll. See stroll, walk.

tale, (s.) story yâbnga-l'ig-lâb (da). See story.

talk, (v.i.) speak, utter words yâp (ke). What is Wologa talking about?: *micha-l'eb wôloga yâpke?* Hush! don't talk: *mîla, yâpke dâke!* 2. t. together, converse iji-yâp (ke); i-jên (ke). They are talking together about us: *eda mebet iji-yâpke*. 3. t. secretly. See whisper.

talkative, (adj.) ed-winga (da); yâbnga-tâpa (da).

tall, (adj.) 1. of a human being ab-lâpanga (da); ab-tâbanga (da); ig-gara (da). Why are your country-men taller than ours?: *m'chalen ngitig bûdwa marat-dûru tek attâbanga (da)?* 2. of any animal tâbanga (da). 3. of an inanimate object lâpanga (da).

taller, (adj.) of human beings âkâ-jana (da); iji (or tek)-ab-lâpanga (da). See than.

tallest, (adj.) of human beings ârdûru-tek-âkâ-jana (dâ); ab-lâpanga l'iglâ (da).

talon, (s.) ông-kôro (da).

tamarind, (s.) péma (da).

tame, (v.t.) î-dûbu (ke). (adj.) î-dûbunga (da).

tangled, (adj.) of harpoon lines, etc. . . . ôto-chôre.

tank, (s.) îna-l'ig-bang (da).

tap, (v. t. and v. i.) tai-chowa (ke). 2. as a woodpecker êr-tôro (ke). 3. tap the ground with the foot, as in their dances. See stamp.

tapeworm, (s.) bôlob (da).

tardily, (adv.) ig-nîlya (da).

tarry, (v.i.) See linger, stay, stop.

taste, (v.t.) 1. test flavour *âkà-mûj* (ke). 2. partake of *âkà-râr* (ke). See *tit-bit*. (v.i.) have a flavour of *âkan-mûj* (ke). See *Ex. at like*.

taste, (s.) flavour, (a) of simple unmixed food *âkà-râja-maich* (da). (b) of mixed food *âkà-yâro* (da).

tasteless, (adj.) *gôloga* (da).

tasty, (adj.) of food *âkà-rârnga* (da).

tattoo, (v.t.) prick and mark the skin in some design *yîti* (ke). One who is tattooed is styled "*â-bôrta* (da)," and one who is not tattooed "*ab-lûta* (da)." The prefix *ig*, *ab*, *ar*, etc., is employed to denote the part of the body to which reference is made.

tattoo a pattern, (v.t.) *ôiyo* (ke). See *carve*.

teach, (v.t.) *i-tai* (ke). See *explain*, *instruct*. He taught me: *ôl den i-taire*; (a) t. how to swim *ar-pînga-l'itaike*. (b) t. how to dance *kôinga-l'itai* (ke). (c) t. how to tattoo *yîtinga-l'itai* (ke); *ûl-yîti* (ke). (d) t. a language *âkà-tegili-l'itaike*. (e) t. to pronounce (a word) *i-tâ-yâp* (ke) *lit.* "assist-speak."

teal, (s.) *kûla* (da); *kûlal* (da).

tear, (v.t.) 1. rend *pârata* (ke). 2. t. a bough from a tree *tôp* (ke); (*âkà*-) *tôpati* (ke). 3. t. a piece of cloth, leaf, etc. . . . *kâjili* (ke). (v.i.) 1. . . . *ad-pârata* (ke); *târali* (ke). 2. as a palm leaf when pulled or by force of wind *ad-yît* (ke); *ôyun-têmar* (or *âkan*)- *târali* (ke). (s.) rent *jâg* (da)

tear, (s.) drop from eye *t'i* (da).

tease, (v.t.) *ig-nêda* (ke).

teat, (s.) *ig-kâm-l'ôt-chêta* (da).

teeth, (v.t.) pick the *âkan-kârepa* (ke). See *pick*.

tell, (v.t.) 1. say, state *târ-chî* (ke). 2. describe, explain *i-tai* (ke). See *Ex. at hear*. 3. inform, acquaint *badali* (ke). 4. t. the whole story (relate) *yâbnga-l'âr-lôr* (ke). Tell us the whole story, where you went, what you

saw and what you did: *mînya ngô kâlik-yâte, ng'ig-bâdig-yâte, ng'ôiyo-yâte bédig, yâbnga-l'âr-lôrke*. 5. t. the gist of a story *yâbnga-l'âr-ûla* (ke). How tiresome you are! tell us at once the gist of what occurred: *badi dūrumaba! ngô kâ-gôl yâbnga-l'âr-ûla* (ke.) 6. t. about, inform against *ôt-bâm* (ke).

tempestuous, (adj.) of weather *kôûlo* (da).

temple, (s.) of the head *ig-tîmar* (da).

tempt, (v.t.) *ôt-ig-ûju* (ke).

tender, (adj.) 1. of meat *nêtemo* (da). 2. as an old wound *ab-gêri-nga* (da).

tendon, (s.) *yîlga* (da) with prefix *ar*, *âkà*, etc. according to part of person referred to. 2. tendon Achilles (s.) *ab-yîlga* (da).

tepid, (adj.) lukewarm *ûya-bâ* (da); *êlenga* (da).

Teredo navalis, (s.) *jûru-win* (da).

terminalia, (s.) 1. *T. bialata* *êmej* (da). 2. *T. citrina* *bîbi* (da). 3. *T. procera* *baila* (da). 4. *T. sp.* *châp* (da). 5. *T. trilata* *tâlapa* (da).

terminate, (v.i.) as a season *ôto-jônli* (ke). The rainy season will terminate next moon: *ôgar-la-îdôatinga gûmul-wâb ôto-jônlike*.

termite, (s.) white ant *bêdera* (da).

terra-firma, (s.) 1. land as distinguished from sea *el-ôt-gôra* (da). 2. the shore *tot-gôra* (da). See *coast*, *shore*. We were glad when we reached land (*terra-firma*): *elôt-gôra len kâgalnga bédig meda môtt-kûk-bêringare*.

terrify, (v.t.) *ig-wâ* (ke).

territory, (s.) *êr* (da).

test, (v.t.) prove *yôgo* (ke). Only this bow has been tested, the others are as yet untried: "*ôgun ûcha kârama yôgongata, akat-lôglik ñgâkâ yôgonga-ba* (da). 2. test the strength of a cord *tînap* (ke); *tênip* (ke).

testes, (s.) *âr-ôta* (da).

than, (conj.) *iji*; *tek*. He is taller than you: *ôl ng'iji* (or *ngôl-tek*) *ablâpanga* (da). My home is more distant than yours: *iz bûd ngia bûd tek elarpâla* (da).

thank, (v.t.) *êlet* (ke). See Ex. at much. (exclam.) Thank goodness! *yêlo*!

that, (adj. and dem. pron.) *ôlla* (in constr. *ôl*); *kâto* (da) (in constr. *kâ*); *ûchu-met*. (N.B.—The last can apparently be employed only as in the Ex. given below.) That bow has just sprung: *kâ* (or *ôl*) *kârama gôl mēdalre*. See Ex. at until. This or that?: *an kâ an kâ* (to) (da)? From which cup (lit. nautilus-shell) will you drink? from this or from that?: *tenchâ ôdo tek ngô wêlej* (ke)? *an ûcha tek, an ûchu-met tek*? See this, that. (intens.) *kâto-ôl*, lit. there (or that)-that. That is the European (soldier) that shot your pig: *kâto-ôl bôigoli ngia reg l'ôtpûguri-yâte* (da). Whose is that bow?: *mijia kârama kâto-ôl*? (rel pron.) that (or he) who or which *âte* (da); *yâte* (da). (correl.) that same *ôl-bêdig*. (See App. i.) That which (whatever) he swallows (that same) he throws up (vomits): *ôl mîn nōnti-yâte ôl-bêdig adwêke*. (adj.) that, lit. opposite or other (not this) side, (a) of a creek, etc. . . . *tedi-bala* (da). See opposite. (b) of a plank, etc. . . . *kâto elma* (da). (conj.) so (or in order) that *aña*. I am acquainting you (of the fact) that you may know and take immediate precautions: *wai dô ngen badalike aña ngô tidainga-bêdig kâ-gôl êr-gêlep* (ke). See also Ex. at (receive) news and provide. (postp.) to the end (or purpose) that *eb*. See for and Ex. at send. (adv.) like that *ôl* (or *kâto*)-*naikan*. in that way *ekâra* (da); *kian-ûba* (da). in that direction (or by that road) *kât'ôt-tinga-len*-that (or so) much *kaî* (da). that many *kâ-chaic* (da). See App. i.

thatch, (v.t.) *yôbla* (ke). (a) prepare thatch *châng têpi* (ke).

thee, (pron) *ngôl-len* (in constr. *ngen*); *ngai*; *ngad*. See App. ii.

theft, (s.) *ar-tâp* (da). There was a theft here this morning: *kâmin ôlmaya artâp* (da or) *l'edâre*.

their, (poss. pron.) *ônta* (da); *ôntat*; *at*; *itig*; *â-et*, etc. See App. ii. Their mothers: *at-êtînga* (da). See make. Their wives: *ôntat pail* (da). Their bows: *ônta kârama* (da). Their teeth: *itig tûg* (da). their, of a community *arat-dûru* (da). their own, theirs (pron. adj.) *êkan*; *ôput*. See App. ii.

them, (pron) *olôichik-len* (in constr. *et*); *at*; *ad*. See App. ii. and barter, gather, make. t. all (a) of three or more *et-âr-dûru*. (b) of a community *arat-dûru*. (c) of a large number *at-ûbaba*. t. selves *ôyut-batâm*; *ôyut-têmar*; *êkan*; *ijit*; *ôto*. See self. t. selves, among. See among and self.

then, (adv.) (a) at that time (past) *âchibaiya*. He was then a bachelor: *ôl âchibaiya abwâra* (da or) *l'edâre*. (b) indef. past *âchinbaiya*. See Ex. at once upon a time. (c) a specific time in the future *ngâ* (da). When your canoe is finished (made) (then) let me know. *ôna ngia rôko kôp-yâte, ngâ den badali* (ke). If it rains (then) stay where you are. *môda yûm la pâke ngâ ngô pôli* (ke). (d) another time later on (indef. future) *ngâ-tek*. (e) next. See next. (f) at the same time (correl.) *kichikan*. See App. 1, and Ex. at same. (conj.) as a consequence, therefore *kianchâ* (da).

thence, (adv.) from that place *kâto-tek*; *ûchu-mek*. See App. 1. He escaped thence in his own canoe: *ôl ûchumek êkan rôko len adwêtire*. 2. (correl.) from the same place *ôl-bêdig-tek*. See Ex. at whence.

there, (adv.) in (or at) that place *kâto* (da); *itan* (da). He is there: *ôl kâto* (da). See until. 2. (correl.) *ôl-bêdig* *ya*. Wherever he hunts (pigs), there he has good luck: *mînya ôl deleke ôl-bêdig ôi-yâb-*

ya. See App. 1. **2.** thither kâtik (da). (exclam). There! as when pointing to an object on the ground *kâ-oleh!* (also There he comes!) There! as when pointing to an object partly hidden or difficult to distinguish *ûchumen!*

thereabout, (adv.) somewhere there *ûchum* (da); *ûchumen* (da). See Ex. at **somewhere there**. **2.** in that locality *kât'êrema-l'êâte* (da) Quartz is found (lit. *in situ*) thereabout: *kât'êrema-l'êâte len tôlma wai* (da).

therefore, (adv. and conj.) accordingly, consequently *kianchâ* (da). See Ex. at **self and spare**.

these, (adj. and pron. pl.) *ûcha* (da). All these: *ûcha-dûru* (da).

they, (pron. pl.) *ôlôichik* (in constr. *ol'*); *eda*; *ed'*. See App. ii. They all, (a) of three or more: *ôl-l'ârdûru* (da). (b) of a community or tribe: *ar-ârdûru* (da). (c) of a large number of persons: *at-ûbaba* (da).

thick, (adj.) *gôrodma* (da). thicker of two, or thickest of three or more *tûlawâ* (da). t., dense, (a) of jungle *tôbo* (da). (b) of muddy water *ik-pûlur* (da). (c) t.-headed *chêta-tû* (da).

thicken, (v.t.) *mêlatma* (ke). (v.i.) *ôyun-têmar-mêlatma* (ke).

thief, (s.) *ar-tâpnga* (da).

thieve, (v.t.) *ar-tâp* (ke). (v.i.) *ara-tâp* (ke). See **steal**.

thigh, (s.) *ab-paicha* (da). t. charm (i.e., worn round the thigh) *ab-chônga* (da).

thin, (adj.) **1.** of human beings *ab-kînab* (da). *ab-maiña* (da); *ab* (or *ig*)-*gôrob* (da). See **skinny**. **2.** of animals *maiña* (da). **3.** of inanimate objects *rêleba* (da).

thin, become (v.i.) *ab-maiñ* (ke).

thine, (pron. adj.) *ng'êkan*; *ngôyun*.

thing, (s.) *mîn* (da). See Ex. at **bring** (by water) and **disappointed**.

think, (v.t.) be of opinion, consider, believe *lûa* (ke). The Chief thinks we are telling lies (lit. thinks us liars): *maiola met at-tedinga lûake*. (v.i.) meditate *gôb-jôi* (ke); *mûla* (ke).

third, (adj.) of four, five or six *mûgu-châl* (da). See App. iii. **2.** of any greater number *ôto-râla-jâtnga* (da); *ôto-yôlo-dôknga* (da). See App. iii.

thirst, (s.) *âkâ-êr-yôma* (da); *âkâ-môl-yôma* (da). See **quality**.

thirsty, (adj.) *âkâ-môl* (da); *âkâ-êr* (da).

this, (adj. and pron.) *ûcha* (da); *kâ* (da). This canoe is not mine: *ûcha rôko dia yâba* (da). Which bow do you want? this or that?; *ngô tenchâ kârama ng'enâke? an kâ an kâto* (da)? (intens.) *ûcha-wai* (da). Like this: *ûcha-naikan*. See App. i. this many *kianchâia* (da). this much *kian* (da); *kian-wai* (da). this side of a creek etc., *ig-bala* (da). this side of any object, as a plank *ûcha-elma* (da). See **that side** and **opposite**.

thither, (adv.) to that place *kâtik* (da). thither (correl.) *ig*. Whither I go, thither he is in the habit of going: *mîn-len dô lirke ig ôl ôko-jâranga* (ke).

thong, (s.) of the pig-arrow, connecting the detachable foreshaft with haft *pêta* (da).

thorn, (s.), of any description *chûkul* (da). **2.** of the *Calamus* sp. *tâta* (da). (known as the "wait-a-bit" thorn.)

those, (adj. and dem. pron.) *ôlla* (in constr. *ôl*); *kâto* (da). All those: *ôl-dûru* (da). All those are sound: *ôl-dûru wai ôl-gôrojim* (da).

thou, (pers. pron.) *ngôlla* (in constr., *ngôl*; *ngô*; *nga*; *ng'*; *ngôna*). See App. ii. (honorific) *maia*; *mâm*. See **he** and **she**.

though, (conj.) *êdaia*. See Ex. at **recognize**.

thrash, (v.t.) See **beat** and **chastise**.

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